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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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# Contents of Volume V

## ARTICLES

	PAGE
Benedict, Murray R. <i>Economic Aspects of Remedial Measures Designed to Meet the Problems of Displaced Farm Laborers</i>	163
Dickins, Dorothy. <i>Some Contrasts in White Women Employees in Garment Plants Located in Three Types of Communities of Mississippi</i>	427
Duncan, Otis Durant. <i>A Sociological Approach to Farm Tenancy Research</i>	285
Eaton, Joseph Wechsler. <i>Jewish Agricultural Colonization in Palestine: A Sociological Experiment in Collectivism</i>	327
Gillette, J. M. <i>Social-Economic Submergence in a Plains State</i>	59
Gillin, John L., and Hill, Reuben L. <i>Rural-Urban Aspects of Adult Probation in Wisconsin</i>	314
Ham, William T. <i>The Impact of Industrial, Labor, and Agricultural Control Policies upon Farm Labor</i>	46
Johnstone, Paul H. <i>On the Identification of the Farmer</i>	32
Mason, John E. <i>Private and Public Costs of Isolated Settlement in the Cut-Over Area of Minnesota</i>	206
Oberg, Kalervo. <i>Cultural Factors and Land-Use Planning in Cuba Valley, New Mexico</i>	438
Post, Lauren C. <i>Acadian Animal Caste in Southwest Louisiana: Some Sociological Observations</i>	183
Rose, John Kerr. <i>Rural Electrification. A Field for Social Research</i>	411
Schuler, Edgar A. <i>Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hills Community</i>	69
Taeuber, Conrad. <i>Migration and Rural Population Adjustment</i>	399
Taylor, Carl C. <i>Social Theory and Social Action</i>	17
Tetreau, E. D. <i>Social Organization in Arizona's Irrigated Areas</i>	192
Thompson, Warren S., and Jackson, Nelle E. <i>Fertility in Rural Areas in Relation to Their Distance from Cities, 1930</i>	143
Timasheff, N. S. <i>The Population of Soviet Russia</i>	303
Troncoso, Moisés Poblete. <i>Socio-Agricultural Legislation in Latin-American Countries</i>	5
Williams, Robin M. <i>Concepts of Marginality in Rural Population Studies</i>	292

## NOTES

Anderson, W. A. <i>Transmission of Farming as an Occupation, II</i>	349
Cox, Oliver C. <i>The Sex Ratio and Marriage in Rural Communities with Special Reference to Negro Marriages</i>	222
Hitt, Homer L., and Bradford, Reed H. <i>The Relation of Residential Instability to Fertility</i>	88
Hoffman, Charles S. <i>Social Research in Action</i>	92

	PAGE
Lively, C. E. <i>Training Students for Professional Work in Rural Sociology from the Point of View of the Land-Grant College</i>	462
Lyles, Sue. <i>Concepts of the Old and the New Plantation Systems</i>	227
Mirkowich, Nicholas. <i>Beginnings of Rural Sociology in Yugoslavia</i>	351
Nelson, Lowry. <i>Havana Meeting of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor Office</i>	96
Nelson, Lowry, and Mitchell, Don. <i>Migration of Minnesota Rural Youth</i>	229
Nicholls, W. D. <i>A Long-Time Experiment in Local Social Planning</i>	449
Nichols, Charles K. <i>A Suggested Technique for Determining Whether a Community Can Be Classified as Rural or Urban</i>	454
Niederfrank, E. J. <i>Some Problems and Social Setting of Community Life in Maine as Told by College Students</i>	232
Sanderson, Dwight. <i>Proposals for Reorganization of the American Sociological Society</i>	345
Taylor, Carl C. <i>Recruiting Personnel for Government Service</i>	460
Von Struve, A. W. <i>Better Rural Sanitation Improving Nation's Health</i>	238
Zimmerman, Carl C. <i>Graduate Training in Rural Sociology in the Private Universities</i>	346

## BOOK REVIEWS

Arensberg and Kimball, <i>Family and Community in Ireland</i> . Reed H. Bradford	477
Advisory Committee on Social Questions, League of Nations, <i>Study of the Legal Position of the Illegitimate Child</i> . Carl C. Zimmerman	122
Bacon and Schloemer, <i>World Trade in Agricultural Products</i> . T. Lynn Smith	489
Baker, <i>The County Agent</i> . C. E. Lively	378
Ball, <i>Federal, State, and Local Administrative Relationships in Agriculture</i> . Ray F. Harvey	267
Barnett, <i>Divorce and the American Divorce Novel 1858-1937</i> . Carl C. Zimmerman	122
Beck, <i>Fare to Midlands</i> . Henry W. Riecken	127
Berkson, <i>Preface to an Educational Philosophy</i> . Maurice T. Price	388
Bloodworth and Greenwood. <i>The Personal Side</i> . Wendell H. Bash	488
Blumer, <i>Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences: I. An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America</i> . George C. Homans	118
Burgess and Cottrell, <i>Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage</i> . Carl C. Zimmerman	122
Carman (ed.), <i>American Husbandry</i> . Carl C. Zimmerman	272
Chapple, <i>Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals</i> . Carl C. Zimmerman	274
Chen, <i>Emigrant Communities in South China</i> . Edmund deS. Brunner	383

# CONTENTS

v

	PAGE
Chugerman, <i>Lester F Ward The American Aristotle</i> Paul H Landis	125
Clapp, <i>Community Schools in Action</i> D E Lindstrom	261
Coady, <i>Masters of Their Own Destiny</i> Vernon J Parenton	130
Congrès International de la Population Carl C Zimmerman	487
Coon, <i>The Races of Europe</i> Corrado Gini	373
Croxton and Cowden, <i>Applied General Statistics</i> Conrad Taeuber	278
Dawson and Young, <i>Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces The Social Side of the Settlement Process</i> N L Whetten	479
Dékany, <i>Communautes et Organizations</i> Carl C Zimmerman	274
Du Bois, <i>Black Folk Then and Now</i> Vernon J Parenton	120
Eaton, <i>Freedom of Thought in the Old South</i> Wilson Gec	377
Embree, <i>Suye Mura A Japanese Village</i> Gordon T Bowden	116
Fet, <i>Peasant Life in China</i> Ching Yuen Hsiang	117
Fisher, <i>Children of God</i> Reed H Bradford	263
Ford, <i>Social Deviation</i> Arthur Evans Wood	186
Frazier, <i>The Negro Family in the United States</i> Carl C Zimmerman	122
General Education Board <i>Annual Report, 1959</i> T Lynn Smith	489
Gilbert, <i>Forty Years a Country Preacher</i> Irene Barnes Taeuber	389
Gingerich, <i>The Mennonites in Iowa</i> Wilbert L Moore	266
Gini, <i>Sovranita Politica E Correnti Commerciali</i> Carl C Zimmerman	274
Gini, <i>Trade Follows the Flag</i> Carl C Zimmerman	274
Gini and De Orchi, <i>Il Ciclo Sessuale Delli Madri Delli Famiglie Nume rose</i> Carl C Zimmerman	274
Gould, <i>New England Town Meeting</i> Carl C Zimmerman	279
Gras, <i>A History of Agriculture</i> Gordon W Blackwell	480
Gretzer, <i>Grundlagen und Entwicklung der Landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugung in Niederlandisch Indien</i> Berichte über Landwirtschaft Zeitschrift für Agrarpolitik und Landwirtschaft, 146 Charles P Loomis	127
Griffin (ed), <i>Concerning Latin American Culture</i> T Lynn Smith	484
Hagood, <i>Mothers of the South, Portraiture of the White Tenant Farm Woman</i> Margaret Warnken Ryan	271
Hall, <i>Tangier Island A Study of an Isolated Group</i> George I Thériault	267
Hartshorne, <i>The Nature of Geography</i> Bonney Youngblood	180
Hill, <i>Educating for Health</i> Wendell H Bash	488
Hill, <i>Training for the Job</i> T Lynn Smith	280
Hiller, <i>Houseboat and River Bottoms People</i> J I Hypes	121
Hopkins, <i>Elements of Farm Management</i> William T Ham	481
Humble, <i>Rural America Reads</i> D L Lindstrom	261
Institute of Social Investigation of the Mexican National University, <i>Revista Mexicana de Sociologia</i> Carl C Zimmerman	386
International Research Series of the Institute of Pacific Relations, <i>Agrarian China Selected Source Materials from Chinese Authors</i> Nicholas Mirkowich	376



	PAGE
Jackson, <i>Look at the Law</i> . Gordon T. Bowden	485
Klein, <i>Civil Service in Public Welfare</i> . T. Lynn Smith	280
Kolb and Brunner, <i>A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes</i> . Newell L. Sims	380
Kotinsky, <i>Adult Education Councils</i> . T. Lynn Smith	489
Kroeber, <i>Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America</i> . Loren C. Eiseley	272
Kvitka, <i>Marusia</i> . George F. Theriault	389
Landis, <i>The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Populations</i> . Arthur K. Davis	130
Lange and Taylor, <i>An American Exodus</i> . Conrad Taeuber	382
League of Nations Report, <i>Urban and Rural Housing</i> . D. E. Lindstrom	261
Leão, <i>Fundamentos de Sociologia</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	386
Lewis, <i>Doc's Wife</i> . Irene Barnes Taeuber	389
Ligutti and Rawe, <i>Rural Roads to Security</i> . David W. Twomey, S. J.	265
Lindstrom, <i>The Church in Rural Life</i> . W. H. Stacy	277
Loehr, <i>Minnesota Farmers' Diaries</i> . E. D. Tetreau	129
Lord, <i>The Agrarian Revival</i> . Dorothy Dickins	279
Ludlum, <i>Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850</i> . Wendell H. Bash	264
Lundberg, <i>Foundations of Sociology</i> . C. Arnold Anderson	385
McClaskey, <i>A Social and Economic Survey of Beadle County, South Dakota: A Study of Social Action in Boom and Depression Years in an Agricultural Community</i> . C. Arnold Anderson	372
McNiff, <i>Heaven on Earth</i> . Reed H. Bradford	263
Mangus, <i>Rural Regions of the United States</i> . C. Arnold Anderson	372
Massingham, <i>Country Relics</i> . T. Lynn Smith	277
Meland, <i>The Church and Adult Education</i> . Ernest Burnham	486
Melvin, <i>Youth—Millions Too Many: A Search for Youth's Place in America</i> . Dwight Sanderson	375
Meyen, <i>Das Pennsylvaniendeutsche Bauernland</i> . C. P. Loomis	381
Mosca, <i>The Ruling Class</i> . Lee Emerson Deets	268
Muench, <i>Manifesto on Rural Life</i> . D. E. Lindstrom	261
Odum, <i>American Social Problems: An Introduction to the Study of the People and Their Dilemmas</i> . Dudley Kirk	384
Panunzio, <i>Major Social Institutions: An Introduction</i> . Bryce Ryan	273
Partridge, <i>Country Lawyer</i> . Henry W. Riecken	270
Phelps, <i>Contemporary Social Problems</i> . Edgar A. Schuler	133
Prentice, <i>Hunger and History</i> . Merton Oyler	269
Proceedings of the Twenty-First American Country Life Conference, <i>Disadvantaged People in Rural Life</i> . William H. Sewell	278
Radford, <i>The Educational Needs of a Rural Community</i> . Edmund deS. Brunner	119
Ross, <i>Belgian Rural Cooperation</i> . George W. Hill	484
Ross, <i>New Age Sociology</i> . N. J. Demerath	482

# CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
Sanderson and Polson, <i>Rural Community Organization</i> . C. E. Lively	112
Scheben, <i>Untersuchungen zur Methode und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschung an Hand eines Vergleichs der Volkszählungslisten der Township Westphalia, Clinton County, Michigan, vom Jahre 1860 mit Auswanderungsakten des Kreises Adenau (Rheinland)</i> , Forschungen zur Rheinischen Auswanderung Herausgegeben von der Forschungsstelle Rheinländer in aller Welt, Düsseldorf, Heft 3. Charles P. Loomis	127
Shugg, <i>Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana</i> . Wilbert E. Moore	379
Shurtleff, <i>The Log Cabin Myth</i> . W. A. Anderson	115
Sims, <i>Elements of Rural Sociology</i> . Geo. W. Hill	478
Sims, <i>The Problem of Social Change</i> . Logan Wilson	131
Smith, <i>Americans in the Making</i> . A. R. Mangus	113
Smith, <i>The Sociology of Rural Life</i> . Dwight Sanderson	259
Strelsky, <i>Saltykov and the Russian Squire</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	483
Taylor, <i>Adrift on the Land</i> . Conrad Taeuber	382
Taylor, <i>Adrift on the Land</i> . W. R. Gordon	488
<i>Teachers College Record</i> , "Rural Education Number." Marion B. Smith	130
Thompson, <i>Body, Boots and Britches</i> . Newell L. Sims	383
Thompson, <i>Race Relations and the Race Problems</i> . Vernon J. Parenton	120
Valenziani, <i>Renaissance Demographique en Oceanie Francaise</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	274
Vance and Danilevski, <i>Population and the Pattern of Unemployment, 1930-1937</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	274
Wecker, <i>Die Baumwollpacht in U. S. A. und ihre jüngste Entwicklung</i> . Homer L. Hitt	128
Wells, <i>American Local Government</i> . Gordon T. Bowden	390
Whitman, <i>God's Valley</i> . John Winchell Riley, Jr.	114
Whyte and Jacks, <i>Vanishing Lands</i> . Ray F. Harvey	126
Williams, <i>Thralldom in Ancient Iceland: A Chapter in the History of Class Rule</i> . Robin M. Williams	387

## CURRENT BULLETINS

March	98-111	September	355-371
June	241-258	December	466-476

## NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

March	134-137	September	391-393
June	281-283	December	490-503



# RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

VOL. 5

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## CONTENTS

<i>Socio Agricultural Legislation in Latin-American Countries.</i> By Moises Poblete Troncoso	5
<i>Social Theory and Social Action</i> Carl C Taylor	17
<i>On the Identification of the Farmer</i> Paul H Johnstone	32
<i>The Impact of Industrial, Labor, and Agricultural Control Policies Upon Farm Labor</i> William T Ham	46
<i>Social Economic Submergence in a Plains State</i> J M Gillette	59
<i>Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hills Community</i> Edgar A Schuler	69
<i>Notes</i>	
<i>The Relation of Residential Instability to Fertility</i> By Homer L Hitt and Reed H Bradford	88
<i>Social Research in Action</i> By Charles S Hoffman	92
<i>Havana Meeting of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor Office</i> Lowry Nelson	96
<i>Current Bulletins</i> Edited by Charles P Loomis	98
<i>Book Reviews</i> Edited by Carl C Zimmerman	112
Sanderson and Polson, <i>Rural Community Organization</i> , by C E Lively	112
Smith, <i>Americans in the Making</i> , by A R Mangus	113
Whitman, <i>God's Valley</i> , by John Winchell Riley, Jr	114
Shurtleff, <i>The Log Cabin Myth</i> , by W A Anderson	115
Embree, <i>Suye Mura A Japanese Village</i> , by Gordon T Bowden	116
Fei, <i>Peasant Life in China</i> , by Ching-Yuen Hsiang	117
Blumer, <i>Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences I An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America</i> , by George C Homans	118
Radford, <i>The Educational Needs of a Rural Community</i> , by Edmund deS Brunner	119
Thompson, <i>Race Relations and the Race Problems</i> , Du Bois, <i>Black Folk Then and Now</i> by Vernon J Parenton	120
Miller, <i>Houseboat and River Bottoms People</i> , by J L Hypes	121
Burgess and Cottrell, <i>Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage</i> Frazier, <i>The Negro Family in the United States</i> Barnett, <i>Divorce and the American Divorce Novel 1858-1937</i> Advisory Committee on Social Questions, League of Nations, <i>Study of the Legal Position of the Illegitimate Child</i> , by Carl C Zimmerman	122
Chugerman, <i>Lester I Ward The American Aristotle</i> , by Paul H Landis	125
Whyte and Jacks, <i>Vanishing Lands</i> , by Ray F Harvey	126

Scheben, <i>Untersuchungen zur Methode und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschung an Hand eines Vergleichs der Volkszählungslisten der Township Westphalia Clinton County, Michigan, vom Jahre 1860 mit Auswanderungsakten des Kreises Adenau (Rheinland)</i> , Forschungen zur Rheinischen Auswanderung Herausgegeben von der Forschungsstelle Rheinländer in aller Welt, Düsseldorf Heft 3, Gretzer, <i>Grundlagen und Entwicklungstendenz der landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugung in Niederländisch-Indien</i> , Berichte über Landwirtschaft Zeitschrift für Agrarpolitik und Landwirtschaft, 116, by Charles P. Loomis	127
Beck, <i>Iare to Midlands</i> , by Henry W. Riecken	127
Wecker, <i>Die Baumvollpacht in U S A und ihre jüngste Entwicklung</i> , by Homer L. Hitt	128
Loehr, <i>Minnesota Farmers' Diaries</i> by F. D. Tetreau	129
Landis, <i>The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Population</i> , by Arthur K. Davis	130
Coady, <i>Masters of Their Own Destiny</i> by Vernon J. Parenton	130
<i>Teachers College Record</i> , Rural Education Number, by Marion B. Smith	130
Sims, <i>The Problem of Social Change</i> by Wogan Wilson	131
Phelps, <i>Contemporary Social Problems</i> by Edgar A. Schuler	133
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i>	134



# Socio-Agricultural Legislation in the Latin-American Countries

*Moses Poblete Troncoso\**

*Translated from Spanish by N. L. Whetten†*

## ABSTRACT

This study indicates the nature of the progress realized by the different Latin American nations in favor of the wage earners among the agricultural population.

The importance of social protective legislation for the agricultural laborer may be seen from the high percentage of agricultural workers in the total population of the Latin American countries. The formation of a social conscience is affirmed in the new political constitutions.

Positive legislation includes the following concerning the protection of agricultural laborers: labor contracts, protection of wages, child labor, reparation for accidents, the right of unionization, health insurance, and housing of rural workers.

## I HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

1 *Conditions of Agricultural Labor in the Inca Empire* During the period of the Inca Empire, the concept of labor was fundamental to the national life. The most important law was to the effect that everybody must always be available for work and that no one could remain idle. Labor was thus obligatory, and this principle was applied rigorously. A ruling called "fraternal law" required all inhabitants of each city or village to help others gratuitously to gather in the harvest and assist with other agricultural work.

Thus, the dignity of labor was one of the basic principles of the Inca economy. Some historians tell of work being performed in the midst of general merriment to the accompaniment of songs and dances. The Inca himself dignified agricultural labor by inaugurating it in the springtime each year with a magnificent ceremony.

The necessities of the Inca people were limited. Food consisted largely of parched corn, potatoes, vegetables seasoned with salt, and, occasionally, meat that had previously been salted and dried in the sun.

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For the purpose of satisfying these and other necessities of life, the Incas gave special attention to increasing production. They worked out methods of utilizing almost all the land in their empire for cultivation, thanks to the organization of "labor in common." Owing to a wonderful system of canals, the vestiges of which still remain in various sections of Peru, they succeeded in irrigating about 135,000 hectares. The population of the Inca Empire was divided into several groups whose effective social unity consisted of the *Ayllu*, formed by the descendants of a common ancestor, by the common possession of land, and other ties.

The lands of the empire were divided into three parts: first, pasture land and woodland which were held in common; second, tillable land which was distributed periodically among the members of the community; and third, the family dwelling, together with a small lot surrounding it which constituted family property.

Possession of a parcel of land which was distributed annually to each family according to the number of its members, was based on two fundamental conditions: (1) being natives and residents of the *Ayllu*, and (2) mandatory cultivation of the allotted holding. In the Inca era there existed a kind of maxim concerning the obligation of working the land in order to retain its possession. As stated by the historian Acosta this reads as follows: "He who does not work has no share."

According to an ancient custom, the heads of families that for various reasons could not work the parcel of land which fell to them in the annual distribution could solicit the assistance of other members of the community. This system, called *Minka*, may be considered the embryo of cooperative production; those who received assistance from others in working their plots had to be willing to reciprocate by working for those who had helped them.

2. *Conditions of Agricultural Labor During Colonial Times.* The Spaniards devoted themselves in America to the task of conquering and taming the Indians and of organizing economic life. From the very beginning of colonization, Spain decreed a series of laws setting forth regulations to which colonizers and authorities must subject themselves in their relations with the Indians. The *Leyes de Indias* constitute the principal body of legislative enactments on this subject.

From the beginning of the Spanish conquest there was a system *en vogue* called *Las Encomiendas* which was "a right granted through

royal benevolence to the Spaniards in America who had rendered service to the crown, to receive and collect tribute from the Indians."

These taxes, which the Indians could scarcely ever pay, were transformed into personal gratuitous services which the Indians must perform for the *encomenderos*, or owners of the *encomiendas*, to whom were given large extensive holdings of land together with all the Indians that lived therein. This was the origin of the *mita* or personal obligatory service on the part of the Indians in favor of the large land holders. Each year a third of the Indians were required to work on the estate of the *encomendero*, and if the latter did not have sufficient work he could hire them out and collect their wages for himself.

The system of *encomiendas* developed throughout the entire Ibero-American continent and may be considered as the origin of the large agricultural holding or *latifundium* which even now predominates in almost all countries of Spanish origin. In this regard, the history of the Spanish conquest is especially interesting: on the one hand, the anxiety for riches on the part of the conquistadores led them to use the work of the Indians in unlimited fashion; and on the other hand, the pledge of the central authorities in Spain to the ideals of humanity and justice were intended to protect the Indians and improve their sorrowful conditions.

Let us see what the regulations were which the central power decreed for the benefit of the Indians working in agriculture. We have said that the Spanish regime maintained a system of unremunerated and forced labor known by the name of *mita*. This was used with respect to agricultural labor for the benefit of the *encomenderos* and the authorities and priests. The *Leyes de Indias* (Title XII, Book VI) prescribed that the Indians should not enter a second *mita*, in order that they might be able to work on their own lands and on the lands of the Indian communities.

Other laws were to the effect that the Indians could not be detained at forced labor for excessive periods of time, that they could return to their homes, that the Indians "working at *mita* should be well treated and should be sold subsistence and clothing at moderate prices" (*Leyes de Indias*, Title XII, Book VI).

Additional laws expressly stated that the Indians were to remain free and not be subjected to slavery and that they could not be transferred to any other holder nor could they be sold with the *haciendas*; in other words, they could not be hired out nor sold as slaves (*Leyes de Indias*, Title X, Book VI).

Other stipulations set forth in the *Leyes de Indias* referred to the regulation of wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of work as well as the rights and obligations of workers and landlords.

As to wages, the laws stated that they should be high enough to provide the necessities of life for the Indian. They prescribed that the wage should be fixed according to the quality of the work, time, cost of living, and convenience of the work, and that these appraisements were to be made by the viceroys and other authorities after having consulted "practical persons in all types of work." Some laws prohibited that wage payments be made *in kind* and prescribed that payment be made every Saturday directly to the Indians in the presence of authorities in order to avoid abuses.

Concerning hours of labor, the viceroys were to determine its duration, when pertaining to forced labor, leaving time for the Indians to work their own lands. Work was not to begin before sunrise, and not to continue after sunset.

Regarding subsistence for the workers, the laws stated that this was to be sold to them at a lower price than to other people. Storehouses were to be created in order that subsistence and clothing at moderate prices could be sold to the Indian workers by the State without its receiving any financial profit. (*Leyes de Indias*, Law 16, Title I, Book VI.) In addition to wages, the laws stated that landlords were to furnish their workers with lunch, supper, and lodging; and in case of sickness were to provide physicians, at their own expense, and pay the cost of burial for those who died.

The *Leyes de Indias* contained likewise a series of regulations designed to protect the work of Indian women and children; they prohibited the work of Indians that were not old enough to pay taxes (under 18 years of age), permitting them to work only at herding animals. They prohibited women from being forced to work on the *haciendas* (Law 20, Title XIII, Book IV).

The workers could leave and spend the night at home, but if this were not possible or they did not wish to, they were to be given shelter by the landlords so that they would be protected from severe weather. The owners of the *haciendas* were required to build shelters for this purpose.

In spite of this advanced protective legislation designed for the benefit of the Indian workers, they fell victims of abuse, oppression, and of excess labor. The *Leyes de Indias* were not complied with and served,

at most, only as a manifestation of the humane spirit of the central government of Spain.

## II. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF AGRICULTURE IN LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES DURING THE REPUBLIC

*The Existence of the Large Holding or Latifundium the Principal Obstacle to the Improvement of Conditions Among Agricultural Workers.* The countries of the American continent may be characterized by the large amount of agricultural land and by the sparse distribution of population. On the whole, nearly all the Latin-American nations are found at present in the agrarian stage of economy. Only in a very small number of them is there any appreciable amount of industrial development.

We must remember that when the independence of the Spanish-American countries was proclaimed, the rights of the aborigines to their lands were not respected. These lands were distributed by the governments in the form of large grants to influential persons on a temporal basis, many of whom took definitive control of them, or rented them for long periods of time, or bought them outright. Thus have arisen in many American countries the large holdings, or *latifundias*, some of them containing several million hectares.

Under these conditions, the system of cultivation became extensive rather than intensive, with few exceptions, and the large proprietors have exploited in the past, and at present continue to exploit, only a very small part of their domains. The repercussions of this system have been fatal for economic and social progress. In many Latin-American countries production is not great enough to satisfy the needs of the people. Therefore, they find it necessary to import large quantities of agricultural products and their derivatives, in spite of the existence of much unused land.

The large holding, therefore is antisocial in the sense that it does not fulfill the function of producing sufficient food products for the subsistence of the people. Moreover, the large holding offers employment to a very restricted group of the population. Agricultural statistics from all countries seem to indicate that a better division of agricultural holdings would result not only in more efficient production, but would provide more employment for labor and would allow for an increase in the population.

Furthermore, the large agricultural proprietors have fostered undesirable living conditions for the agricultural workers in their employ;

low wages, inadequate diet, and poor lodging have been characteristics of agricultural labor on the *latifundias* of the continent, all of which make for a low standard of living for the working people. Thus, the large holdings have been an obstacle to general social progress. This brief article does not permit us to elaborate further concerning this interesting aspect of socioeconomic life on the Latin-American continent.

### III. SOCIO-AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION IN LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

1. *Extent of the Problem.* The importance of social protective legislation for the agricultural laborer may be seen from the high percentage of the total population of the Latin-American countries which consists of workers in agriculture. According to statistics of 1934, the agricultural population in various American countries was as follows: Mexico, 3,490,000 persons, which represents 63 per cent of the active population of the country, the latter consisting of 5,535,000 persons; Cuba, 461,100 persons, representing 48.6 per cent of the active population; and Chile, 506,300 persons out of a total active population of 1,337,800, or 37.8 per cent.

2. *Latin-American Political Constitutions and the Protection of Agricultural Workers.* One of the evolutionary characteristics experienced by the Latin-American nations in the twentieth century consists of the formation of a social conscience based on the ideals of justice and human solidarity, reflected in the general economic and juridical life, and incorporated into the new political constitutions of America. These principles serve as bases for the labor laws now being formulated. Of these social principles, which apply to all categories of workers including agricultural workers, we shall mention the most important. First, the affirmation that *labor is a social duty* was proclaimed in the new political constitution of Brazil of November 10, 1937 (Articles 135 and 136); in the new political constitution of Colombia of August 1, 1936 (Article 17); in the new political constitution of Uruguay of March 24, 1937; in the new political constitution of Venezuela of July 16, 1936; and in the recent political constitution of Ecuador in August, 1938.

Another social postulate contained in the new American constitutions and applying to all workers is the affirmation that *it is the duty of the state to protect the worker*, regulating his conditions of labor in accordance with certain fundamental principles which constitute a minimum of social protection. The Mexican constitution of February 5, 1937, un-

der special heading number six, entitled "Concerning Labor and Social Insurance," sets forth the basic social legislation which should develop in the future and prescribes that "The Union Congress and the State Legislatures should formulate laws concerning labor based on the following formulas which should govern the work of laborers of all kinds" (Articles 27 and 123). It then lists, among others, the following objectives: the restriction of hours of labor, the protection of female workers, child labor and the labor of youth, weekly rest, periods of rest for the working mother without reduction of pay, equality of wages for male and female, minimum wages, the responsibility of employers for labor accidents and certain types of sickness, the right of unionization, etc.

The constitution of Chile of September 18, 1925, assures to all inhabitants the right to work and a minimum of social well-being. Similar provisions to those found in the Mexican constitution are contained in the constitutions of Brazil of November 10, 1937; in that of Colombia already mentioned; in those of Uruguay, Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia, and that of Salvador of November 20, 1938; and in the recent constitution of Nicaragua of April, 1939, the most recent of all.

Apart from these general principles of a social character applying to all workers, some of the American constitutions contain a special protectory provision for agricultural laborers. Thus, the new constitution of Ecuador, September, 1938, asserts that the state will protect the rural worker and that the law will definitely regulate conditions of work in conformity with principles set forth in detail. Similarly, the constitution of Bolivia of October 29, 1938, asserts that the state will devise protectory measures for the health and life of workers, including agricultural laborers, and see that they have healthful living quarters. Similar measures are also found in the constitutions of Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

It is necessary for us now to examine the form in which positive legislation has achieved the juridical realization of social concepts concerning the protection of agricultural workers. We shall now discuss the principal legal institutions of a regulatory nature concerned with this problem.

3. *Labor Contracts.* Legislation concerning labor contracts applicable to agricultural workers may be divided into two types: In the first category are found those countries in which labor contracts are applicable to all paid workers without any distinction concerning their type of work. In the second are those where legislation applies especially

to agricultural workers. Among the group of countries having legislation of the first type, listed alphabetically, may be mentioned Chile, in which the first article of the labor code of May 13, 1931, regulates labor contracts, thus guaranteeing the rights of workers. These provisions apply to all workers, including agricultural workers. But in the Chilean code there is also one special title concerned with agricultural laborers (No. VIII, Articles 75-82).

In Ecuador are found various laws regulating labor contracts, some of which apply to agricultural labor, the most important ones being those of January 21, 1936. In Guatemala are found numerous laws protecting labor contracts among agricultural workers. We shall mention the labor law of April 30, 1936, the law regulating the control of agricultural workers of June 30, 1936, in addition to the decrees of September 24, 1933, and December 16, 1936, and the most recent decree of April 20, 1938, concerning the protection of agricultural workers.

In Mexico, the Federal Labor Law of 1931, which is a veritable labor code, contains a series of regulations concerning labor contracts which also apply to agricultural workers, the only difference being that for the latter the contracts may be verbal such as found in the Chilean code.

In Nicaragua, labor contracts for agricultural workers are regulated by the law of February 19, 1919. In Peru, several provisions deal with protecting labor contracts of agricultural workers, principally Indians; in the new civil code of August 30, 1936, is found Title VI, Section 5 of Book V dealing with labor contracts; it sets forth the general principles of labor contracts which are also applicable to agriculture.

The labor law of Venezuela of August 1, 1936, regulating labor contracts in all its ramifications, states specifically that it applies to agricultural enterprises (Article 8).

We must mention a special type of labor contract in agriculture: *el enganche* (the decoy), common to almost all American countries and which has given rise to numerous abuses; fortunately, various types of legislation have tried to curtail these abuses. Nearly all the countries have passed regulations in this respect: Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and all Central America and Mexico.

4. *Protection of the Wages of Agricultural Laborers.* There is a great deal of modern social legislation in America protecting the wages of agricultural labor, which for a long time have been low and subject to abuse by means of the *truck-system*. We shall examine briefly the nature of this legislation.

In Argentina, the law of January 5, 1925, states that wages must be paid in national currency. In Chile, the labor code contains several provisions designed to protect the integrity of wages, fixing their payment in national currency, at frequent intervals, and also establishing a minimum wage by mixed commissions. In Brazil, the law of January 14, 1935, established a minimum wage which was supposed to be "high enough to satisfy the normal necessities for food, lodging, clothes, sanitation, and transportation"; this wage was to be fixed by representative commissions. In Bolivia, by means of the supreme decree of the first of June, 1936, and augmented by that of March 19, 1937, a minimum wage is provisionally set for the entire country pending the ascertaining of the cost of living in the various sections of the country. In Costa Rica, the law of November 22, 1934, creates a commission on minimum wages for each section of the republic. This applies especially to agricultural workers; and by means of the law of August 21, 1937, minimum wages are set for agricultural workers. In Cuba, through the law of November 30, 1934, the national commission on minimum wages was created and its duties prescribed by other later decrees; sub-commissions are charged with the fixing of minimum wages that must be paid according to zones and industries, including agriculture. In Ecuador, various laws serve to protect wages. The minimum wages of manual and agricultural laborers were fixed by decree No. 106 of December 30, 1936; by the decree of February 4, 1937, the hours of labor for agricultural laborers working in the mountains and coastal regions were regulated. Finally, the law of January, 1938, sets forth a general regulation protecting wages, including those of farm laborers. In the Dominican Republic, the law of November 13, 1934, regulates wages and hours of work, prohibiting payment in promissory notes, coupons, chips, etc. In Guatemala, several laws protect the wages of agricultural workers. A resolution on July 19, 1923, set minimum wages for agricultural workers, and another of January 28, 1936, regulated their minimum wage in certain regions.

In Mexico, the Political Federal Constitution of February 5, 1917, provides for the fixing of minimum wages to be established by special commissions to be created in each municipality. The Federal Labor Law set forth in the constitution regulates the functions of the commissions.

Numerous other provisions of the Federal Labor Law protect the integrity of wages by requiring payment in money and at frequent intervals. The executive power through the act of September 7, 1937, created a national commission on minimum wages.



In Peru, regulations have existed for a long time protecting the wages of agricultural workers, mostly Indians, in the mountainous sections. The law of October 16, 1916, No. 8265, set up a minimum wage and required its payment in cash. The new Peruvian constitution of April 9, 1933, prescribes the promulgation of laws concerning minimum wages. Furthermore, the new civil code of Peru of 1936 concerning collective bargaining states that "it is assumed that the payment of wages will be in cash."

In Uruguay, prior to the new constitution of 1934 which provides for the just remuneration of labor, there existed a minimum wage for rural workers employed in agricultural or cattle-raising enterprises, established by the law of February 15, 1923, and the subsequent laws of 1924.

Finally, in Venezuela, the labor law of July 16, 1936, contains a series of regulations tending to protect wages, insisting that these must be paid in legal tender at the place of work, and prescribing the setting up of a minimum wage. These regulations apply to agricultural workers.

5. *Child Labor.* The new social legislation of the American countries fixes the minimum age at which children may be admitted to agricultural labor at 12 years. Such is the case with the labor code of Chile mentioned above, the Federal Labor Law of Mexico, etc.

6. *The Reparation for Accidents in Agricultural Work.* Latin-American social legislation in recent years has made effective progress in extending indemnity for labor accidents, which used to be for the benefit of industrial workers only, to laborers working in agriculture. The Argentine law No. 9688 of October 11, 1915, concerning indemnity for labor accidents, applies to agricultural and forestry workers engaged in transportation or to accidents received while servicing motors that are not running. This law was amplified by the decrees of May 21 and June 21, 1930, and of February 19, 1932. In Bolivia, the law of January 19, 1924, concerning labor accidents applies to agricultural and forestry workers wherever these enterprises involve machinery.

In Brazil, law No. 3724 of January 15, 1919, concerning reparation for labor accidents, includes in its benefits agricultural workers in enterprises using motors. This law, completely revised by decree No. 24637, July 10, 1934, amplifies the scope of the law and applies it to all agricultural workers regardless of whether or not they are working with machinery.

In Chile, the provisions of the labor code of 1931 concerning indemnification for labor accidents benefits all categories of agricultural laborers (Article 261).

In Cuba, the new law concerning labor accidents, No. 2687 of November 15, 1933, which displaced that of 1916, expressly states in Article II that it applies to agricultural and forestry enterprises, thus benefiting the workers of these industries.

In Mexico, the Federal Labor Law grants indemnification for labor accidents to agricultural workers.

The indemnification law for labor accidents of Ecuador of December 6, 1928, protects workers in agriculture.

In Uruguay, the new regulation concerning labor accidents, set forth in the decree of January 22, 1936, benefits the workers in agricultural enterprises.

Finally, the labor law of Venezuela of August 1, 1936, provides for indemnification for labor accidents in agricultural enterprises when motors are used.

7. *The Right of Unionization of Agricultural Workers.* Concerning the right of unionization for agricultural workers, apart from the express provisions of numerous Spanish-American constitutions which recognize this right for all laborers, special laws expressly grant it: the labor code of Chile of 1931; the Federal Labor Law of Mexico of 1931; the labor law of Venezuela in 1936; decree No. 2605 of November 7, 1933, in Cuba (a union law); the law of August 19, 1936, concerning obligatory unionization in Bolivia; law No. 83 of June 23, 1931, in Colombia; in the same country, law No. 78 of November 19, 1919, recognizes the right of farm laborers to strike, this also being permitted by law in Chile and Mexico.

8. *Health Insurance for Agricultural Workers.* Chile was the first American country which established obligatory social insurance for the entire wage-earning population including agricultural laborers, by law No. 4054 of September 8, 1934. The law applies to all workers under 65 years of age that earn a wage of less than 8,000 *pesos*. The law grants to agricultural workers medical attention in case of sickness, medicine, hospitalization, monetary subsidy, a pension in case of disability, a retirement pension in case of old age, and special insurance benefits to women and children. For the benefit of rural workers there have been created throughout the country relief offices with medicines,

permanent nurses, and medical service: 374 rural offices operate in the country and 149 rural medical stations.

In Ecuador, the law of December 5, 1935, created general obligatory social insurance and established for this purpose the National Institute of Insurance. The institute must carry out a system of insurance against labor accidents, sickness, and old age, to which all wage workers are subject without exception. It applies to all persons of both sexes from 14 to 65 years of age, including agricultural workers.

In Peru, a social insurance law was approved on August 12, 1936. The law covers risks of sickness, maternity, disability, old age, and death. It applies to all workers under 60 years of age and grants them medical assistance, drugs, and hospitalization, in addition to a monetary remuneration in case of sickness, medical assistance, and obstetrical service for female workers; monetary indemnification during sickness for maternity cases; and a pension for disability and a pension for old age.

9. *Housing for Rural Workers.* One aspect of protective social legislation for the agricultural worker deals with lodging conditions in the country districts.

In Chile, a series of laws designed to improve housing in general also applies to the housing of agricultural workers. The law of February 12, 1931, concerning the development of low-cost housing; that of January 26, 1935, concerning financing of public housing; and that of September 30, 1936, which created "The Department of Public Housing"—all these refer to the various aspects of the problem.

In Colombia, the law of November 25, 1936, refers to the construction of "family farmhouses" for workers. The Federal Labor Law of Mexico imposes on the landlords the obligation of providing agricultural workers with sanitary and adequate lodging.

In Peru, law No. 3019 of December 27, 1918, requires that the landlords who employ more than 50 workers construct camps which will provide free hygienic shelter for workers.

*Conclusions.* The length of this article does not permit us to give a more detailed account of the protective social legislation for agricultural workers in Latin America. Nevertheless, we hope that this study will serve to indicate the nature of the progress realized by the different Latin-American nations in favor of the wage earners among the agricultural population.

# Social Theory and Social Action†

Carl C. Taylor\*

## ABSTRACT

The issue implicit in the topic, "Social Theory and Social Action," is that of successfully developing the science of sociology by doing practical research. It is not a question of either-or, as though the two were incompatible; the real issue is finding and using the techniques of research that sociology can bring to bear on the further discovery of knowledge which will contribute to the science of sociology on the one hand and to intelligent social action on the other. With agricultural action programs opening the gates of opportunity to the sociologist by furnishing real laboratories and elaborate funds for study, and by asking questions to which their administrators need practical answers, the sociologist has a rare opportunity to put himself on the spot and use his knowledge to be of service to both the public and to his science. Sociology as a science will probably grow only to the extent that it makes itself useful to programs of social action.

The attempt is made in this year's program of our society to tie together theoretical and practical considerations of two basic problems in rural life. I have chosen to make my address on a topic in keeping with these considerations. The topic, "Social Theory and Social Action," joins the issues of developing sociology by doing practical research.

In a doctor's dissertation written over twenty years ago, I said, "It is imperative that the social sciences win for themselves the acceptance of their generalizations as trustworthy. If they are to beget this trust they must utilize not only the data of the other sciences but also to a large degree the technology by which these other sciences became exact. The choice may seem to resolve itself into the question of whether sociology desires to discover and reveal facts as human experiences or whether it prefers to sacrifice the soul of these facts for the sake of being scientific."<sup>1</sup> After twenty years of study, research, and teaching in the field of sociology and a half that number of years in dealing directly and in some cases administratively with programs of social action, I take my text today not from the sentences just quoted but from two other sentences which I find in that thesis, namely, "The only

† Presidential address, before the Rural Sociological Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 27, 1939.

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<sup>1</sup> Carl C. Taylor, "The Social Survey and The Science of Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXV, No. 6 (May, 1920), 731-756.

difference, as far as the sociologist is concerned, between a practical fact and a scientific fact should be that a practical fact is a fact at work and a scientific fact is that same fact subjected to measurement and correlated with others of its kind. The expert and the sociologist are not necessarily one, but they are mutually helpful and cooperative in the development of sociology as a science."<sup>2</sup> I have a conviction that sociology will develop into a science, if at all, by dealing with living phenomena and actual social situations; that these situations all about us have developed into public concerns; and that sociology today, like economics twenty-five years ago, is on the verge of outstanding development; but that this development will be tremendously conditioned by the willingness or unwillingness of sociologists to render service to action programs.

Administrators of federal, state, county, and community programs, and leaders in the fields of education, religion, welfare, and recreation, in increasing numbers, are seeking understanding of phenomena and processes, to which social research can make definite contributions. Sociologists are asked to analyze social trends, to study great public movements, to furnish social statistics in many fields, and to contribute interpretation of specific situations which necessitate an understanding of social organization and human behavior. Social objectives are quite commonly named as the prime criteria by which those in charge of practical programs measure both maladjustments and adjustments, and one of the greatest opportunities for social research is furnished by the developing consciousness of the need to understand the social and cultural factors which are causative in creating the maladjustment or which must be used in accomplishing the adjustment. Agricultural action agencies are definitely asking for more exact information on population shifts and changes, on relations of levels of living to natural resources, and on relations of the various aspects of community and institutional organization and life to county land-use planning and resettlement. They want to know more about the economic and social stratification of land tenure groups, the causes and significance of the growing number of disadvantaged families in rural areas, and the behavior and thought techniques by which farm people catch step with changing conditions within and without agriculture. They are even inquiring what is known about the farmer as a personality, about rural life as a body of culture, and about the whys and wherefores of the

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 740.

participation or lack of participation of farm people in the democratic planning for rural welfare.

Opportunities for the study of cultural factors which condition the geographic spacing and institutional organization of rural society are created by the new impulse to conserve the soil and accomplish better land utilization. The recognition that a portion of the roots of some of our most distressing agricultural problems are social, psychological, and cultural opens the gates and creates the need for types of research new to rural sociologists. The tardy but developing recognition that we have something approaching rural slums; that the need for adequate rural housing ranks equally with the need for adequate urban housing; that farm unemployment, at least farm under-employment or ineffective employment, is widespread; and that rural poverty has gradually crept up on approximately one-third of the farm families of the Nation furnishes the sociologist his first outstanding opportunity to study the pathological elements in our rural society. To those who are interested in the fields most generally covered by the social psychologist and the cultural anthropologist, there is an outstanding opportunity to study in rural life the process of social change. Commercialization and mechanization of agriculture are moving with increasing acceleration. The impact of the world at large on rural life is steadily increasing; and almost everything about rural life, from customary occupational practices to institutionalization, leadership, and ideologies, is in the process of change. Considerable change is initiated by conscious planning of agricultural programs; and all planning programs must take cognizance of changes which are occurring, whether planned or not. The impulse to plan and programs of planning create the opportunity for the sociologist to study, under the microscope as it were, these techniques and processes.

Rural sociology has at times and in some places not been too welcome to the exact scientists and the so-called practical men in the field of agriculture. It has at times had to create its own opportunities and thrust itself in where it was not invited. Today, it is being asked to make its contribution in at least a score of specific fields of activity. The issues before it are: What contributions does it have to make out of an established body of knowledge? And what techniques of research can it bring to bear on the further discovery of knowledge which will contribute to the science of sociology on the one hand and to intelligent social action on the other?

"Knowledge is developed," said Cooley, "for the sake of its function in giving us adjustments to, and power over, the conditions under which we live."<sup>3</sup> Sociological knowledge is no exception to this rule. It is not always easy to obtain in precise terms and therefore often not easy to communicate to others, but its function does not thereby change. It can be of assistance in accomplishing adjustments to, and giving power over, the conditions under which we live.

There is, however, a vast difference between the universe of knowledge and the universe of science. Not all knowledge is included in science nor is science the sole generator of knowledge and understanding. Science is as narrow as its methods and knowledge is as broad and diverse as human experience. All of us know persons in many walks of life—politicians, salesmen, public speakers, diplomats, football coaches, lovers, parents, or gang leaders—who know human beings, understand human relations, and are able to handle social situations far more successfully and with greater precision than are those who are far more expert than they in statistics or even sociometrics. With men of such understanding the sociologist must join hands in an attempt to be useful in dealing with anything approaching practical concrete social situations. As a matter of fact, social research, more than any other type of research, must accept the fact that a large portion of its task is to verify by scientific techniques knowledge that is now in existence. Concerning this fact, there need be no discouragement, for as Poincaré says, "A new result is of value, if at all, when, in unifying elements long known but hitherto separate and seeming strangers one to another, it suddenly introduces order where apparently disorder reigned."<sup>4</sup> Comte's contention was that no succeeding science could become exact or even develop to any advanced stage until the preceding sciences had become exact and that while each new science would be less exact than its forerunners, it would throw a flood of light on the fields which they had traversed. If this be true, it implies that it is in the very nature of sociology that it traverse the same fields that other sciences have traversed and traverse some of them many times in order to build up a verified body of knowledge by repeated observations. It is probably a legitimate indictment of sociologists to say that many of them have been more interested in becoming scientists or even becoming

<sup>3</sup> Charles Horton Cooley, "The Roots of Social Knowledge," *The American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1926, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> H. Poincaré, *The Foundations of Science*, authorized translation by George Bruce Halsted (New York: The Science Press, 1929), p. 371.

methodologists than they have been in furnishing this flood of light. Believing this to be true and knowing how much the light is needed, I hope that I may not seem too critical of our own fraternity while I give some attention to the issue of developing sociology by making it useful.

The sociologist desires to be scientific for two reasons: first, because he is anxious to utilize the best known and most thoroughly tested methods of gaining knowledge and transmitting it to others; and second, because he is anxious to give to the knowledge he gains the trustworthiness which the status of science guarantees. Both of these are worthy and useful aspirations, but sociology has from its origin been cursed by the sins of the exponents of extreme conceptualism and extreme empiricism. The average ivory tower conceptualist is fearful that he may sully his reputation by doing something short of perfectly air-tight logical thinking if he allows himself to become interested in practical problems, and the extreme empiricist always runs the risk of furnishing elaborate statistics which appear to carry much more understanding than they have power to convey.

Even more detrimental to the development of sociology than the one-sidedness of either of these schools of sociology is the amount of time wasted in arguments between them and the damage they do to those whom they train either as technicians in quantification or as dialecticians, but seldom as both. In the field of rural sociology these sins have been as apparent as elsewhere. We have suffered *from* the work of those who could only count and correlate, and we have suffered *for* those who were burdened with the conviction that they were destined to be sociological Einsteins; from those who have counted everything from bath tubs to basic attitudes and from those who have paraded the dogmas of their recent graduate teachers and searched the literature from the census reports to Hammurabi for authorities and documentations. Each of these schools of thought has large contributions to make to the field of social research, and it is unfortunate that they should so often find themselves opposed to each other in sociological discussions. For the sake both of developing science and of making scientific findings usable, the two need to be used together. Concepts alone build only philosophies or religions. Facts alone build only census tables. The choice does not resolve itself into an issue of whether there is accumulated a body of verifiable observations or a body of logically airtight classical concepts, but rather into the issue of how the soci-



ologist and sociology can contribute to an understanding of social phenomena and social processes which constitute a part of daily life and problems and which will probably be a part of the life and problems of tomorrow.

Fields and laboratories filled with social phenomena stare the rural sociologist in the face on all hands, in terms of the problems with which the action programs in agriculture wrestle. There is not only need for sociological knowledge in the carrying out of these programs, but there is the outstanding opportunity to contribute to the development of scientific sociological knowledge by working in the fields and with the problems which confront those who are responsible for, or are participants in, action programs. "To add purpose to science," says James Bossard, "is neither to degrade nor corrupt it, but, if the experience of other sciences counts for aught, to enrich it."<sup>5</sup> Sociology need not lose its objectivity in the rendering of practical service. It can contribute objective attitudes toward social problems, give objective descriptions of social facts, search out causal relationships, appraise the relative importance of facts, and without stultifying itself in the least, even suggest methods of social improvement. There are facts which are relevant to both science and action. All the sociologist needs to do is search out these facts, use sound methods in analyzing them, and then collate them with other facts to build science.

Something further needs to be said, however, about the extent to which the sociologist can adopt *in toto* the methods of the so-called "exact" scientists. Undoubtedly he must start in the same way they do, with deductions; undoubtedly also he must work as they do, with inductions. The body of deductions constitutes his frame of reference and the inductions constitute his research data. Broadly speaking, it is the function of deduction to postulate relevant questions and the function of induction, in so far as possible, to find answers to these questions. The assumption in any field of research is that there is considerable known about a general body of phenomena, but that there is yet hidden in the components or elements of this body of phenomena factors, influences, or relationships which, if analyzed, will reveal greater understanding of the total or composite body of phenomena. Upon this assumption the so-called exact sciences have sought for and accomplished by various techniques of isolating elements a factorization of

<sup>5</sup> Jas. H. S. Bossard, "Applied Sociology and Major Social Problems," *Social Forces*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (December, 1932).

their universes, and so universal has been the process that it is assumed by some to be the necessary first step in scientific analyses. When, however, Kari Pearson and others postulate the isolation of elements or components as the first necessary step in empirical research, they assume two things: first, that the element or component can be isolated; and second, that it can be analyzed and at least to some extent understood as an isolate. In the fields of social and psychological phenomena, this assumption is in many cases questionable, for it is based upon the further assumption that the isolates or elements are relatively fixed and rigid. Social phenomena are seldom of this nature. The social construct not only is not fixed and rigid, but its so-called elements or components are even less fixed and rigid than the construct itself. As a matter of fact, the component in many cases has no fixity at all except as such fixity is attained as a living, functioning, part of the whole. To isolate it, therefore, is often to misunderstand it or at least to fail to understand it.

In attempting to use the methods of exact science, the sociologist confronts another basic difficulty in the fact that human personalities and social situations are modifiable and often affected by influences at great distance in both time and space. This fact is of great significance in the consideration of both the formulation of sociological laws and in the application of sociological generalizations to specific and practical situations. In essence, it means that a generalization, in order to be valid concerning all of the diverse phenomena to which it must apply, furnishes only a small portion of the explanation of any given phenomenon. It means further that few sociological generalizations or laws can be prescribed as formulas for the complete solution of even one, much less many, special social problems. It does not mean that there is no practical value in distilling out of countless empirical observations that generalization, or those generalizations, no matter how thin or rarified they may be, which are in fact applicable to whole universes of phenomena, and more important yet, are essential to the understanding of each given phenomenon.

But, after ample data have been gathered and analyzed and sound scientific generalizations have been formulated, the sociologist, because of the diversity and modifiability of the great body of phenomena with which he has dealt in deriving his generalization, finds that the truth of the law or generalization which he enunciates must be filtered back into a number of social situations, each one of which is composed of

elements and relationships not comprehended in the generalization. This is to say that while the generalization is true, it is only a small part of the known truth about any given social situation. To its relatively meager so-called scientific content must be added the rich and generally elaborate folk knowledge of those who are nearer to or probably a part of the situation. This inevitably mixes science with common sense; and, while to do this may harm the sociologist in his status among esoteric scientists, it helps him to understand the phenomena with which he works and expands his universe of behavior beyond the rigid confines of pure empiricism. Sociology must therefore be pragmatic to the extent that it follows the ceaseless pulsation from concrete reality to abstract concepts and from abstract concepts back to concrete reality.<sup>6</sup> In doing so it not only guarantees to itself the right to use abstract reasoning, but also guarantees that it deals with concrete situations. It might be well to hearken back to Ward, who followed Comte, in asserting that "the practical applications of the sciences increase with their complexity" and that "phenomena grow more susceptible to artificial modification with the increasing complexity of the phenomena."<sup>7</sup> I would stretch these generalizations into the positive statement that *scientific knowledge grows by the ceaseless process of distilling abstract generalizations from numerous empirical observations and the mixing of these generalizations with folk knowledge*. In other words, it grows only to the extent that it is widely recognized as applicable; and it is so recognized only when it can be converted into common sense.

The generalizations presented above concerning the nature of science, the methods of science, sociology as a science, the sociologist as a scientist, and the relationship of sociology to action programs were arrived at by the writer through what he believes is a very realistic wrestling with very concrete situations and circumstances and with the opportunities for research on the part of rural sociologists in relation to agricultural action programs now in existence. In order to test these generalizations in a more concrete fashion, I shall use as illustrations or examples two specific areas of research in which the rural sociologist has worked for many years and in which he is now being requested to make concrete contributions.

The administrations responsible for the promotion and operation of

<sup>6</sup> See Florian Znaniecki, *The Laws of Social Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), chap. i.

<sup>7</sup> Lester F. Ward, *Applied Sociology* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906), p. 8.

a number of the present programs in agriculture are specifically requesting rural sociologists to answer the question: What standard of living should a farm family in this or that area have? They assert they are unable to plan the work of land use adjustment, of soil conservation, of agricultural price adjustment, or of farm security without having something approaching a prescription for the amount of money or the quantity and quality of goods needed for an acceptable standard of living for farm families. They state further, and without equivocation, that they must predicate their programs of adjustments on the findings which the rural sociologist should, and they believe can, furnish them from standard of living research. In this situation, the rural sociologist is presented a real opportunity and is also put to a real test. He has been doing research on the farm family standard of living for twenty years. Back of this practical field experience lies the work of many predecessors and a fairly large body of both social theory and empirical data.

The first necessary step in attacking this problem in terms of a concrete research project is to state clearly the frame of reference constructed, in fact dictated, by the sociologist's knowledge of what a standard of living is and the factors which condition it. In formulating this frame of reference, he will interpret the quantitative findings of previous studies in these fields, add to them qualitative information furnished by the disciplines of social psychology and cultural anthropology, and more than likely add some value judgments which he, as a student of social phenomena, has a right to have. He need not be worried about adding these value judgments because they are not conclusions in and of themselves, but only necessary parts of the hypotheses which he must construct before he can begin concrete and definitely oriented investigation. His frame of reference could and probably should be stated somewhat as follows: The *standard* of living consists of a body of conscious desires, the fulfillment of which it may be assumed would bring to a family or group of families what they believe would be a relatively high degree of satisfaction; the *level* of living is the extent or degree to which the habits of consumption, in terms of goods and services and personal participation, approaches or fails to approach the *standard* of living.

The basic hypotheses with which field investigation would and probably should be started may be stated as follows:

1. *The level of living will be conditioned by the standard of living as well as by the economic income.*

2. *The standard of living is conditioned by two primary factors: (a) the established habits of the members of the family, and (b) the levels of living of other people whom they constantly observe.*

3. *It is possible to ascertain the normal or modal standard of living for a family or a group of families, and it is possible to measure more or less quantitatively the extent to which this standard of living is approximated by the level of living of a family or a group of families.*

4. *The factors conditioning both the standard of living and the level of living can be identified and described.*

Let us note now what has happened to the situation presented to the rural sociologist by the action agency. First, the action agency has said, "Tell us what level of living the farm people in this area should have, and we will be able to calculate and plan for the production or purchase of the goods and services essential to supplying and maintaining that level of living." Unfortunately, the implication is that the sociologist can supply this concrete information from some body of knowledge already extant. The sociologist in turn has said, "Since the level of living has little practical meaning except as measured in terms of the standard of living, and since the standard of living is conditioned by the social practices and living attainments within the area where the farm is and the family lives, your question cannot be answered without specific local research; and, furthermore, it cannot be answered by assuming that a standard of living can be measured or attained solely by what is either produced out of the soil or purchased in the market, or the two combined. Our study, therefore, must be based upon the testing of the four hypotheses which grow out of our frame of reference on the one hand, and out of the concrete problem which you present on the other hand."

There is no reason to believe that the redefinition of the problem by the sociologist will impose insurmountable obstacles to the research work which his redefinition has made necessary, provided he is willing to focus his study specifically upon answering the question which must be answered before the administrator can move surely in a concrete and detailed attack upon the problem at hand, and provided he does not insist on spending time and money in constructing elaborate and expensive tables of correlation coefficients which will prove to his fellow sociologists that his methodology is sound and his findings erudite.

These provisos, I am inclined to believe, are not only justified, but by following them, the sociologist will find that he has stripped him-

self for the task at hand and that by doing the task, he will definitely contribute findings to the field of social research. When the research is done, the end products should be that: (1) He will have answered the administrator's question as definitely and precisely as it can be answered, will have made it clear that it cannot be more precisely answered, and above all, will have made it clear that it cannot be answered without taking into consideration all of the factors and elements which have been studied. (2) He will have accumulated a much-needed body of research data in one of the major fields of his science, and will have done so by the maximum use of empirical methods and the judicious use of conceptual methods. From the standpoint of pure science, he will have proved, disproved, or at least made maximum use of his hypotheses as research tools, will have refined or maybe redefined his frame of reference, and in the process will have proved that the facts with which the administrator or the action program wrestles constitute basic data in scientific research. Furthermore, he will have proved that he is neither scared nor cynical about working with facts that are of importance to the administrator as well as to the scientist.

Let us take next the field of community research, a field to which sociologists and anthropologists have given almost more attention than all others combined. Furthermore there is no field in which rural sociologists are more interested. Likewise there is no social structure, unless it be the family, so widely used by agricultural action agencies as the rural community. Somewhat in contrast to their attitudes about standards of living, these agencies often assume that they know all they need to about rural communities and so move forward in ways which encounter obstacles which they do not foresee. In a number of instances, however, they have requested rural sociologists to assist them by delineating and even mapping communities, in analyzing their institutional and service patterns, in discovering their natural leaders, and in understanding the extent to which old community alignments may be used to implement or may be expected to thwart or impede contemplated changes of various kinds. Here, again is an invitation and an open opportunity for rural social research.

As in the case of standard of living research, the sociologist is not invited to come in with just anything which he may want to do, but to come in with his frame of reference to discover or develop answers to pretty specific questions. What more need be asked? He has a frame of reference for community research built up out of an elaborate body

of sociological literature in the field of general sociology, rural sociology, social psychology, cultural anthropology, and even sociometrics. Keeping the specific practical problems of the action agency in mind, he should have no difficulty in formulating a number of research projects, the findings from which will be relevant to both science and action programs.

The frame of reference for at least one such project might be stated as follows: Human behavior—whether habitual, attitudinal, or evaluative—is conditioned by community customs and traditions, by community institutional arrangements, and by patterns of association which, although not institutionalized, are buttressed by local opinion and sentiment.

Out of this frame of reference, which is focused on the actual situation with which the action agency deals, definite and worthwhile research could be projected on the following hypotheses:

1. *Rural communities do exist and can be identified in terms of geographic locations and associational patterns.*
2. *The associational patterns within communities can be described in terms of their relative rigidity or resistance to change.*
3. *When the structural and functioning patterns of communities are violated by outside pressure, local resistance develops; when they are used or amplified, local assistance is guaranteed.*

There is no question about the relevance of these hypotheses to the questions raised by the action agency, and I submit that there is no question about their relevance to social theory. If the sociologist's reaction is that we can already answer all the questions which these hypotheses imply, then I want to pose two queries: First, why do we not simply tell these action agencies what we know, and why do they not listen to us? Second, are we sure we do know? The answer to this first query is: They will listen to us when we demonstrate that we do know in terms of situations they know are real, and they will not listen to us until we do. The answer to the second query is: We know something, about enough to formulate a significant frame of reference; but there are many things we do not know about community structures and processes. We do not know to what extent old community alignments and local sentiments will stand up under the impact of outside stimuli. We do not know to what degree they still exist in attitudes and values after they no longer exist in structure or in overt behavior. We do not know accurately the differences which exist from area to area because

of differences in the age of settlement, the ethnic composition of the population, the religious practices and beliefs, the type of farming, the prevalence of modern technology and means of communication, the type and extent of education, and a number of other factors which may be present or may be introduced by the action agency concerned, or by others. In other words, we do not know a lot of things which we should like to know and which action agencies would like to know.

Let us admit or recognize that practical administrators will pose foolish or impossible questions, will insist on us using frames of reference that assume things we believe are fallacies, and will expect us to furnish easy answers to questions which we know are exceedingly difficult. But let us recognize also that action agencies wrestling with rural social problems have supplied more funds for rural social research in the last six years than all the universities, colleges, and foundations combined have supplied in the twenty-five years during which concrete rural social research has been in process. They stand eager and ready to continue to do so if the rural sociologists will place themselves on the spot and stay there until they come through with verifiable or at least clear-cut information which is useful.

Our specialized field of sociology has done a great deal of research in the last twenty-five years, the vast bulk of which was promoted and financed because others than sociologists wanted data and knowledge for practical purposes. Church and school leaders first did some of this research themselves and then asked colleges and foundations to do research for them. The work increased in volume and diversity, nine-tenths of it stimulated by the desire to know answers to practical questions; the Purnell law was passed; the so-called Hoover commissions were organized, and the study of social trends put social research on the map nationally. All of the studies of the National Resources Board are for practical purposes, and the same is true of those sponsored or carried on by the Work Projects Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Farm Security Administration. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics is not only a research but a planning agency. It is, to use the words of Ward, not only supposed to answer the questions of pure science of "What, Why, and How," but the questions of applied science, "What for"; it is not only supposed to "deal with facts, causes, and principles," but with "objects, ends, and purposes."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 5.



This type of research is well under way in all fields of rural social research and is developing not only valuable and significant scientific findings, but also revealing problems hitherto unknown and processes hitherto not understood by administrators responsible for action programs.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the obvious results of this research have been that it has revealed clearly for the first time the presence and location of marked human distress in rural areas; has shown the relation of areas of high birth-rate to the areas of poor natural resources; has brewed concern about farm tenants and laborers, rural youth, rural medical care, and needs for adult education. The simple compilation of the best facts and interpretations available about farm population pressure, migratory labor conditions, and mechanization in agriculture has opened the gates and created the demand by action agencies for social research in these fields. The county land-use planning program is creating a demand for community analyses, standard of living studies, and even for studies in the fields of social psychology and cultural anthropology. The Soil Conservation Service wants to know what institutional and cultural factors create or forestall soil erosion. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration wants to measure and, if possible, predict farmers' opinions and attitudes; and the Farm Security Administration recognizes a whole host of sociological problems with which they believe the sociologist can help. Others seem to have greater faith in the contributions which the sociologist has to make to action programs than we have ourselves. This is partly due to their recently developed discovery of social issues and partly due to the fact that they do not understand social processes. They have analyzed the physical elements in situations, have added to this analyses of the economic elements, and are now asking the sociologist to add analyses of the social, cultural, and psychological elements. It is true that in many cases they have not properly conceived social problems because they have assumed that these processes are residuals rather than concomitants of physical and economic problems; in some cases they have completely misconceived problems

<sup>9</sup> The reader's attention is especially called to the 18 Social Research Reports financed and carried on by the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration) in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; the 17 Research colleges published by the Works Progress Administration and Colleges (See W. P. A. Series II, No. 17); Dwight Sanderson's *Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression* (Bulletin 34, Social Science Research Council, 1937); and the voluminous reports of the National Resources Board.

because they have assumed that the social factor is purely a result, whereas it is most often a part of the cause of the physical and economic situation; and above all they very often, if not most often, assume that the social elements in the situation operate in universes confined by physical and economic boundaries. All of these facts create harassing situations for persons who would like to be left alone to pursue their inquiry into something that interests them but no one else.

Between the time when sociology was started and the present, the social folk knowledge of most of the world has moved on apace; science has become a part of our culture; and enlightened concerns have developed about human behavior and social organization. This social enlightenment has given rise to a consciousness of social problems, and the rise of the consciousness of social problems has created both need and opportunities for social research. It is more than likely that social research projected for any other than practical purposes will in the future find little support. And why should it, especially in the field of rural sociology? There are enough problems for the solution of which action agencies need data and enough social problems and processes which they must yet have revealed to them to keep all of us busy for a generation. It is purely up to us whether we "want to fish, or cut bait."

# On the Identification of the Farmer†

*Paul H. Johnstone\**

## ABSTRACT

Most early agricultural settlers in America derived from lower European social strata, while colonial cities were frequently dominated by representatives of aristocratic and larger commercial interests. Early American agrarianism was therefore by the logic of the situation based upon an anti-aristocratic orientation. The small free-holding class a century or so ago tended generally to identify themselves with the underdog element of society. Since then, however, the complex of social forces that have served to accelerate the commercialization of agriculture and the urbanization of country life, and the educational influence of the professional leadership of agriculture have driven the more prosperous strata of farm people increasingly in the direction of identification economically with the businessman and socially with the urban and small town middle class. Thus while the lower economic strata of farm people are threatened with proletarianization, the split in rural society inherent in that movement is being widened by the movement in the opposite direction of the more prosperous group.

This paper is a discussion of some phases of the identification of the farmer during the period of the last seventy-five or one hundred years. It is based principally upon the inferences drawn from the study of agricultural journals and books and pamphlets about agriculture published in America during the past century. The emphasis is almost wholly upon the nature and trend of change.

Ever since America became a nation, there has been, in agriculture or in close contact with agriculture, a constant and growing element consciously dedicated to reform, improvement, progress—call it what you will—in any case a process of change. This growing element was comprised of, to begin with, aristocratic agricultural societies; then more democratic societies and fair associations; then crusading farm journals; then state boards of agriculture, agricultural colleges, national farm organizations, a federal department of agriculture, state experiment stations, extension services, and so on, with separate academic disciplines developing, and with leadership becoming increasingly professionalized—all of these having been in effect agencies of deliberate and rationalized acculturation. It has been more than a century since

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agricultural life was permitted to grow like Topsy; during the last hundred years its pattern has been altered not only by indigenous forces and by ordinary unplanned acculturation from the urban world, but also by the consciously directed influence of an increasingly powerful group within the agricultural world itself. Interpretation of cultural changes in our agricultural history must take this influence into vital account.

The young American nation inherited from its colonial experience a complex of agrarian traditions that must be suggested at the outset because of their continuing importance. The upper strata of the population of colonial cities were frequently dominated by agents of British commercial interests who tended to identify themselves with trans-Atlantic urban society and interests rather than with the American countryside which it was their function to exploit. In the South, where the large, self-sufficient plantation was served by the city only in the marketing and trans-shipping of cash crops, wealthy landowners were socially, politically, and economically dominant. The center of commercial interests was generally remote, and was served locally by factors who were considered socially inferior, and economically no better than a necessary evil. The planter was often at odds with them, and circumstances thus inclined him to regard industry, commerce, and the town as parasitic and corrupt. Gentlemen farmer, were therefore disposed to accept the ancient agrarian fundamentalism that was given wide intellectual currency in the 18th century as the moral banner of the agricultural revolution that spread from England over the continent.<sup>1</sup>

This agrarian fundamentalism, glorifying as it did the civic and moral virtues of the unspoiled freeman who lived simply and chastely by the sweat of his brow on four *jugera* of land, might seem logically a poor apology for either enclosures in England, physiocracy in France, or slave labor agriculture in America. But it served, none the less; for great gentlemen and landed barons were somehow able to convince themselves when necessary that all the simple virtues ascribed to the small and humble yeoman fitted them. Romantic agrarianism and hostility to distant commercial interests thus united to make possible in the American South the seeming anomaly of a liberal gentry. Actually, the liberalism of this aristocratic agrarianism was ordinarily applied

<sup>1</sup> Paul H. Johnstone, "Turnips and Romanticism," *Agricultural History*, XII (July, 1938), 224-235.

only in cases of conflict with mercantile interests, and otherwise ignored. Nevertheless, it provided the background for rigorous logical extension into a consistently liberal agrarian doctrine. That was the function of Jefferson and Madison and their group. Jeffersonian democracy was the creed *par excellence* of agrarian liberalism. In its insistence upon the moral and political virtues of yeomen farmers, and in its vigorously democratic spirit, it served to identify both virtue and the farmer with the underdog and the rebellious element in society, and as such long remained a vital force in American life. But Jeffersonian democracy, among the landlord aristocracy of the South, became immediately not a socially rebellious spirit, but a dialectic with which to preserve the *status quo* by appeal to Jeffersonian expediences—as, for instance, States' rights—under the name of Jeffersonian principles.

In New England, rural people tended to identify themselves with their community rather than by occupation or social strata, because of the frequency of part-time farming mixed with part-time industry, and because of the political integration and social homogeneity fostered by the township plan of living.

Except in the South, the agricultural settlers were predominantly from the lower classes. They came out of a European tradition embodying horizontal class lines, and in general the antagonisms of these class lines were perpetuated. Because the rank and wealth of the Old World remained principally in the cities, and frequently dominated them both economically and socially, there was double reason for the continuation of the immemorial hostility of countryman to urban culture. For the cities were not only urban, but aristocratic.

As agricultural settlement moved westward, the underdog or rebellious proportion increased rather than diminished. Accordingly, the expansion resulted in an increase of adherence to the agrarian doctrine. But within the Jeffersonian doctrine there had been the seeds of a syndicalist pattern of identification as well as an underdog pattern of identification. And this syndicalist orientation tended to grow in proportion with the westward movement; for industry did not follow as fast; isolated farmsteads became the rule; and self-sufficient communities did not generally develop. Furthermore, when the prairies were reached, the family self-sufficiency of the Eastern farm became impossible; and farmers of necessity became increasingly dependent upon middlemen and transportation systems to connect them with the markets and industries of the East. The indirectness of this economic

mechanism, the rumor of accumulating urban fortunes, and the old symbols of urban wickedness and aristocracy all combined as materials for a reorientation of farmer identification.

Such, in the briefest terms possible, was the general situation roughly a century ago. There still was a strong tendency among rural people, and among their leaders and the agricultural reform element as well, to identify themselves with the rebellious element in society in such a way as to include the urban working man. This was implied in the repeated identification of the enemy of the farmer as the "aristocrat," the "dandy," the "land-shark," the "loan-shark," the "capitalist," and the "monopolist." It was evident in the popular literary theme of glorification of the poor and humble.

Tell me not that he's a poor man,  
That his dress is coarse and bare;  
Tell me not that his daily pittance  
Is a workman's scanty fare.  
Tell me not his birth is humble,  
That his parentage is low;  
Is he honest in his actions?  
That is all I want to know. . . .

Let it be a low, thatch'd hovel;  
Let it be a clay-built cot;  
Let it be a parish work-house—  
In my eye it matters not.  
And, if others will disown him  
As inferior to their caste,  
Let them do it—I befriend him  
As a brother to the last.<sup>2</sup>

This kind of underdog identification was evident in the biting rural denunciation of the urban vogue of prettified refinement that developed in the 1840's. In the long campaign for agricultural and industrial education in the extension of the public school system, farmers united themselves with urban working class people. Aristocratic ideals of education and lack of educational opportunity for the poor were the evils they joined to combat. They talked in terms of "manual training schools" and "industrial universities" for "farmers and mechanics." Jonathan Turner, who more than any other single individual was re-

<sup>2</sup> "Humble Worth," *The American Farmer's Magazine*, XII (October, 1858), 634 (From the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.)

sponsible for the idea of the land grant college, expressed his desires as follows:

The industrial class need a . . . system of *liberal education* for their own class, and adapted to their own pursuits . . . to elevate them, their pursuits, and their posterity to that relative position in human society for which God designed them.<sup>3</sup>

But this unqualified identification of the farmer with the underdog stratum of society was already beginning to lose ground. The classic tradition of agrarian fundamentalism had in it the elements of condemnation of every aspect of urban culture, and as the economic indirectness of an increasingly commercialized agriculture dependent on remote markets began to antagonize farmer groups, as urban workers became increasingly proletarianized by encroachments of the factory system, and as the free farmer in a land of economic opportunity became increasingly conscious of his status as a commercial proprietor, the moral degradation of the city began slowly to be extended to include working class people. Lurid ideas were broadcast of the moral and economic degradation of the urban poor, particularly upon occasions of the nostalgic protest raised then as always against the migration of rural youth to the city. There were repeated warnings against the "city life that *crushes, enslaves, and ruins so many thousands of our young men*, who are insensibly made the victims of *dissipation, of reckless speculation, and of ultimate crime*,"<sup>4</sup> and of the "vice and immorality. . . held up as examples for the unprovided children of unfortunate families."<sup>5</sup>

In the experience of free land and land booms and mushroom growth of towns and cities in the unfolding West, the optimism of the age and the roseate concept of opportunity developed into a boomer psychology. Opportunity was not just opportunity for a home and security, but for wealth. To this was added the self-improvement, self-education vogue with its assumption that merit is rewarded by wealth and fame and finally by that mystic accolade, success. These forces helped to revive the vestiges of the Calvinistic doctrine that the Lord reveals His predilections by mundane favors; and the way was clear, though the movement at first slow, to discard the notion that virtue is

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Alfred Charles True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929), p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> "Poetry and Profit of City Life," *Prairie Farmer*, X (January, 1850), 19.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. C., "The Country and the City," *Prairie Farmer*, X (December, 1850), 379.

associated with poverty. After the Civil War, the success ideology gained momentum rapidly, accompanied by the growing conviction that virtue was to be identified with wealth and the upper social strata, and vice with poverty. By the 1880's and 1890's it was already common to align the virtues and vices as suggested in this excerpt from the *Ohio Practical Farmer* of February 21, 1885:

Here are two grand divisions of society—the honorable and useful, and the poor, the vicious and criminal.<sup>6</sup>

The increased flow of immigration around the middle of the 19th century seems to have been the signal for the growth of new attitudes toward hired help. Many of the more indigent newcomers went to work as hired hands and servants, and some of the innate hostility to foreigners was gradually directed toward the ranks they filled. Preceding the discovery by the farmer that he had a "labor problem" was a period of complaint at the declining quality of hired hands and hired girls: the neighbor boy and the neighbor girl who had filled these functions were supplanted by inferior foreigners of "a class by itself—a distinct caste" whose character and presence had a "tendency to degrade labor."<sup>7</sup> The growing dependence upon cash crops increased the factual basis upon which farmers could develop an employer-consciousness by making more emphatic the need for extra labor during certain seasons. The new spirit was widely evident as early as the 1870's, for by that time farm journals gave much space at times to discussion of labor scarcity. The western yeomanry that once had been exuberantly proud that this was a land of opportunity now complained that the working of the agricultural ladder increased their labor difficulties.

No farmer who has depended upon hired labor, but what has felt more or less vexation and annoyance therefrom. . . . Good farm labor is very scarce, from the fact that as soon as young men get a little ahead, in this country of cheap lands, they make arrangements to secure a farm of their own, marry the girl of their choice, and settle down to a staid and quiet life. This is all very well, but the fact remains that the farmer needs more and better labor, and the question arises how he shall obtain it.<sup>8</sup>

Farmers appear never to have been in a position to sympathize with organized industrial labor. So long as urban workers looked like independent craftsmen, their situation could be regarded sympathetically

<sup>6</sup> "What Are You Reading?" *Ohio Practical Farmer*, LXVII (February 21, 1885), 127.

<sup>7</sup> "Female Help," *New England Farmer*, IX (May, 1857), 247.

<sup>8</sup> "Hired Labor," *Kansas Farmer*, VII (September 15, 1870), 138.



through symbols familiar to the farmer. Thus when in 1851 a group of craftsmen banded together to start a factory of their own, there was sufficient appeal to the entrepreneurial sentiments of the farmer to win enthusiastic approval, under the slogan "Labor is capital."<sup>9</sup> But by the time trade unions of a modern character began to grow, the farmer's consciousness of himself as a proprietor and employer was too great to allow him to be sympathetic. The antipathy to trusts and great accumulations of capital was insufficient to allow sanction of the violent innovation of strikes. Labor unions began to rise in rural eyes as a companion monster of monopoly, both set to prey upon the farmer. "While capital and labor strive to adjust their differences, the farmer peaceably grows the crops to feed both"<sup>10</sup> was the typical agrarian comment of the *Farm Journal* in 1886. There even was at times a tendency to believe that capital and labor acted in collusion. Thus the *Orange Judd Farmer* in 1903 expressed the opinion that

Labor and capital engaged in the manufacture of window glass have apparently united to prevent any others going into the business. By this plan manufacturers expect to absolutely monopolize production and shove up prices at will, and under these circumstances they agree to give their help an increase in wages.<sup>11</sup>

The most profound changes in rural attitudes have generally followed the direction pointed by propaganda and educational campaigns of the previously mentioned reform element in agriculture. To what extent the influence of this element may be naively labelled "cause" is highly problematical; surely there were "causal" reasons for the existence of such an element. The present interest is in the fact that changes in agricultural practices and in patterns of rural living that have affected large numbers of farm people have regularly been preceded by advocacy of these things by the reform element.

One of the longest and most unrelenting propaganda campaigns in history has been directed toward convincing the farmer that he is a businessman. Before the Civil War, agricultural journals and reformers began to reproach the farmer for lack of "system" and pointed out that the farmer should keep books and count costs after the example set by merchants and manufacturers. "Does any one believe," complained the *Monthly Journal of Agriculture* in 1847, "that a merchant or manufac-

<sup>9</sup> *New England Farmer*, III (April 26, 1851), 150. (From *New York Farmer and Mechanic*.)

<sup>10</sup> *Farm Journal*, X (June, 1886), 102.

<sup>11</sup> *Orange Judd Farmer*, XXXV (October 10, 1903), 306.

turer, interested in a matter connected with his business to the amount of the value to the farmer of any one of these items, would rest until he had ascertained precisely how it bears on his balance sheet?"<sup>12</sup>

After the Civil War, business and the businessman began to develop rapidly as a suggested model for farmer conduct, in spite of the continuing rural antipathy toward much of industry and finance. The advice to make farming businesslike frequently did not hesitate to urge specialization, even at the cost of surrendering self-sufficiency. Thus under the progressive caption, "How We Have All Advanced," the *Prairie Farmer* in 1868 argued that

The old rule that a farmer should produce all that he required, and that the surplus represented his gains, is part of the past. Agriculture, like all other business, is better for its subdivisions, each one growing that which is best suited to his soil, skill, climate and market and with its proceeds purchase his other needs.<sup>13</sup>

Although the theme of the new necessity for specialization and commercialization has not always been accompanied by explicit renunciation of subsistence practices, it has been the frequent practice of agricultural leadership to point out this modern tendency as an indication of progress. Thus Dean Eugene Davenport in 1904 indicated the contrast: "Under pioneer conditions the object in agriculture was simply one of maintenance. . . . Now the object of farming is not primarily to make a living, but it is to make money. To this end it must be conducted upon the same business basis as any other producing industry."<sup>14</sup>

The direct identification of farming with business and the farmer as a businessman has been partially a task of sloganeering: "The time has come when the farmer must be a business man as well as an agriculturist";<sup>15</sup> "Farming is a business, and the man who would make a real success of it nowadays must be a good business man."<sup>16</sup> When in 1921 the editors of the *Country Gentleman* decided it was finally high time to destroy the old cartoon stereotype of the hayseed, they addressed inquiries to many of the leading cartoonists of the nation asking their

<sup>12</sup> "Indian Corn: What Is Known and What Is Wanted to be Known about It," *Monthly Journal of Agriculture*, II (June, 1847), 540.

<sup>13</sup> "How We Have All Advanced," *Prairie Farmer*, XXXVII (N.S. Vol. XXI), (January 11, 1868), 17.

<sup>14</sup> Eugene Davenport, "The Outlook for the Educated Farmer," *Cornell Countryman*, I (June, 1904), 204.

<sup>15</sup> *Southern Cultivator and Dixie Farmer*, XLV, No. 8 (August, 1887), 361.

<sup>16</sup> *Farm and Fireside* (Eastern Ed.), XVI (October 1, 1892), 1.

verbal and graphic expressions of what the modern farmer really looked like. The unanimous spirit of the replies is suggested by the comment of cartoonist J. P. Alley of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*: "The American farmer is not a hayseed. He has, in reality, become a business man. . . ."<sup>17</sup> And finally advertisers in farm journals became so sure of the farmer's self-identification with the businessman that they addressed their sales appeals "To YOU as a business man,"<sup>18</sup> or claimed that their product "is an invaluable one to the modern business farmer."<sup>19</sup>

It is obvious enough that the identification of the farmer with the business man must be qualified. It seems distinctly the trend, but it must not be forgotten that it applies so far only to an indeterminate proportion of farmers—principally the more prosperous ones—who are best integrated with the modern world. Neither is the businessman identification yet generally complete even in those cases where it is most evident. It is a very abstract businessman with which the farmer is becoming identified. Big business is still the object of much open hostility; and while the small businessman comes nearest to the abstraction, unfortunate associations would color exact specification. A core of traditional hostility to capitalistic devices and symbols has induced a measure of conflict into the new identification. A suggestion of the nature of that conflict may be inferred from the title of an article by Harold Steen in the *Prairie Farmer* for September 25, 1920. The title was, "Almond Growers Act Like Real Business Men; They Fix Prices and Control Their Product and Have Run the Speculators to Cover."

The intellectual leadership of agriculture has very generally tended to identify the farmer with the uppermost economic strata of rural people, far above any economic average or mean. A tangible example of this tendency is a secondary text in farm management published in 1914. Figure 1 of this text was a photograph of the spacious barns and two fine houses of the *Arden Dairy Farm*, the hobby farm of a very wealthy city man (Mr. J. M. Hackney of St. Paul, Minnesota). The legend under the picture was, "An American Farm Home."<sup>20</sup> A current

<sup>17</sup> J. P. Alley, "What a Farmer Really Looks Like," *Country Gentleman*, LXXXVI (September 10, 1921), 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Prairie Farmer*, CII (February 22, 1930), 283. (¾ page advertisement of potash.)

<sup>19</sup> *Pacific Rural Press*, CXIX (February 8, 1930), 173. (R. C. A. Radiola advertisement.)

<sup>20</sup> Andrew Boss, *Farm Management* (Chicago and New York: Lyons & Carnahan, 1914), p. 8.

example is another high school text published in 1939 under the title of *American Farming—Agriculture I*, by Andrew Boss, Harold K. Wilson, and William E. Peterson. Figure 1 of this book is a photograph flat-footedly captioned "An airplane view of a *typical* farm in the North Central Region."<sup>21</sup> This "typical" farmstead includes a white house of apparently eight to ten rooms; a windmill and pump house; a poultry house sufficient for at least 1,000 hens, with incubator and brooder space extra; a dairy barn sufficient for forty or more milk cows, in addition to stalls for horses; hog houses apparently capable of taking care of a dozen or more brood cows, with additional shelter for shoats; a large milk house; a large building that looks like a machine shed; another, apparently a garage or workshop; and another that seems to be a large corn crib or grain storage.

Farm management has also given regular attention to the problem of farm labor, assuming the farmer to be an employer of labor, and frequently offering blanket advice on how to handle various naïve and smug classifications—"Swedish and Irish," "Negro," "Mexican," "Chinese," "genuine hoboes," etc. Thus on the subject of "Handling Hobo or Tramp Laborers," one expert in 1921 advised in his textbook:

These men should be provided with a reasonably warm, dry place to sleep, but as a rule no special housing is needed for them. They are satisfied to furnish their own bedding and sleep on a pile of hay, and to get plain food. . . . if ample in quantity and well cooked.

As a class they are easily disgusted with poor machinery, and if an implement continually breaks, they are likely to quit without notice. . . .

One cannot afford to allow poker playing or gambling of any kind, or tolerate radical talk or preaching by discontented individuals.<sup>22</sup>

This insensitive assumption of a deep social stratification has characterized much economic and farm management writing, both popular and academic. An article on beet field labor in a midwestern farm journal in 1930 declared that the proprietor of a 40-acre field of sugar beets had the choice of "four Mexicans or two Belgians" to do the work.<sup>23</sup>

The long campaign—at least a century old now—to raise the material standards of country living has had analogous effects. The rise

<sup>21</sup> Andrew Boss, Harold K. Wilson, and William E. Peterson, *American Farming—Agriculture I* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Webb, 1939), p. 3. (Italics are mine.)

<sup>22</sup> R. L. Adams, *Farm Management* (New York and London: McGraw, 1921), pp. 520-521.

<sup>23</sup> Fred L. Perry, "Sugar Beets as Cash Crop," *Illinois Farmer*, LXXVIII (November 1, 1930), 563.

in rural living standards has come about almost exclusively by the adoption of comforts, conveniences and luxuries from the city, the urban culture of which had established the style and the demand. In spite of lingering suspicion of the effete luxuries of the town, probably always something of a defense mechanism, the farmers who are financially able have been generally eager to adopt them; and soon after the blaze of silk shirt glory of 1919-20, farmers were riding in automobiles described to them in farm journal advertisements as "regally luxurious . . . and stylish as the *Rue de la Paix*."<sup>24</sup>

Both the reform elements and the commercial interests that have carried the message and the products of high living standards to the farmer have tended to look upon him as of what in reality would be a very high station in economic percentile ranking. They have assumed a standard of means far above the average, and have aimed in effect to bring him culturally within the ranks of the moderately prosperous bourgeois. Thus the *Cornell Countryman* in 1929 described in the following terms one of the exhibits placed before visitors to their Farm Home Week.

In the kitchen . . . everything was arranged to give the housewife a convenient, pleasant work room. The electrical apparatus included a refrigerator, a range, a dish washer, and a food mixer. It had that great boon to the farm woman, a complete water system. The water was heated by an electric water heater. The range was one of the kind in whose oven you put the supper and go to town for the groceries and forget about it. The clock turns the heat on and the heat is regulated so that when you come in it is all done. The central light eliminates shadow. The switch for it also had an outlet in the bottom for a flat iron. There were local lights at the sink so you would not be working in your own shadow. There was a power outlet by the table for the food mixer, toaster, or grill, and one by the refrigerator. Every farm woman who saw it probably desired a kitchen like it, so spotlessly white and convenient with all the labor saving devices that are so needed on a farm.<sup>25</sup>

But a serious, conflicting dualism has developed out of the fact that although the leaders of agricultural thought and reform have with their main effort tried to make the farmer into a businessman upon an urban model, and have done everything within their power to convert him to a bourgeois pattern of living, they have persistently clung to the wholly contrary belief that farming is not a business, but a way of life

<sup>24</sup> *Ohio Farmer*, CLV (May 23, 1925), 673. (An advertisement of the Willys-Overland Co., Inc.)

<sup>25</sup> "Rural Electricity and the Home," *Cornell Countryman*, XXVI (April, 1929), 208.

distinct from all others. This nostalgia, possibly traceable in part to the fact that the professionalized modern leadership of agriculture has been essentially out of touch with many of the realities of farm life, has led to confusion and conflict in agricultural ideology that still seems unresolved. On the one hand there is a drive toward specialization, market efficiency, cost accounting, mechanization, modernity in all its phases—on the other hand a sentimentalized subscription to heroic notions of economic independence and rustic serenity that in this modern world must inevitably be regarded as a literary tradition far removed from contemporary workday reality.

This method of identifying the farmer becomes frequently a pastoral exercise comparable to the inditing of Arcadian romances by courtiers in velvet and lace. Thus one agricultural writer in 1925 described what he called "an actual picture, easily duplicated in every rural community in America":

This country home stands facing eastward so that the morning's work of the inmates is on the shady side of the house, and their leisure in the fronting rooms and on the screened piazza in the afternoon is also on the opposite side from the sun. Fresh abundant air and night coolness beget early rising, the family are astir, breakfast is out of the way, and the members are scattered before eight o'clock. Even the schoolchildren are gone and Madame is taking the table scraps along a garden path to her favorite hen flock. Presently, returning with the dish half full of morning eggs, she pauses beside the lettuce or strawberries, or the sweet pea row—a great cat rubbing about, his enthusiasm adding its contagion.

Over in the quinces a catbird, his guilty countenance smeared with fruit stains, is ludicrously making fun of the scene, while in an apple tree a duet by an oriole and a robin goes on answered by bobolink and lark out in the meadow. And oh, the spicy, tonic breeze that bears in their distant song! Peace, plenty, purpose, laughter, and love, and life are in it all!

Two hours later, with beds made, the dusting done, and baking and dinner started, there are yet two hours for rest or special tasks, that the afternoon may be free. It will be warm then. Neighbors will call, perhaps receiving some surplus beets or cherries. Anyway, a basket of good things will go over the hill, with the evening auto ride, for some shut in, or the busy parson, or Granny Baldwin.

The martins are nesting now. The home folks will watch them with strong field glasses, and perhaps get a picture or two.<sup>20</sup>

Sentiments of this sort have been regularly indulged in by many who have tended on all other occasions to regard agriculture exclusively in

<sup>20</sup> David Stone Kelsey, *Kelsey's Rural Guide* (Boston: Little, 1925), pp. 50-51.

economic terms, and whose active, consistent influence has entirely been toward making family farms into agricultural factories. Such idyllic raptures must therefore be interpreted as a sop to moral and social ideals of agriculture that are infinitely removed from the economic system they are building.

There has been a trend in rural society for a long time toward national uniformity, and toward stratification and a decline in local homogeneity. This trend appears to have grown cumulatively, and there is little evidence that it has yet started to decline. Assuming the continued effect of that trend, we may well expect that one portion of our rural population will in the end be proletarianized, and that the upper, dominant group will for some time to come tend to identify itself increasingly with the petty bourgeoisie.

In the space of a century, a near-cycle has been described. And the essence of this whole change was suggested as long as twenty-four years ago by a reprint and a comment in the *Pacific Rural Press*. The *Pacific Rural Press* reprinted on this occasion an item taken from a midwestern farm paper. It was such an item as had appeared thousands of times in farm journals for nearly a century.

A man and a woman sat together at a theater one afternoon last week. He wore a cheap suit of clothing that fitted him poorly. Her dress was not in the latest mode. Plainly, they were from the country.

Right behind them sat two women of the city. One of them put her lorgnette to her eyes, bent forward and looked critically at the woman in front of her. Then she settled back in her chair and said in a voice evidently intended for the woman in front to hear: "Why do some people have such awful taste as to dress as they used to before the flood?"

The woman in front heard it and her face went red. The man with her heard it too, and he quietly laid his hand upon his companion's arm and patted it lovingly.

A man who sat near, and had heard and seen this little tragedy, told of it afterward. "I knew the man from the country, and his wife," he said. "I know that she is his partner in running that farm. Her vegetables, butter and eggs provide an important part of their income. Now they have come to the city for an outing. To my mind they belong to the class who are really our best people, and the woman behind them with the lorgnette is just a coarse, vulgar frump."

But the *Pacific Rural Press* printed this little story only in order to make its modern comment upon it. This was as follows:

Of course, our Middle West contemporary has to preach upon the text this incident presents, but it needs no sermon here. In the first place, we believe

our rural women are relatively better dressed than elsewhere, and therefore the incident would have no local foundation. . . . The contrast between rural and urban women in costuming is probably less in California than anywhere else in the world. And we are of the impression also that California rural women are not infrequently outfitted to do the lorgnette act toward the urban women. . . .<sup>27</sup>

Undoubtedly the lorgnette has not fully arrived upon the farm, even in California. But it can scarcely be doubted that it is now on the way generally, just as in California it was on the way in 1915.

<sup>27</sup> "Two Great Things in California," *Pacific Rural Press*, LXXXIX (March 6, 1915), 290.



# The Impact of Industrial, Labor, and Agricultural Control Policies Upon Farm Labor

(A Statement of the Problem)†

*William T. Ham\**

## ABSTRACT

The effect of the adoption of control policies upon the welfare of the farm laborer is often ignored. Industrial control policies, especially those relating to prices and volume of production, have a bearing upon his ability to find employment, whether on the farm or in industry, and upon rural wage rates. Labor control policies relating to wage rates and "working rules," whether enforced by a trade union or by the government on behalf of labor, affect purchasing power and the demand for farm products, the volume of industrial job opportunities open to labor from the farm, and the competition for jobs on the farm. The effects of crop adjustment are the most direct of all but are difficult to measure because of the influence of mechanization and associated factors.

The attempt to discuss in a brief paper the impact upon farm labor of control policies in industrial and labor circles, as well as in agriculture, may well seem ludicrous. For such a proposal the only justification is that it may emphasize the fact that farm laborers, like farm operators, have an interest in the outcome of national economic policies. In the past the attention which farm labor has received from agricultural economists has largely been directed to its role as a factor in costs of the farm enterprise. It has apparently been assumed that what was good for the farmer was good for his laborers. To a large extent this is true. But we must not take it for granted. I recall that at a conference in the Department of Agriculture a few years ago, Secretary Wallace, when asked what he thought of the efforts to organize farm laborers, replied that he would regret any development which tended to drive a wedge between the farmer and his hired man. I would suggest that, if we are to avoid the development of any such "wedge"; if, so far as possible, we are to maintain a certain mutuality of interest between

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employer and employee on the farm—which, after all, is merely good farm labor management—we must recognize that in the developments of recent years the farm laborer has been placed at a disadvantage and that his place in the farm economy deserves scrutiny on its own merits. Of late it has seemed that, by virtue of his relatively unsheltered position at the bottom of what used to be called the "agricultural ladder," the farm laborer receives the final cumulative impact from every maladjustment.

### I. INDUSTRIAL CONTROL POLICIES

As regards the impact upon farm labor of control policies in industry, I must limit myself to a few comments. Without entering into the controversy over "administered" prices, I assume agreement on the proposition that the degree of control exercised over prices and volume of industrial production is significantly greater than it was twenty years ago, and that in the capital-goods industries, particularly, a certain tendency toward conformity in price and production policies, accompanying a high degree of concentration, is discernible. The significance of this development lies not only in the industrial importance of the capital-goods industries themselves, but also in the fact that their products are commonly used, not alone, but in combination with other products. Thus price control in this field may introduce inflexibility into the price and cost structure over a wide area, creating disparities with more flexible prices, such as those of most agricultural products. The result is grave uncertainty as to the effectiveness of the price mechanism as a controller of production.

These policies of price control, in their relation to depression phenomena, have a direct bearing upon the welfare of farm labor. During the downward movement of the business cycle they intensify the process of deflation and widen the range of fluctuations. Instead of adjusting price and output to prevailing conditions, the capital-goods producer closes down, to await improvement of demand. Unemployment in his plant, instead of being partial, is complete. The purchasing power of his workers, and their effective demand for agricultural products, are drastically reduced. The competition for jobs on the farm is increased at the very time when, owing to the slump in demand, there are fewer farm jobs available. Farm family labor is utilized to the utmost; there is little money for wages. Wage rates fall, and relief requirements rise.

During the period of emergence from the depression, the significance of price control policies is even greater than during the period of entry,

when other factors probably outrank in importance, as hindrances to investment, the relatively high prices of capital goods. The failure of capital-goods industries in recent years to expand to a degree capable of providing full employment Sprague explains, in part, by reference to two obstacles: (1) imperfect competition and (2) the absence of any close relationship between price and demand in the case of most of the products of these industries.<sup>1</sup> Price disparities at first retard recovery; later on they intensify speculative developments. Serious maldistribution of resources is the result. On the farms productive human resources are dammed up far beyond the capacity of the land to utilize them effectively, with resulting unemployment, underemployment, and low earnings.

Aside from all this, "Price stabilization policies have in many lines come to stand in the way of a dissemination of the benefits of progress, and have therefore tended to nullify the results of technological advance."<sup>2</sup> Hence they serve as a hindrance to market expansion and increased consumption, upon which depends the development of new employment. This is of special disadvantage to common labor, whether in industry or on the farms.

To such tendencies, at least in part, may be attributed the surplus of man power on the farms, the slackening of movement from farms to urban centers, and the fact that in October, 1935, when agriculture was well on the way to recovery, there were about a million rural youths receiving some form of public assistance.<sup>3</sup> The future well-being of agriculture depends upon increased output of those manufactured goods and of those services for which there is an elastic demand. This increase must be great enough to furnish employment, not only for the urban unemployed, but also for a part of the farm-born population.

## II. LABOR CONTROL POLICIES

Labor controls, like those designed to benefit business, may be operated directly by those who are presumed to benefit from them, or by government on their behalf. A labor union, as Hoxie, the Webbs, and other well-known students of trade unionism have pointed out, is an expression of many other interests of its members than the merely

<sup>1</sup> O. W. M. Sprague, "The Recovery Problem in the United States," *American Economic Review*, XXVIII (March, 1938), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> H. G. Moulton, *Income and Economic Progress*, (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1935), p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> B. L. Melvin, *Rural Youth on Relief*, Division of Social Research, WPA RM XI (Washington, 1937), p. 1.

economic. On its economic side, however, its purpose is two-fold. First of all, it endeavors to establish, by collective bargaining, a standard rate of wages, effective for a given period. Second, it endeavors to standardize the work to be performed in return for the wages and to prescribe its amount and the conditions under which it shall be performed. Hence have developed the so-called "working rules," calculated to make it impossible for the employer to discriminate against union members or to change the procedure arbitrarily.

Now the wage rate, of course, is a price for an essential element of production. Wage rates, like other prices, can be forced to an uneconomic level and can be held there more or less rigidly, with the same effects as in other cases of price rigidity, viz., high costs, diminution of employment and of the total wages bill, lowering of the standard of living and reduction of the national income. Labor organizations, in their preoccupation with immediate interests, are difficult to convince of the falsity of the notion that high wage rates of themselves mean high labor income and full employment. The fact that it is easy to understand why organized labor, in its laudable struggle to maintain its position, adopts the policy of adjusting employment to wage rates rather than wage rates to the conditions of employment does not mitigate the evil. The parallel with the industrial control policy of adjusting production to price rather than price to production is obvious. Hence the policies of labor with respect to wage rates, hours, and output must be ranked with the control policies of business and of government as factors which influence the flow of investment and the opportunities for employment, urban and rural. In certain industries, such as construction and transportation, they are factors of great importance.

Hardly less significant than wage rates are the "working rules" already referred to. These regulations the union is often tempted to elaborate into an extensive network. Once agreed upon, and made a part of the collective agreement, or embodied in the "custom of the trade," they often become a strait-jacket, within which it is difficult for management to meet the needs of production and of technological improvement. Thus industrial development is hindered and employment opportunities are reduced. Here, also, the fact that labor unions have often had good reasons, from their point of view, for protecting vested interests in outworn methods, does not lessen the seriousness of such obstacles to efficient management.

The impact of such policies upon agricultural labor is not difficult to discern. In the case of union support of high railroad wage rates and restrictive seniority and working rules, the effect upon freight rates, upon the prices of manufactured products which the farmer buys, upon the farmer's proceeds and his ability to pay wages, together with the effect of reduced traffic upon employment, is clear. In other industries less directly related to agriculture the results are, on the one hand, reduction of urban employment and purchasing power and a decrease in demand for labor on the farm; on the other hand, increased competition for the lessened number of farm jobs and a depressing influence upon farm wages.

As long as the organization of labor was confined to a few skilled crafts, the adoption of short-sighted policies of control might have been regarded with comparative indifference. But now we are witnessing a great extension of union organization. In 1938 the total membership of all the groups in the American labor movement probably amounted to seven million, over twice that of 1933, and two million more than were organized at the previous peak period of 1920. Unionism is spreading into hitherto unorganized industries, among them the capital- and durable-goods industries, such as steel, metal goods, and automobiles, precisely those characterized by price maintenance policies earlier referred to.

In their struggle against the discriminatory tactics of many employers, there is danger that the "new" unions of the present day will be dominated almost entirely by short-run considerations and will fail to see the threat to themselves and to the nation of the traditional policies and practices of restrictive control. Some of them appear to be opposed to any price reductions, even to the extent of being willing to use political influence to maintain rigid prices. In the speed with which new agreements are being formulated many mistakes of the past are being repeated. Moreover, the struggle between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations tends to intensify the pursuit of short-run objectives, because of competitive bidding for labor support. The new unions, like many of their predecessors, appear to be in need of constant reminder of the common sense view, succinctly phrased by Slichter, that "raising the price is not likely to increase the sales of any article and that there is no reason to expect labor to be different in this respect from all other articles."<sup>4</sup> It is to be hoped that

<sup>4</sup> S. H. Slichter, "Selling More Labor," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLVIII (September, 1936) p. 324.

the example of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, under the able leadership of Mr. Sidney Hillman, will lead unionists to see the advantages of flexible policies, properly safeguarded. In this matter, management, too often acquiescent in faulty wage practices, has a real responsibility.

We come now to the second method of labor control,—through legislative enactment. Reference has already been made to the role played by public authority, under labor pressure, in maintaining existing practices and rates on the railroads. Although minimum wage laws usually apply only to relatively low-wage groups, the necessity, in most industries, of maintaining existing differentials above the basic rate, may affect costs generally. As compared with collective bargaining, the advantages of this procedure for labor are: (1) that it may be applied to workers whom it is difficult or impossible to organize and (2) that it may be applied generally—not merely to those parts of industry in which unions are influential. From these two characteristics, also, flow the chief economic difficulties. Minimum wage laws arose in Australia and in England as a means of getting rid of sub-competitive pockets in certain industries, the so-called “sweated” trades, in which women and children were frequently exploited. There are few economists who would fail to approve this purpose. But when—as has happened in the countries mentioned, and, more recently, in the case of our Fair Labor Standards Act—this procedure is applied not only as a means of eliminating “parasitic” trades, but also for the purpose of raising wage rates over a wide area, dangers arise that are similar to those in the case of “administered” prices. If the increase in wage rates is substantial and is imposed, in the view of employers, without regard to market conditions, the result is to increase the tendency to introduce new labor-saving, cost-reducing machinery and to affect adversely average employment and the average relative income of labor. “Minimum wage and maximum hours laws tend to discourage investment of funds in new plants in the highly competitive, little mechanized industries in which existing wage rates are low and labor costs a relatively large proportion of total production costs, while they tend to encourage investment of funds in the semi-monopolistic, highly mechanized industries in which all or most of the wage rates are already above the law’s minimum and in which labor costs are a relatively small part of total costs.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Carroll R. Daugherty, “Wage Policies,” *American Economic Review*, Supplement, XXVIII (March, 1938), 155-156.

The Fair Labor Standards Act does not apply to strictly agricultural employments. Its impact upon farm labor arises from its effect upon purchasing power and the demand for farm products, from its effect upon the volume of job opportunities in industry which are open to the farm laborer, and from its effect upon the competition for jobs on the farm. For wide reaches of our economy the rates established by the Act represent defensible minima. There is danger, however, that the difficulty of providing for the proper consideration of local variations and desirable differentials may lead, in some areas, to a disparity between what a man must be paid and what he is worth to his employer. This, of course, tends to lessen employment, to discourage industrial development in those areas in which it is needed most, and also to limit it to such branches of industry as, with the aid of machinery, can be geared up to relatively high productivity. In Australia, from 1922 to 1928, the arbitration system is said to have penalized the unskilled and casual workers who, apparently because they were not worth the basic wage to employers, were unemployed to a greater degree than any other class of worker.<sup>6</sup> Some such tendency may appear under the Fair Labor Standards Act. In many areas of the southern states, where agricultural earnings are probably less than 10c per hour, the requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 25c per hour up to October 1, 1939, 30c per hour during the six years subsequent to that date, and 40c per hour thereafter may be a deterrent to the undertaking of industrial enterprise. If this be true, the agricultural laborer would be a prime sufferer.

### III. AGRICULTURAL CONTROL POLICIES

Finally we come to the control policies devised for agriculture. Owing to the singular lack of success of producers of basic farm products, as compared with capital-goods producers, in influencing prices and the flow of their commodities to market, attention may be confined to governmental mechanisms designed to maintain and to increase total agricultural income, and, specifically, to those which relate to national acreage allotments for soil-depleting crops.

The initial effect of the crop adjustment programs in increasing farm income, reviving farm employment, and making possible a rise in agricultural wage rates may here be ignored. We shall concern ourselves, rather, with the developments since that initial period.

<sup>6</sup> F. C. Benham, *The Prosperity of Australia* (London: King & Son, Ltd., 1928), p. 209.

The most obvious and direct effect of a program of crop adjustment upon farm labor is upon labor requirements. A comparison of the planted acreages of the major soil-depleting crops from 1933 through 1937 with the acreages of the same crops planted either in 1932 or during the five-year period 1928-32 shows an average net reduction of 10 to 15 million acres. Greatest reductions were effected in the three principal inter-tilled soil-depleting crops, cotton, corn, and tobacco. There were increases, however, in the acreage of some of the other crops, especially wheat, which crop acreage there was no attempt by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to control, except in the year 1934, until 1939. Such data as are available do not indicate any material increase in the acreage of soil-conserving crops which are harvested.<sup>7</sup> The net result is, therefore, a very considerable reduction in labor requirements, which, however, is not readily translatable into terms of employment, since we do not know to what extent the reduction affected farm family labor, on the one hand, and hired labor, on the other. Nor is there any way of telling to what extent farm labor, in excess of what was needed for reduced acreages of basic crops, and under improved conditions of farm income, was diverted to work which had been allowed to lapse during the years of depression. The bearing of the farm programs upon the introduction of power-driven implements and their effect upon total labor requirements is, likewise, not clear. Available figures on actual farm employment do not show any noteworthy changes since 1932.

In view of the lack of information with respect to conditions of farm employment generally, it may be permissible to devote some attention to the Cotton Belt, with reference to which data gathered in scattered studies are available. In this area we have to do with two closely associated changes in the labor organization of cotton-producing units, viz., displacement of labor, both sharecropper and wage labor, and reduction in tenure status, from that of renter or cropper to that of wage hand. These two types of change are associated with three features of the cotton economy, viz., reduction in cotton acreage, the provisions for division of benefit payments between owner and tenant, and mechanization. Acreage reduction tends to encourage displacement of labor, whether tenant or wage labor; the arrangements for division of payments foster a desire to get rid of share renters and sharecroppers, while any resulting shift to wage labor encourages the use of large-scale power

<sup>7</sup> *Agricultural Adjustment 1937-1938*, USDA G-86 (Washington, January, 1939), pp 163, 166.



equipment not readily adaptable to the cropper system. This resort to mechanization favors further displacement of labor up to the limits which seasonal hand-labor requirements permit. The task of tracing cause and effect in these developments is complicated by the widely varying conditions of production as one proceeds from the Piedmont to the Texas Plains.

Displacement of renter and cropper in the cotton areas may mean entire loss of employment; on the other hand, it may mean merely a shift downward in tenure status, with or without a corresponding change in annual income. In many parts of the south the difference, in economic terms, between the cropper and the wage hand is slight. Available data indicate that as regards income per worker the cropper is little better off than the wage hand. The slight income differential in favor of the former, in the areas from which data are available, is almost wholly accounted for by differences in the value of production for home use. Per family the difference is greater because of the larger average size of the cropper family. •

The role played by the arrangements for division of benefit payments between owner and tenant in the displacement of renter and cropper is impossible to assess with any certitude. Although the adjustment legislation and the administrative regulations have endeavored from the beginning to prevent shifts prejudicial to tenants, the necessity of allowing some leeway for justifiable changes has made possible violation of the spirit of the provisions. Moreover, as the desire to give the cropper a larger stake in the program led to the increase in his share of the benefit payments from, perhaps, one-ninth in 1934,<sup>8</sup> to one-fourth in 1936, and to one-half in 1938, the financial advantage to the owner in effecting displacement or reduction in status increased. Thus what was intended as a boon to the cropper became a potential threat.

Closely associated with complete displacement of renter, cropper, and wage hand families in the cotton area during recent years and with shifts downward in tenure status is a decline in economic status on the part of croppers. This decline is due to decrease in cotton acreages assigned croppers and to a growing practice in some areas of using such nominal croppers as hands on the wages-cotton crop of the plantation. Under the cotton programs it has been necessary for the plantation operator to decide whether the reduction in his total acreage should

<sup>8</sup> Under the 1934 and 1935 programs, the cropper received one-half of the parity payments, which frequently amounted to not more than one-ninth of the total parity and rental payments.

be made in acreage of cotton worked with wage hands or in that worked with tenants and croppers. If the choice fell to the latter, it was a question either of getting rid of some of the croppers altogether or of reducing the acreage per cropper. In some areas, indeed, the cropper's cotton has been reduced to a mere patch, thus creating a status unlike that of the bonafide cropper and yet not quite like that of the wage hand. The advantage to the operator, of course, lies in the freeing of labor for such use as is advantageous while still retaining on the plantation all or part of the labor force necessary for the peak seasons of chopping and picking.

On small farms, with one or two tenant families, such changes in labor organization are more likely to take the form of complete displacement of labor than that of reduction of status or of acreage. According to T. J. Woofter, "displacement of cotton tenants seems to have taken place largely from small farming units rather than from plantations."<sup>9</sup> Since a greater proportion of the cotton crop is produced on small farms than on large plantations, this is obviously a matter of significance. A sample analysis of data from the 1935 cotton contracts in nine cotton States showed that 52 per cent of the farms reporting tenants had only one tenant family; 22 per cent had only two tenant families; and 10 per cent had three tenant families.<sup>10</sup>

Owing to the varying conditions of production in the different cotton areas, it is impossible to generalize as to the impact of the control programs upon farm labor. In the Mississippi Delta there seems to have been little change in the number of resident labor families from 1932 through 1938.<sup>11</sup> In three counties in Arkansas, the number of families per 10,000 acres of cropland decreased by 6.3 per cent from 1932 to 1937, but this appears to have been due to increase in cropland per plantation.<sup>12</sup> The average acreage in cotton per tenant family has de-

<sup>9</sup> T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Others, *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Division of Social Research, WPA RM V (Washington, 1936), p. 157.

<sup>10</sup> *Participation under AAA Programs 1933-35*, USDA G-91 (Washington, October, 1938), p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Unless otherwise noted, views expressed with reference to cotton areas are based on unpublished data from field studies in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Arkansas, conducted under the general supervision of the writer by cooperative arrangement between the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the agricultural experiment stations of the states concerned.

<sup>12</sup> This increase may have been due to the addition of new acreage recently cleared and drained; or it may appear as a result of a change, on the records studied, of the definition of "cropland." Glen T. Barton and J. G. McNeely, *Recent Changes in Farm Labor Organization in Three Arkansas Plantation Counties*, Preliminary Report (Fayetteville, Arkansas, September, 1939), p. 4. Mimeographed.

creased. The shift in this area from renter and cropper labor to wage labor has been marked, as has been the increase in the number of tractors per plantation and per 10,000 acres of cropland. The size of tractors, as measured in plow-pulling capacity, has also increased. In three Arkansas counties studied, the plantations which had used tractors during the entire period from 1932 through 1937 showed a nine per cent decline per 10,000 acres of cropland in the number of resident labor families, while those on which tractors were not used or were introduced after 1932 showed practically no change in this regard.<sup>18</sup> In the Delta area the proportion of acreage in cotton worked with wage labor increased as compared with that worked with sharecroppers and other tenants. This trend toward the use of wage labor and tractor power was due to the relatively larger returns to be derived under recent conditions of price and production from this method of operation, as compared with the use of sharecroppers. To this trend the possibility of securing Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments in full, without the necessity of dividing with croppers, contributed, without being the sole cause. That the development has not gone farther is due to the necessity of retaining a labor supply for the operations of chopping, hoeing, and picking. If, through further development of machines or the creation of a seasonal off-farm labor supply, this necessity were obviated, the displacement of labor would doubtless be severe.

Even such fragmentary data as are available for the Delta areas are lacking in the case of the southeastern Piedmont and the Texas High Plains regions so that it is possible only to guess at the developments in labor organization accompanying, if not caused by, the crop adjustment programs. Owing to Piedmont topography little use is made of large-scale equipment. A large part of the harvested cropland is worked with the labor of sharecroppers and other tenants; the remainder is operated by full owners, part owners, and managers. Since 1933 there appears to have been some decrease in the average number of sharecroppers per cotton-producing unit and a corresponding increase in the number of wage hands. By contrast with Delta conditions, this apparent reduction in tenure status does not involve resort to machine methods and the threat, for that reason, of subsequent further displacement of labor. In the Piedmont, under the conditions of production and price that have prevailed in recent years, the methods of division of Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments between landlord

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

and tenant have probably been of greater potential effect as an inducement to reduce tenure status than has been the case in the Delta regions. On the other hand, in the southeast the high preharvest labor requirements and fertilizer outlay make it more advantageous for the Piedmont than for the Delta producer—assuming normal yields and the respective rates of wages paid in recent years—to share the risks with the cropper.<sup>14</sup>

In the High Plains area of Texas, a region representative of the newer sections of the Cotton Belt in Texas and Oklahoma, large-scale cotton production prevails; and there has been a pronounced trend toward the adoption of tractor power and large-scale equipment. The trend has been intensified in recent years. Data as to the displacement of farm labor are not available. In this area the prevailing type of organization is a family farm, operated either by the owner or a share tenant, on which additional transient seasonal labor is hired to supplement the family labor. Sharecroppers are uncommon. Share tenants operate farms with little or no supervision and use the same methods as owners. In little more than a decade the amount of cropland that can be handled by a family has increased from approximately 100 to about 450 acres. According to Bonnen and Magee, the rapid shift to larger power and equipment units means a smaller resident farm population, fewer farm operators, large amounts of seasonal labor, and less regular labor. They foresee acute labor problems arising out of the increasing dependence of farmers on seasonal hands, and they conclude that the most important immediate problem of the area is that of finding a place in the economic system for the displaced operators and farm laborers.<sup>15</sup>

It has thus been impossible to measure with the data at hand the precise effects of the agricultural programs upon farm labor in the Cotton Belt, as elsewhere. However, the nature of their impact is clear. The foregoing will serve as a sketch of the economic and technological environment in which the agricultural programs must operate and of the changes affecting farm labor to which they will inevitably contribute. In the South, mechanization is likely to continue. Present prospects in the domestic and export market for cotton hold little promise

<sup>14</sup> E. J. Holcomb, "Wage Laborers versus Sharecroppers," *The Agricultural Situation*, XXIII, No. 10 (October, 1939), 13-15.

<sup>15</sup> C. A. Bonnen and A. C. Magee, "Some Technological Changes in the High Plains Cotton Area of Texas," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XX (August, 1938), 613-615.

of any immediate return to a forty-million acre cotton crop. Reduction of the number of tenants and wage hands, under these circumstances, seems inevitable. Here, as elsewhere in the nation, we recognize the seriousness of a situation in which farm labor lacks access to industrial opportunity. To the failure of industrial production to expand, the control policies of industry and of labor are contributing. The agricultural policies, on the other hand, with their necessary emphasis upon control of production, cannot offer avenues of escape. In the meanwhile a population increase since 1930 of some six million souls adds to the difficulties.

# Social-Economic Submergence in a Plains State

*J. M. Gillette\**

## ABSTRACT

This represents the results of a rural research project in a Plains state, the particular state being North Dakota. The object of the investigation was to discover if a permanent submerged socioeconomic class of employable unemployed farmers was being formed in the towns, especially county seats, of the various counties. Contacts were made with those closest to the situation in 40 of the 53 counties between the middle of April and August 10, 1939. Practically all the information gathered in the localities affirmed the formation of a permanent submerged class. Facts from the national situation and from international conditions seem to support the conclusion.

The public has become acquainted with the social-economic submergence of unemployed employables in our great centers of population and with something resembling that of croppers and poor renters of the agricultural south. This article concerns itself with seemingly permanent social-economic submergence of employable farm migrants who have settled in the towns of North Dakota during the past few years. While acquainted with submergence obtaining in this state, the thought that it is of a permanent nature has been forced on the writer recently, and this outlook may appear as news to the public generally.

While engaged in rural research field work in April, I contacted the executive secretary of county welfare work in Barnes County. I was startled by his statement that he believed a permanent submerged "social caste" was being built there at the county seat, for I had taken it for granted that the employable dependents of the state would return to economic self-sufficiency as soon as the state passed out of the severe depression and drought condition by which it has been beset since about 1930. My intelligent and well grounded informant gave me so much evidence to support his statement that I could not ignore it. After pondering the matter, I concluded that as a rural researcher, I had better canvass the state to find if the situation was general. My plan was to make a preliminary reconnaissance in order to lay a basis for a detailed documented rural research project to be executed when our

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current project was completed. In July, however, the Work Projects Administration announced the discontinuance of rural social research as of August 31. Consequently I am reporting my finds resulting from this preliminary survey. I was able to visit and contact 40 of the 53 counties of the state by that date, to travel 5,000 miles between my university duties, and to obtain reliable although approximate data from 36 of the counties visited, thus securing a body of knowledge that is about as good as it would be if it were more detailed and highly documented.

That the average reader may the better see the situation discussed in relation to the larger background, a brief characterization of conditions and trends in North Dakota will be presented.

North Dakota lies immediately south of Manitoba, Canada. Its average east and west length is approximately 336 miles, its north and south width 210 miles, and its area is slightly over 70,000 square miles. Because of its latitude, the growing seasons are short. Speaking for the whole state, the average time between the latest and the earliest killing frost is about four months. The average annual temperature for the whole state is  $39^{\circ}$  degrees above zero; the average state temperature for the coldest month, January, is  $6^{\circ}$  above and for the warmest month, July, nearly  $69^{\circ}$  above zero. Wide variations from these state averages occur at different points within the area. The short season makes the state favorable for growing small grains but unfavorable for many fruits and corn. The low average amount of precipitation places most of the state within the semi-arid district of the plains states, the western half or two-thirds being agriculturally sub-marginal by nature. It is a geographical truism the world over that wherever the annual mean precipitation is not more than 20 inches, the land is either desert or semi-arid. The annual mean precipitation in the eastern one-tenth of North Dakota is from 20 to 22 inches, and in the extreme western counties it is 14 inches; the mean precipitation in the areas between those extremes graduating downward rather regularly from the greater in the east to the lower in the west. Were not the seasonal distribution of precipitation in this state area one of the most fortunate in the world, the major portion falling during the four month growing season, practically all of the state would be desert or semi-desert. The state has been stricken by frequent droughts since 1930, two visiting the whole state and several others only the submarginal areas. Some western counties had had no crop for several years prior to 1938. Wheat is the

cash crop and the average annual wheat yield for the whole state fell from 108,500,000 bushels for the six year period 1925-1930, to 33,100,000 bushels for the six year period 1931-1936. Other grains have been similarly affected. Rust took the grain crop of 1935 and grasshoppers have caused heavy damages each year for several years, accounting for a total crop loss in some sections. Over 80 per cent of the land surface is arable but less than half is "available for crops." The soil is generally good so that production would be ample, were all other conditions favorable.

North Dakota is predominantly agricultural. This is noted even more in respect to proportionate wealth and industry than to population. While at the last census 58 per cent of the inhabitants were directly engaged in agricultural production, 71 per cent of all state wealth and 84 per cent of all industrial wealth at the time of the last federal estimate were agricultural. Of the total industrial wealth, 14.6 per cent was in transportation and only 1.2 per cent in manufacture. The state stands only fourth above the lowest rank among the states in the value of manufacture, producing but one in a thousand dollars worth of manufactured goods of the nation; while it has about one out of every 500 national inhabitants. Small grain raising constitutes nearly 80 per cent of the annual crop acreage harvested in non-drought years, with wheat absorbing about 45 per cent of all such acreage. There had been practically no trend toward crop diversification during several decades prior to 1930. Instead of getting away from wheat as the dominant crop, the trend was toward a larger proportionate acreage of that crop. There was some trend toward more livestock and poultry production before 1930; but the depression, droughts, and pests have turned the trend, the submarginal areas having been forced to dispose of livestock because of lack of animal feed.

This undesirable set of economic conditions has created a huge relief problem. For several years practically a third of the state population have been relief recipients; and in May of this year, the state load was 22 per cent. County relief loads ranged from 40 to 50 per cent in seven western counties compared with from 8 to 13 per cent in the same number of eastern counties. A graph of precipitation and percentage on relief shows that, proceeding from eastern to western counties, as the former graduates steadily downward the latter graduates as steadily but more rapidly upward.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), chap. iv.



Since my immediate investigative undertaking was in the nature of a preliminary reconnaissance, it did not require an extended and detailed documentation. The following questions brought out the leading conditions and trends that would serve as a basis of judgment.

1. Is there a seemingly permanent relief population of employables being established in the towns of your county?
2. Has there been increased migration of employable farming population to your towns during the past five years?
3. How is migration from farms proportioned between farm operatives (owner operatives and renters) and laborers?
4. Is there any prospect that these farm to town migrant employables will be able to return to farming?
5. What chance is there in your towns for the absorption of these employable dependents by—
  - a) Expanding industry (manufacture and transportation)?
  - b) Expanding trade (white collar jobs)?
  - c) Casual jobs?

In securing data relative to submergence, my chief informants were executive secretaries of county relief organizations, supervisors of farm security, case workers, sometimes business and professional men and, occasionally, members of country boards of public welfare. Most of the executive secretaries were alertly intelligent about the socioeconomic situation and the local and state conditions which account for the welfare milieu. I regard most of the information as trustworthy. A brief indication of the kind of information secured on each of the above points is in order.

The reply to *question 1* was almost uniformly yes. In three counties whose county seats had a population of only 500 to 1500, a negative reply was returned by the secretaries or case workers; but, in one of these, other sources indicated the affirmative; and, in another, my own observation of a recent multiplication of shacks led me to doubt the trustworthiness of the reply. I explained "permanent" to mean so far as we can see into the future.

*Question 2* received an affirmation in the great majority of cases, five years being taken as the basis of judgment. The exact amount of increase could not be figured. The greatest movement toward county seats, almost always the largest aggregation of population in the county, was from farms. A few of the outlying villages in a county might be re-

ceiving a drift-in from the farms. Ultimately, the farms are the sources of this concentrated build-up.

The relief load analysis for 1935 as determined by our rural research project of that year affords some basis of judgment concerning farm-town migration since then. The rural population of the state then, judged by our eight sample counties, was 71 per cent farm and 29 per cent non-farm (village or town). Seventy-two per cent of the rural relief load was farm, and twenty-eight per cent was nonfarm. Of the farm relief cases, 40.8 per cent were owner operators; 51.5 per cent were renters; and 7.7 per cent were laborers. There were nearly twice as many renters as operators on relief. Economic conditions have grown worse in the state since 1935. Symptomatic of this is the existing \$30,000,000 of uncollected taxes and the inability of the last legislature (1939) to discover funds to finance state governmental needs during the present biennium. These facts and those to be presented justify the judgment of social welfare workers that there has been an increased migration from farm to town during the past five years.

There was a surprising variation in the replies to *question 3*. The proportion of in-migration ascribed to agricultural labor ranged from a ninth in one county to nine-tenths in another. The most frequent statement was four-fifths. The location of the county in the state had little to do with it.

In only two counties, an east central and a northwestern one, was there an affirmative reply to *question 4*, and in those it was more of a hope than an expectation.

Several executive secretaries specified the difficulties existing in the local situation regarding a reversal of the trend away from farms to cities and villages. These have to do with household equipment, farm equipment and capital, machine displacement of laborers and farm operators, and loss of morale. Displaced and dislocated farm operators have lost their farming equipment by foreclosure of chattel mortgages, by disintegration through disuse, and by becoming outmoded. Even did they have the opportunity to rent farms, they are without capital or credit to refinance new equipment, stock, expensive tractors, and the like. Farm Security will assist only those who have some capital or equipment and those who show promise of becoming successful up to 100 per cent, of which group probably not more than 10 per cent are down-and-out agriculturists. Very few farm operators, indeed, can qualify. Farm Security makes grants of assistance (relief) to many

farmers and agricultural laborers but will do so no longer than they promise ability to farm or secure work. Regarding household equipment, several years of being stranded have made it impossible to replace breakages and outworn articles. Stoves are giving out; bedding is wearing out; curtains, carpets, and furniture are becoming unusable; clothes have become shabby and indecent. The standard of living as expressed by these conditions is being dangerously lowered. Along with these changes has gone a decided loss of morale. Ambition that was, has been killed; and there is little hope of ever being anything but a W.P.A.'er. The children born into and being reared in this situation are decidedly unprivileged. They are cut off from association with middle class children, feel themselves to be outcasts and inferiors, have little or no recreational privileges, and come to absorb the atmosphere of defeatism and parasitism. The family discussions of their parents and elders about how to "beat the game," and how to develop living techniques suitable to their unfortunate situation are impressed upon them and are imbibed by them from birth. There has been and is thus being formed a self-perpetuating class of socio-economically submerged individuals in a wide region where it would least be expected. There are some striking facts that buttressed the belief that there will not be a back-to-the-farm shift of any moment.

Rapid mechanization of farm production and farm processes and forced foreclosure of farm mortgages during recent years are the most important of the immediate and local factors. New types of rubber tire tractors which propel new and larger plows, disks, harrows, seeders, harvesters and threshers, cultivators, sprayers, and so on, are rapidly transforming much farming into a highly sedentary, mechanized, and technically industrialized business. These machines are rapidly displacing agricultural labor of regular and seasonal kinds. I was repeatedly told that within six years the number of laborers required to harvest and thresh a crop of grain has been reduced from three or five to one. This means a displacement of two out of three or four out of five workers. It is also displacing many small farmers. Many men who operated a quarter or a half section a few years ago with horse power are now operating from twice to four or more times as much with tractor power, combines and trucks. Two or three men in Bottineau County are operating forty-five quarter sections of land, with a very few men as hired laborers. Incidentally, the undertaking is to garner in the federal allotment rather than for bona fide farm production.

This alone has caused the displacement of many small farmers and scores of laborers. It is a most serious situation for the young men and women on farms who are just coming to maturity. Farming no longer has power to absorb them; and after remaining idle parasites on the farmstead for a time, they float into towns and villages, marry, and join the Work Projects Administration forces. For them and the stranded agricultural laborers and farmers there is no longer a retreat in great cities to join the armies of manual and white collar workers; for those cities are filled with unemployed millions, and new recruits generally soon apply for relief and are then sent back to the Dakota counties from which they derived and where their legal residence is.

My brief epitome of background facts about the agricultural and non-industrial nature of this state should supply the answer to *question 5* and its subdivisions. Manufacturing amounts to a consideration in less than a half dozen county-seat cities. We have only one city in the thirty thousand class and three others with as many as fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants. They and other smaller cities are trade rather than manufacturing places. There is no hope of local trade expansion, even with a fair rate of growth of city populations. Private agencies, like house construction, promise little or nothing. Building trades are not self-sufficing and cannot absorb new recruits.

The loss of farms on the part of farm owners through forced foreclosure is a large cause of migration out of open country to cities and villages. According to facts regarding forced foreclosures in sample counties of this state furnished by the federal department of agriculture, about 43,000 out of the 78,000 farms of 1930, or nearly 53 per cent underwent forced foreclosure between 1921 and 1934. At the latter date, forced foreclosure went into abeyance due to the moratorium established by Governor Langer. But out of that holocaust of lost farms came thousands of tenant farmers and also a large percentage who lost morale and hopelessly left the state or drifted toward Work Projects Administration as town dwellers. The Work Projects Administration is still receiving recruits from this dislocation.

A note of permanency of submergence is added when the national and world situation which act as the ultimate background of North Dakota agricultural conditions and trends are taken into account. It is increasingly realized that our national economic conditions are largely determined by world conditions. World economic conditions are today to a high degree determined by national economies, and these in turn

are directed and promoted or inhibited by national political considerations. Economic nationalism long ago fathered our agricultural and industrial surplus, determined demand for our products, set the prices of our agricultural products, lowered agricultural prices below the cost of production, inspired our national policy and legislation to regulate the agricultural surplus which is still the center of our farm law making, promoted our "great depression," contributed heavily to our direct and work relief load, and continues to dominate our national economy. Power politics have and continue to keep our international relations in turmoil. The political ambitions of the great dictator nations have driven all nations to colossal armament. The constant threat of war prevents continuous economic advance and keeps our stock markets unsettled and stock prices diving downward. These and worse conditions must prevail so long as the war threat continues, and few believe there is visible evidence that it will disappear.

Should the nations patch up a peace, however, even were it not quite temporary, it would bring troubles almost as bad as those now facing us. For to discontinue armament preparations would throw millions of workers into unemployment, call for vast appropriations to furnish them direct or work relief, raise problems of trade adjustments as grave as those now present, stimulate inflation, foster labor disturbances, and promote conditions favorable to violence and revolution.

Since the current war began, frequent statements appear from high sources that unemployment in this country will disappear because of resulting widespread industrial and trade improvement. Heavy foreign demand for munitions, armaments, foods, and other materials will, it is asserted, cause this great expansion. The basis of this expectation is largely what happened during the war beginning in 1914.

The extent of reduction of unemployment here pursuant to the present war in Europe is not now determinable. For one thing, it is dependent upon the extent and duration of war. Evidently a brief war will effectuate little here of a durable nature. Again, the laborers of great cities where manufacture is chiefly located are most apt to be the beneficiaries of industrial and trade expansion. It is doubtful if the mass of laborers of rural sections, especially those remote from great industrial centers, will be greatly benefited directly by such expansion. The World War did absorb millions of laborers from rural districts by way of the draft for military purposes and the need for additional labor for industrial and trade processes. There was little unemployment

in our large centers before that event, so that supplementary sources had to be drawn on. Today, however, it would require a tremendous production and trade expansion to absorb the jobless millions of great centers of population, and it is doubtful if the outlying bodies of the unemployed would be drafted to any great extent for urban employment, if at all.

Consequently, if our jobless employables of farms and villages can find no outlet in industrial cities, the situation relative to their submergence must remain about as it now is. The conditions and trends we have outlined which are at work forcing farming populations off the farms and into country towns will probably go on operating as at present. Continuous good crops, not to be expected in North Dakota, would tend to stop the off-farm movement of non-surplus farmers, but would not check the propulsive effects of increased mechanization and expansion of farms. There is nothing in sight to check the exit of surplus farm laborers from agricultural industry.

With the prospect that local, state, national, and international conditions will maintain their present trends, and with a strong promise that socioeconomic conditions will endure as they are so far as we can squint into the future, it is not extreme to speak of the situation in North Dakota facing the unemployed employables as "permanent" submergence. So far as we can now judge by state, national, and world trends, nothing short of a "miracle" will prevent this result.

The extent of this submerged class in the future cannot be exactly foretold. It will be somewhat smaller than the present class of dependents unless things grow worse rather than better. By counties, it will range from 5 per cent in some to 15 or 20 per cent in others. A return to farming conditions in the natural submarginal areas of a crop every second instead of every third or fifth year would doubtless help some by giving towns an improved economic foundation, increasing state income and so trade, and furnishing more seasonal agricultural labor than now obtains. The present war, if prolonged, will doubtless improve national industrial conditions generally and perhaps temporarily promote the absorption of unemployed employables in great centers. After it, the deluge of unemployed will again spring up, in possibly greater percentages than now.

A population trend of the state may have a bearing on the duration of this submergence. North Dakota has been an exporter of surplus native born population since about 1910. By that time the state was

settled agriculturally; the land had been taken up and put into farms; and foreign born immigration into the state had about ceased. With a high birth rate and a low death rate, there was a heavy natural increase. The state would have nearly a million inhabitants instead of about 700,000 had this excess remained. But the birth rate has been declining since about 1925. Should it continue to decline until it is equated by the low death rate, state population will become stationary. If the farming population follows this pattern, there will be no pressure from increase of population for migration to towns. In that event, the jobless employable farm population now in towns might possibly be expected to eliminate itself ultimately. At least the trend is toward this eventuality.

# Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hills Community†

*Edgar A. Schuler\**

## ABSTRACT

The problems considered in this study are: (a) the degree of agreement among members of a small rural community regarding the social status of families in the community, and (b) how this status is related to certain variables. It is not an attempt to measure social status in terms of externally imposed and rigidly defined criteria. The question is, DO the local families in terms of the language and thought of residents themselves constitute a clearly recognized hierarchy of social status? The data employed consisted of formal family schedules (101), stenographic records of interviews (22), and ratings of families (9). Social status scores were derived from the ratings of the least divergent raters, and these were related to various social factors, opinions, and economic status.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The present paper reports on one phase of a study of two Louisiana cotton-growing communities, one in the delta and the other in the hills.<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this paper it was thought best to consider a single aspect of the total comparative problem, and to limit attention to only the hills community. A further limitation is that data from the white population only will be presented. The questions here to be considered may be formulated as follows: first, a methodological problem, Can social status be objectively determined? second, If so, how is social status related to certain measures of economic status? and third, How do farm families of high and low social status compare with respect to selected social and economic characteristics?

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<sup>1</sup> This comparative study by the writer and Roy E. Hyde of Southeastern Louisiana College, representing partly a continuation and partly an outgrowth of the writer's earlier study of social status among farmers (see *Social Status and Farm Tenure: Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers*, SRR IV [Washington, 1938]) was made possible by a grant-in-aid to the writer from the SSRC, and a working scholarship provided by the Louisiana State University. To the holder of this scholarship, Louise Kemp, and to Mr. Hyde, native rural Louisianians, the writer is also glad to acknowledge his indebtedness both in the field work and in working up the data.



## II. METHODOLOGY

*Selection and Brief Description of the Community.* In the attempt to select a rural community which would be fairly representative of central Southern hills cotton farming regions several sources of information were used. In the first place, data from the 1935 *Census of Agriculture*, by minor civil divisions,<sup>2</sup> were examined. District and parish agents, rural sociologists, and agricultural economists were consulted. Finally, field trips were made to examine at first hand the local areas which, on the basis of the information previously secured, seemed suitable.

The criteria by which the community was chosen included the following considerations: (1) It must be primarily an agricultural community. (2) Cotton must be the major cash crop. (3) It must be in the hills, clearly outside the immediate influence of delta cotton-growing communities. (4) The farms must be small in size; all or nearly all of them must be of the family-farm type rather than plantations. (5) The population of the community must include colored farm families. (6) The land should be neither the best nor the worst to be found in the hills of the central portion of the Cotton Belt. (7) The population of the trade center should be relatively small, preferably less than 1,000. (8) The community should include the center of local governmental activities, that is, it should be a parish seat. So far as is known, the community finally selected satisfies all of the foregoing requirements.<sup>3</sup>

*Types of Data and Methods Used.* Three types of information were secured from members of the community: first, formal interviews following a brief schedule prepared for the purpose; second, informal interviews of which stenographic records were kept; and third, formal ratings of the families who had been interviewed with schedules. These three approaches will now be explained at greater length.

1. The *schedule* was formulated to yield data from both farmers and nonfarmers regarding farm land ownership, housing and household

<sup>2</sup> These data were made available through the kindness of J. P. Montgomery, Louisiana State Land Planning Specialist, BAE, USDA.

<sup>3</sup> Two possible criticisms of the selection made have been pointed out: first, the land is too poor to be representative of Louisiana hills areas generally; second, that extensive plantation operations in the local area at an earlier period may exert even today a disturbing influence. The first criticism, although probably true, loses point if it be conceded that the hills sections of the central Cotton Belt contains a wider range of quality of lands, both good and bad, than do the hills sections of Louisiana. The importance of the second criticism is not yet known, for the role played by plantations in this area in past generations has not yet been adequately investigated.

equipment, migration, social participation, education, and certain opinions. From farmers further information was secured regarding tenure history, size of farm, farming equipment, and in the case of nonowners, tenure arrangements. A total of 101 schedules were filled out for white families, 70 being farmers, 28 residing in the trade center and not farming, and 3 being unclassified.<sup>4</sup> The farmers consisted of 57 owners, 12 renters, and 1 cropper. The nonfarmers consisted of 13 who owned farm property, 10 who did not own farm land, and 5 Work Projects Administration clients who did not own farm land. Although it was not possible within the time available to secure schedule data from every family within the community, a careful check indicated that there was fairly complete coverage of the white farm families within a radius of five to eight miles from the trade center, and that farm owners were not overrepresented. Schedules were taken on about half of the non-farm families; although the representativeness of this group has not been checked, it is thought to be reasonably satisfactory.

2. The *informal interviews* were secured for the most part from members of families other than those covered by schedule, and largely from residents of the trade center. The informants included professional people, present and former public officials, business men, prominent farmers, and other citizens. These interviews were undertaken in part as an experiment, because it was not known whether the taking of a stenographic record would seriously embarrass or inhibit the informants, or noticeably affect the views they expressed. With very few exceptions, however, excellent co-operation was obtained. Apparently the writer's disadvantage in not having in-group speech habits was more than overcome by the in-group advantages enjoyed by his associates in the field work.

3. Several months after the securing of schedule data had been completed, an attempt was made to secure *ratings* of the families on whom schedules had been obtained. Since it was feared that the use of a formal approach would result in a situation too unnatural to yield the fullest co-operation, informal verbal instructions were given similar to the following: "Here is a list of names of families living in this community. Some of them I think you regard as definitely 'high-class' families; others

<sup>4</sup> These consisted of one farm manager, one farmer of indeterminate status, and one nonfarming owner of farm land who was a client of the WPA.

you probably regard as 'low-class' families; and some of them are clearly neither high-class nor low-class. We should like to have you show, by making a check mark in one of these three columns, in which of the three classes each family belongs. We are not asking for your own personal opinion, but rather for what you think is the *general reputation and standing in the community* of these families."

Such ratings were obtained from nine individuals whose maturity, training, experience, and standing in the community made it possible for them without embarrassment, and with but slight hesitation, to rate as many of the scheduled families as they knew well, either personally or by reputation. These raters included farmers, public officials, and professional people. Although most of the raters were not included in the list to be rated, it is highly probable that each of them would have been placed in the "high-class" category.

It will be necessary at this point to explain in some detail the procedure by which these individual ratings were converted into social status scores for each scheduled family.

The first step was to assign arbitrarily a value of "1" to each "high-class," "3" to each "middle-class," and "5" to each "low-class" rating. The percentages of "1," "3," and "5" ratings assigned by the several raters differed widely. (See Table 1, columns C, D, and E) and therefore, as a second step, the data from raters who deviated most widely from the entire group of raters were eliminated. This end was achieved by two separate procedures. First, a simple "index of uniqueness" of ratings was determined for each rater. The number of cases in which one rater's evaluation of a family stood alone, that is, was concurred in by no other rater,<sup>5</sup> was ascertained, and recorded as a percentage of the total number of ratings given by this particular rater. On this basis, the evaluations of Rater Five were eliminated (See Table 2).

The second procedure involved a comparison of the average ratings made by the three raters (Table 1, Group II, consisting of Raters One, Two, and Three) who had lived in the community the shortest period

<sup>5</sup> Examination of the ratings shows that not infrequently a family is rated by different raters as both high and low class. When the ratings of all nine raters are included, the percentage of families regarding whom such disagreements appear is 34; when the evaluations of Rater Five are excluded, the percentage drops to 16; and when only the five "best" raters are considered, only 2 per cent of such disagreements remain.

TABLE 1

## SUMMARY OF RATING DATA

A	B  Number of families rated	PER CENT RATED			F	AVERAGE OF RATINGS					L
		C	D	E		G	H	J	K		
										Rater	
		"1"	"3"	"5"	Total	Farm owners (54) <sup>1</sup>	Farm renters (11) <sup>1</sup>	Nonfarm owners (13) <sup>1</sup>	Nonfarm nonowners (9) <sup>1</sup>	WPA clients (4) <sup>1</sup>	
Rater	One.....	41.0	47.0	12.0	100.0	2.23	2.78	2.17	2.43	3.67	
	Two.....	11.0	57.0	32.0	100.0	3.70	4.60	2.33	2.43	4.00	
	Three.....	8.0	56.0	36.0	100.0	3.51	4.64	2.50	3.40	5.00	
	Four.....	27.0	62.0	11.0	100.0	2.75	3.36	1.50	2.11	3.80	
	Five.....	38.0	2.0	60.0	100.0	3.42	5.00	2.33	3.20	3.80	
	Six.....	38.0	51.0	11.0	100.0	2.45	3.60	1.46	2.20	3.50	
	Seven.....	44.0	41.0	15.0	100.0	2.40	3.73	1.33	1.89	3.50	
	Eight.....	39.0	60.0	11.0	100.0	2.42	3.50	1.33	1.86	3.00	
	Nine.....	12.0	80.0	8.0	100.0	3.05	3.80	2.14	2.67	3.00	
Group I (all 9) <sup>1</sup> .....	25.5	37.2	9.6	72.3	2.85	3.90	1.87	2.39	3.52		
Group II (3 young non-natives) <sup>1</sup> .....	7.3	45.0	20.7	73.0	3.14	3.91	2.33	2.83	4.00		
Group III (3 older natives) <sup>1</sup> .....	33.0	47.6	7.1	87.7	2.51	3.82	1.50	1.90	3.00		
Group IV (5 best) <sup>1</sup> .....	37.0	53.3	7.6	97.9	2.58	3.62	1.49	2.00	3.35		

<sup>1</sup>A family was included if 5 or more ratings were given.<sup>2</sup>A family was included if 2 or more ratings were given.<sup>3</sup>A family was included if 3 or more ratings were given.<sup>4</sup>If a family was rated as "1", "3", or "5" by a majority of the raters it was included in the percentages shown in columns C, D, and E. It was excluded if equal numbers of raters gave conflicting ratings.<sup>5</sup>Number of families.

TABLE 2  
PERCENTAGES OF UNIQUE RATINGS

Rater	Index of Uniqueness
One	13.5
Two	3.0
Three	2.0
Four	3.0
Five	23.0
Six	3.0
Seven	4.0
Eight	2.5
Nine	0.0

with those of the three older natives (Table 1, Group III, consisting of Raters Seven, Eight, and Nine). As might be expected, the former group were migrants to, while the latter were natives of, the community. Considerable discrepancies between the evaluation of the newer and older groups of residents will be noted. Consistently lower average ratings of the recent migrant group of raters led to the rejection of their evaluations. This left, accordingly, the ratings of the five "best raters."

The third and final step consisted of determining the arithmetic average of the scores assigned by the five raters just listed, this average constituting what will here be called a social status score. If a family was rated by less than three of the five finally included raters, the family was excluded from consideration. The 92 remaining families were then arranged in rank order by social status score (See Table 3).

Before concluding this section of the paper, in which an attempt has been made to present a method for objectively determining social status, a few observations regarding raters and ratings may be made. Some of the raters, especially the younger ones, emphasized the differences that would appear if their own, private, personal evaluations were to be compared with those given on the basis of general reputation and standing. A few comments made by one of the raters in the course of making his evaluations may be of interest.

Mr. A: . . . one way he would come in the middle class and one way he would come on top. Looking at it from the aristocratic standpoint, he would come in the middle class.

Mr B           some say he is the leading citizen, and some say he is the biggest crook in the parish He lives in a pretty good home, drives a car, and stands pretty high But I have heard he doesn't pay his bills"

Mr C           put him at the rock bottom He is the essence of nothing He is the sorriest, trifiniest white man I ever saw He is absolute zero Stays in one place until they boot him out and then goes to another

According to another rater

Low class whites are ignorant, lack background, lack ambition—they don't have enough ambition to acquire any resources They are not industrious Upper class people have a little more culture, family background, ambition If they have enough background, they usually scrape up enough ambition to keep in the bracket That happens in the upper class families (white) A man can be a black sheep and still fit in

Evidently differences between raters in duration of residence in the community, in personality, social background, professional outlook, and standing in the community affect their evaluations<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF FARM AND NONFARM FAMILIES RECEIVING VARIOUS SOCIAL STATUS SCORES

Score	Farm families	Nonfarm families
1 00*	3	7
1 40	5	7
1 80	3	0
2 00	5	1
2 20	3	2
2 50	1	0
2 60	11	2
3 00*	19	6
3 40	4	0
3 50	1	0
3 80	2	0
4 00	3	0
4 20	1	0
5 00*	4	2

\*All ratings were in agreement

<sup>6</sup> It is unfortunate that in a study by Wilson Gee which involves an evaluation of social status similar to that in the present study only one rater was employed—*The Qualitative Nature of Rural Depopulation in Santuc Township, South Carolina, 1900-1931* SC AESB 287 (Clemson, January, 1931), p. 9. Basic to another study of rural urban migration by Wilson Gee and Dewees Runk is a classification of families into upper, middle, and lower groups, but the methodology employed is not fully explained—*Qualitative Selection in Cityward Migration, American Journal of Sociology* XXXVII (September, 1931), 257.

Although insufficient time has elapsed since the ratings were first obtained to permit satisfactory testing of the reliability of the ratings, what evidence has been secured along this line suggests that fairly high but not perfect reliability would be found. It is thought that the older native residents would show reliabilities higher than those of the recent migrants to the community.

### III. FINDINGS

*Economic and Social Status.* When all the families on whom schedule information has been secured are arranged in rank order by social status score, what is the occupational distribution? Out of the 10 persons who received consistent upper class rating, 6 are families residing in the trade center, i.e., engaged in occupations other than agriculture, but owning farm land; 3 are farmers (large landowners); and the final individual in the category is a professional person. At the other end of the scale, 6 families received a consistent low class evaluation. Of these, 4 are farmers, consisting of 3 nonowners and one owner. Of the 2 nonfarmers, 1 is a Work Projects Administration client, and the other a laborer who obviously owns no farm land.

Another approach to the same problem is to determine the average social status score for the several occupational categories (See Table 1, columns G to L). Among farmers, owners invariably have a higher average social status score than do renters, the figures according to the best raters being 2.58 and 3.62 respectively. Nonfarmers have been divided into three categories whose average social status score consistently shows a successive decline. The categories, and their average scores, are: first, nonfarmers who own farm land, 1.49; second, nonfarmers who do not own farm land, but who are not on relief, 2.00; and third, nonfarmers who do not own farm land and are Work Projects Administration clients, 3.35.

*Comparison of High and Low Status Farmers.* Let us now take up an analysis of the characteristics differentiating high and low status farm families. For the purposes of this comparison the eight farm families receiving the highest and the lowest scores will be considered. This number, which represents the highest and lowest 12 per cent of farm families in the social status score array, was decided upon to retain the sharpest possible contrast between the extreme categories.

When the heads of households in the two groups are compared as to age, we find there is practically no difference, the average in both

cases being close to 53 years. With respect to the number of living children, there is also no significant difference, the average in both groups being very close to five.

What seem to be significant differences appear both with respect to present tenure status and with respect to tenure history. Every one of the eight farmers in the highest class is at present a farm owner, whereas only three of the eight in the lowest class are farm owners. Furthermore, each of the highest class farmers has been an owner during all his farming history, whereas this is true of only one of the three owners in the lowest class. One renter and one cropper in the lowest category have occupied none but those respective tenure statuses during their farming careers. Of the remaining low status farmers, two renters and two owners began farming on lower rungs of the farm tenure ladder than at the time of enumeration, while one renter has once been an owner.

With respect to mobility the highest class farmers are clearly more stable. Seven of the eight have spent their entire lifetimes in the present community, whereas this is true of only four of the low class farmers.

Differences in educational achievements are pronounced. The average number of years of schooling completed by the highest class farmers is 9.1, while that of their wives is 11.2. For both the lowest class farmers and their wives the average is 5.7 years. Both husband and wife in two of the low class families have had no schooling whatever. Neither head of family in these two cases is literate. These marked differences with respect to education appear also in the case of the children. The average number of grades completed by the offspring of the highest class farmers is 12,<sup>1</sup> and by the offspring of the lowest class farmers is 6.9. In no case do children from the lowest class families report education beyond completion of high school, whereas five of the thirty-two highest class offspring completed college, and ten more reported 2 years of college work. The minimum years of schooling reported by the upper class children is 9, while the minimum for children in the lowest class is 2. Indicative of the prevailing attitudes toward education is what one of the farmers of the highest class said when commenting on the cost of educating his children: "That's the best money I ever spent." A similar attitude toward education is revealed by the statement of one of the lower class farmers: "I'd just given anything in the world if I'd just had an education, but I never had any opportunity to go to school."

<sup>1</sup> It might be noted that in Louisiana 12 years of schooling means that one year of college has been completed.



Related to education is the number of publications regularly received. Among the upper class farmers the range reported is from 1 to 9, and the average is 5. Among the lowest class farmers the average is .6, the maximum being 3, while five families received no publications whatever.

In order to get at the informal social participation of the scheduled families, this question was put: "What are the names of the five families with whom you visit most?" A large proportion of the names secured in this way are not included in the list of scheduled families and consequently are not among those rated. It is evident, however, that the social status score of those for whom information is available closely parallels that of the family supplying these names. The average social status score of the highest category of farmers is 1.25, while the average score of the seven families named by them on whom we have data is 1.51. The corresponding scores in the case of the lowest category of farm families are 4.52 and 4.55 respectively, eight families having been named. To check further on this point the next highest and next lowest seven farmers in the array by social status score were compared with the following results. The averages of the reporting groups were 1.91 and 3.53, while the averages of the families on whom we have data named by the group were 2.60 and 3.35, and numbers of the families involved being thirteen and eleven respectively. Briefly, then, this is the sequence of average social status scores of families named by successively lower classes of informants: highest, 1.51; next highest, 2.60; next lowest, 3.35; and lowest, 4.55. Although the number of families involved is small, the closeness of relationship seems striking.

A consideration of the extent and nature of contact with several public agencies reveals significant differences. Four of the eight highest class farmers reported having had contact with the parish agent, while the same is true of two of the lowest class farmers, both being owners. In six of the highest class families contact with the home demonstration agent was reported, while this is true in only one case among the lowest class farmers. In two instances upper class farmers reported having had contact in an advisory capacity with the Parish Welfare agent, while three of the lowest class farmers reported contact, but not of an advisory nature, with the same official. Four of the eight upper class farmers had received assistance from a nearby station of the Soil Conservation Service, whereas this is true of none of the low class farmers. Although the number of farmers reporting no contact with the Farm Security Administration, or its predecessor, the Resettlement Administration, is the

same (six) in both highest and lowest categories, the nature of the contact in those cases where reported, as would be expected, is very different in the two classes of informants. The upper class farmers reported contact of an advisory or intercessory nature, i.e., on behalf of tenants, whereas the low class farmers reported asking for assistance. Two of the upper class farmers reported having received assistance through the Farm Credit Association, while none of the low class farmers reported contact with that agency. Probably more significant than any of the foregoing comparisons is that regarding contact with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, or the Work Projects Administration. The only contact of the upper class farmers with these organizations was in an advisory or administrative capacity, while six of the eight lower class farmers, including one of the owners, reported present or previous employment by one of these relief agencies.

A number of comparisons will next be made with respect to the economic conditions of the two classes of farmers. First, with respect to numbers of acres of farm land operated, the range for the highest class farmers is from 15 acres to 250, with an average of 79, while for the lowest class farmers the range is from 12 to 60 acres with an average of 24. Since this is probably the most significant measure of economic status included in our data, an analysis was made of the relationship between social status score and acreage of farm land operated by each of the 65 farm families. For those whose farm land operated is between 10 and 30 acres, social status scores range from the highest to the lowest possible. When farm land operated is less than 10 acres, social status is neither very high, nor very low; when the acreage operated is more than 30 there is little likelihood that social status will be lower than middle class, and the score tends to increase with the acreage reported. The coefficient of correlation between the two variables is  $+ .53 \pm .06$ .<sup>8</sup>

With respect to a number of types of possessions reported, differences are not significant. For example, each of the highest class farmers and all but one of the lowest class report owning milk cows; five of the

<sup>8</sup> A correlation of  $+ .587$  between "community value" (defined as "citizenship, good living standard; substantial worth in the life of the community") and "financial success" (defined as "ability to make money in producing crops, raising stock, or the like") is reported by Edgar C. Higbie in his privately printed Columbia University doctoral dissertation entitled *An Objective Method for Determining Certain Fundamental Principles In Secondary Agricultural Education*, pp. 9, 21. This study was based on ratings of 154 separate groups of thirteen farmers each by 154 raters. The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Higbie for making available a copy of this study, and to T. Lynn Smith for acquainting him with it.

highest class and three of the lowest class farmers have beef cattle; six farmers in each class keep hogs; and all farmers in both classes keep chickens and have gardens. Fruits, vegetables, and berries are canned or preserved by the families of practically all farmers in both classes. With respect to the preserving or canning of meat there is a difference, however, for six upper class families and only one of the lower class families report this practice.

Next to be considered are housing and household conveniences. The number of rooms in upper class houses ranges from 5 to 11, the average being 7.2, while the range for the lower class houses is from 3 to 6, with an average of 4.5. It is obvious that this crude measure of housing falls far short of an adequate description of the contrast between the houses involved in the two classes of farmers, but data on household furnishings and equipment help somewhat to fill in the picture. Seven iceboxes are reported by the upper class farmers as compared with 3 in the lower class. Seven radios likewise are reported by upper class farmers, while only 1 is reported by lower class farmers. With regard to the possession of sewing machines and washing machines, and in the type of drinking water supply, there is little differentiation between the classes. Seven out of eight families in either class own sewing machines but none possesses a washing machine. The characteristic well and bucket is reported by five of the upper and six of the lower class farmers. Type of sanitary facilities likewise fails to differentiate clearly, for five farmers in each class report unimproved toilets. It may be pointed out, however, that in the upper class three sanitary or improved toilets are reported, while none of these is found in the case of the lower class farmers, and one of the latter reports no toilet facilities whatever.

None of the upper class farmers reports his nearest public highway to be a dirt road, whereas this is true of three of the lower class farmers; each of the latter reports riding on horseback as his usual means of transportation. Of the remaining low class farmers, one reports the use of a team and wagon, two report trucks, while two report no means of transportation whatever. Among the upper class farmers, on the other hand, 5 passenger cars and 1 truck are reported, while one farmer uses a team and wagon and one reports no means of transportation.\*

\*Neighboring kinfolk living in the community who have adequate transportation facilities compensate for these deficiencies in the case of the two upper class farmers who reported neither car nor truck.

An attempt was made to compare the farmers with respect to medical facilities utilized. The information secured, while failing to differentiate clearly between the classes, may be suggestive. One of the low class farmers reported the use of medicine without prescription at the time of the last illness in the family, whereas this was true of none of the upper class farmers. Furthermore, at the time of the last childbirth in two of the low class families, midwives provided the only assistance received, whereas in every case in the upper class families a doctor was in attendance.

Turning now to data of a subjective nature, let us consider opinions and attitudes regarding tenure classes.<sup>10</sup> Practically no difference was found between upper class and lower class farmers' opinions regarding farm ownership. The statement of one upper class farmer is characteristic: "All those who have any backbone have got their own places." Farm owners in each case were indicated as the tenure class of white farmers thought to be best off, but there was no unanimity among either highest or lowest class farmers as to which category of white nonowners was worst off. The opinions of upper class and lower class farmers with respect to tenure classes of colored farmers who are best off are equally divided. Some considered colored owners to be best off, apparently on the assumption that what is true of ownership for white farmers is likewise true of colored farmers; while others, apparently on the assumption of significant race differences, said that colored sharecroppers are best off, usually because they get fuller supervision. Of the upper class farmers, four said that colored renters are worst off, while the remaining opinions were scattered; among the low class farmers no more than two specified any tenure class as being worst off. The reasons given by the upper class farmers who spoke of renters as worst off include: "Furnishing themselves," "no equipment," "poor management," and "can't accumulate."

Although no questions were included in the schedule with regard to attitudes toward relief, and our data are therefore incomplete, it became evident soon after field work was begun that the subject was a burning issue. Generally speaking, the attitudes toward relief held by high- and low-class farmers are contrasted, the former usually disapproving, the latter usually approving. The following quotation is fairly representative

<sup>10</sup> a. "What tenure class of white farm people do you think is *best* off? Why?" b. "What tenure class of white farm people do you think is *worst* off? Why?" c. "What tenure class of colored farm people do you think is *best* off? Why?" d. "What tenure class of colored farm people do you think is *worst* off? Why?"

of the upper class position on the question: "One thing I have got against our relief work—it has profited most the people who never did try to do anything." The contrasting low-class point of view is implied in a response to the field worker's question: "Did you ask the Parish Welfare agent for relief?" "Certainly, but they didn't give us any help. Their excuse was . . . ." In view of cases such as the foregoing it is hardly possible to accept at face value the statements of disapproval of relief made by some low class individuals. The disapproval may actually reflect an unsuccessful attempt to secure aid rather than a conviction of the demoralizing effects of the relief program.

#### IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The first question to be answered in this paper was: Can social status be objectively determined? The answer is, yes. But it must be recognized that the "social status" of a family, even at any particular time, is highly relative: what it is depends upon numerous factors, subjective as well as objective, involving both the family to be judged and the person doing the judging. "Reputation and standing in the community" may be as useful a criterion as any, but to one rater, educational achievement, to another, sexual morality, and to another, the status held by ancestors may be the chief consideration.

The second question concerned the relation between social status and certain measures of economic status. It was found that highest social status was held most frequently by nonagriculturists who own farm land, but also by farm owners whose properties are relatively large, and by one professional person. Lowest social status, on the other hand, was held most often by nonowning farmers, but also by one farm owner, one nonagricultural laborer, and one Work Projects Administration client. Among farmers, ownership is associated on the average with higher social status than nonownership, and there is a tendency for large holdings to be positively correlated with higher social status. But since social status held by ancestors apparently tends to persist, especially in agricultural communities, the relationship between present social status and present economic status is by no means perfect. If the evaluations of recent comers to the community, rather than old residents, were to be taken as a basis for determining social status the relationship might be much closer. A similar increase in the closeness of relationship might follow if economic status of the previous generation were to be correlated with social status scores now given by older resi-

dents of the community. These suggestions are hypotheses, of course, the validity of which we hope soon to be able to test.

The third and final problem was to compare farm families of high and low social status with respect to selected social and economic characteristics. A comparison of the highest and lowest social status farmers showed apparently significant differences to exist with respect to the following matters: present tenure, tenure history, mobility, education of both parents and children, publications received, various economic items, attitudes toward relief, type of contacts with various public officials and agencies, and social status of families with whom visiting takes place. The importance of the status, both social and economic, held by one's ancestors in the community is suggested by the fact that highest status farmers have been owners all their lives, and by the fact that, with one exception, they have lived their entire lives in the present community. But it is to be borne in mind that social status of person or family is constantly undergoing modification. The younger generation, influenced by the standards of immigrants to the community, by education, and by changing conditions within the community as well as by changes within the resident families themselves, is bound to develop its own evaluation of social status, its own social stratification.

### DISCUSSION

Upon reading the paper, I was pleased to find that Professor Schuler made an attempt to apply the rating technique to the study of social status in a small community. There is a need for the use of more accurate methods in studies of community organization. Rating methods have been limited, for the most part, to public school, college, and university populations; consequently, they are not adapted to general adult population. An attempt to work out a method of research applicable to the social status of families should, therefore, be commended and appreciated.

The organization of the paper, on the whole, is good. The purpose is clearly set before the reader, and the methodology is treated apart from the actual findings. A concise summary and conclusions present a useful abstract of the paper.

My purpose, however, in this discussion is mainly to point out some of the defects or faults as I see them. In doing this, I do not intend to underestimate the work which has been done in connection with the

study. Rather, I wish to present a few suggestions for improving the methodology in this field.

1. One of the first things which I have noticed is that no bibliography was given in the paper. Although articles have been published on the same or a similar topic, no references were made to such studies. Unless the study is entirely new and stands alone in the field, I consider it necessary to include such references.

2. It is stated that a schedule was used to yield data from farm and nonfarm families regarding land ownership, housing, and household equipment, migration, social participation, education, and certain opinions. I looked for the schedule, but I could not find it. I wish the author had included the schedule because its form and the types of questions asked are fundamental to understanding the study. It is a part of the methodology and no criticism can be complete without an examination of the instruments of measurement used.

3. In a pioneering study, it is perhaps permissible to use five raters, but this should not be the rule. Social status, which depends upon the opinions of five people, does not appear to have very great value. In my estimation, at least twenty-five judges should have been used and at least ten judgments should have been made about each family.

4. Elimination of judges after they have been used is a bad practice and waste of time. Selection of judges can be made before they are approached. Definite criteria could be followed which would do justice to all classes.

5. Instructions given to raters do not seem to me to be definite enough. "General reputation and standing in the community" is a phrase too general to give the rater an idea as to what is meant. From the instructions it appears that the judges were supposed to have rated each family as a unit and not just the head of the family. Comments, however, indicate that at least one judge rated the head of the family rather than the family as a whole.

6. Table 3 does not give a clear picture of social status among farm and nonfarm families. The number of cases does not warrant the use of fourteen different social status scores. A smaller number of scores would have been preferred. Besides the number of families in each social status category, proportions should have been given. In fact, relative numbers in this case are more important than absolute numbers.

7. The organization of findings is not quite appropriate. I do not see any reason for using two headings. The first section is limited to one page, while the second extends over as many as nine and a half pages. What is called economic status is really occupational status. It would have been better to use topical classification of findings instead of both topical and methodological arrangements. In a horizontal classification, it is always advisable to use only one criterion instead of two or more as employed by the author.

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#### DISCUSSION

It is not easy to discuss the results of one part of a larger study without knowing the nature and aims of the whole project. Present evaluation and criticism must of course be confined to the phase of the study here reported.

Dr. Schuler's paper presents answers to three questions. Facts are already fairly definitely established concerning the second and third questions, *viz.*, How is social status related to economic status? And how do families of high and low social status compare with respect to certain social and economic characteristics? However, following the line of argument of the paper, it is necessary to have facts on these points before an affirmative or negative answer can be arrived at for the first question, *viz.*, Can social status be objectively determined? Inasmuch as the correlation between social and economic status has long been recognized and since the sample here reported on is very limited, the main contribution of the paper must lie in its consideration of the measurability of family social status. Hence, this discussion will be limited to the methodological phase of the paper.

The first controversial point revolves around the question of whether the statistical method, as used by Dr. Schuler, measures as adequately the social status of the families in the community and leads to as accurate an understanding of the relation between social status and other variables, as would the LePlayist type of case study of a few selected families. It is true that the paper demonstrates the validity of certain already recognized facts concerning social status, but it may be that some of the more subtle processes and causal factors in the achievement or loss of social status by a family will remain undiscovered as long as factors known or thought to be important are considered in twos or threes apart from the total family situation.



A next point to be considered is the validity and comparability of the social status ratings assigned by the nine selected "raters." Dr. Schuler has shown meticulous care and objectivity in his statistical treatment of the ratings. The question is: How valid and how well standardized are ratings of family social status when the terms "high-class," "middle-class," "low-class," and "general reputation and standing in the community" are the only guide-posts given to raters with varying backgrounds? Stuart Chase would be inclined to substitute the word "blab" for these general terms of emotional content.<sup>1</sup> In previous attempts to rate something similar to family social status, a number of explicit, easily definable guide-posts have usually been set up to assure some degree of objectivity and comparability. Among such studies may be mentioned those of Chapman and Sims, Chapin, Burdick, Kirkpatrick, Hypes, and McCormick.<sup>2</sup> Had more objective guide-posts been provided for the rating process, it appears probable that there would have been agreement among the five "finally chosen raters" for more than 41 of the 92 families included, as is the case with the present data. In a previous paper<sup>3</sup> Dr. Schuler has pointed out four elements of the concept of social status. These might be used as a basis upon which to construct more adequate guide-posts. This is not to say that the rating procedure does not have value in family research. Indeed the consistency and logicity of Dr. Schuler's data indicate the possibilities of the method even without a set of definable guide-posts to standardize the ratings.

Apart from the problem of measuring social status in a valid, objective, and comparable manner, so that its correlation with other variables may be noted, is the fact that the social status of a family exists only

<sup>1</sup> Stuart Chase, *The Tyranny of Words* (New York: Harcourt, 1938).

<sup>2</sup> See J. S. Chapman and V. M. Sims, "Quantitative Measurement of Certain Aspects of Socio-Economic Status," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XVI (1925), 380-90; V. M. Sims, *The Measurement of Socio-Economic Status*, Bloomington, Ill., 1928; F. Stuart Chapin, "Socio-Economic Status—Some Preliminary Results of Measurement," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII (January 1932), 581-87; E. M. Burdick, *A Group Test of Home Environment*, Columbia University Archives of Psychology, No. 101, 1928; E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Can Standards of Living Be Rated from Observation?" *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (November, 1933), 360-67; E. L. Kilpatrick, "Rating Marginal Homes from Observation," *Rural Sociology*, II (March, 1937), 51-58; J. L. Hypes, V. A. Rapport and E. M. Kennedy, *Connecticut Rural Youth and Farming Occupations*, Connecticut AESB 182 (November, 1932), especially pp. 37-38; Mary J. McCormick, *A Scale for Measuring Social Adequacy*, Ph.D. dissertation (Catholic University of America, 1930).

<sup>3</sup> "The Present Social Status of American Farm Tenants," *Rural Sociology*, III (March, 1938), 20-33.

in the attitudes of other people and is therefore a relative matter. From this point of view it would have been interesting to know more about the nine originally chosen raters and the variations in the ratings assigned by them. This is touched upon when the rater's length of residence in the community is shown to have an important bearing upon the ratings assigned. However, future study might well include a number of raters from the various social classes in the community, rather than choosing all from the high-class group. For instance, how does the social status of *Family-A* vary among people in different social classes in the community? This is not a criticism of the present paper but is offered as a suggestion for further research in the field of social status.

One concludes that Dr. Schuler's paper is a worthwhile contribution. He presents a careful analysis of his data. The method of refining the material dealing with ratings by eliminating those raters who deviated most from the entire group of raters is a useful technique in some types of research. The major limitations of the study appear to be: first, the difficulty of understanding a family situation by breaking it down into various factors for statistical treatment; second, the lack of definable guide-posts to assure more validity and comparability in the ratings of family social status; and third, the fact that raters were chosen from only one social class with the result that the picture of the social status of the white families in the community is as yet incomplete.

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# Notes

## THE RELATION OF RESIDENTIAL INSTABILITY TO FERTILITY

Recent research in the general field of differential fertility has emphasized social-economic and regional differentials and trends. Practically no attention has been given to the important problem of the mutual interrelationships between migration and fertility. The present study concerns the relation of one type of population movement, residential instability, to fertility. Related findings have repeatedly hinted at the possibility of such a relationship. To mention but one, Notestein's analysis of census data for the East North Central States in 1910 showed that tenants and hired laborers exhibited decidedly larger fertility ratios than did owners.<sup>1</sup> And that residential mobility is relatively greater among tenant and laborer groups than among owners is generally recognized. This suggests that mobility may be related to the higher fertility ratios of agricultural tenants and laborers.

The findings of this study are based on population schedules taken in January and February of 1939 from 1,046 farm households residing in the sugar parishes of South Louisiana.<sup>2</sup> The sampling procedure used to select these households was designed to distribute the sample in a proportionate manner among the several parishes and parts of parishes comprising the sugar area.<sup>3</sup> Of the 1,046 sample households, 385, or 36.8, were colored. The sample households were divided into two groups on the basis of length of residence in the particular houses in which they were resident when interviewed. Those having moved into their present abodes since January 1, 1935 were designated as mobile, whereas those living there prior to that time were considered immobile. According to this residential criterion, 632 households (418 white and 214 Negro) qualified as immobile and the remaining 414 (243 white and 171 Negro) as mobile. The farm households included in the immobile group had remained continuously in the same house for four or more years. The mobile group was made up of residually unstable farm households that frequently moved from farm to farm, ordinarily within the same type of farming area. Over one fifth of these

<sup>1</sup> Frank W. Notestein, *Problems of Population*, edited by G. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers (London: Allen and Unwin, 1931), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Schedules were taken in the following parishes: Ascension, Assumption, Iberia, Iberville, Lafayette, Lafourche, St. Calderon, St. James, St. John, St. Martin, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Vermilion, and West Baton Rouge.

<sup>3</sup> This apportionment among the parishes was made on the basis of the fraction of all occupied farm dwellings in the area constituted by the occupied farm dwellings of each parish. For example, if a given parish had 10.0 per cent of all the occupied dwellings of the entire area within its boundaries, its quota of households would be 10.0 per cent of the total studied. The number of households assigned to each parish were located on numerous half-mile stretches of roads so distributed over the entire parish as to yield a representative sample.

mobile households had lived in the general community area of present residence for only one year or less, over one-half for five years or less, and 65 per cent of them for less than ten years

The fertility ratios for the immobile and mobile households computed on the basis of the number of women 15-44, as well as the number 20-44, are compared in Table 1.

TABLE 1  
THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 15-44 AND 20-44  
OF THE IMMOBILE AND MOBILE GROUPS BY RACE

A BASED ON WOMEN 15-44				
Group	Immobile	Mobile	Difference	Percentage
Total	432	679	247	57.2
White	462	709	247	53.5
Negro	339	637	298	87.9
B BASED ON WOMEN 20-44				
Total	600	856	256	42.7
White	632	873	241	38.1
Negro	529	831	302	57.1

The relatively greater fertility ratios of the mobile households are conspicuous. Both the Negro and white females of the mobile group exhibited ratios greatly in excess of those characterizing the corresponding females of the immobile group. Although the fertility ratios of the Negro females were smaller than those of the white females in every case, the differential between the two mobility groups was more marked for the Negroes.

One selective mechanism of migration definitely known to operate in all population movements is that concerning the age of the movers.<sup>4</sup> Adolescents and young adults always constitute a greater proportion of the mobile than the general population. The young adult age groups are likewise known to be more fertile. These facts raise the question as to whether the age distribution alone might have been responsible for the relatively greater fertility ratios characterizing the residually mobile Negro and white females. This possibility was tested by the following technique. The age specific fertility rates, i.e., the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women in the United States by 5 year age groups were applied to the percentage age distributions of the sample immobile and mobile females of both racial aggregates.<sup>5</sup> Assuming that other factors are

<sup>4</sup> Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, SSRC Bulletin 43 (New York, 1938), p. 11

<sup>5</sup> See Whelpton, *Population Statistics, I*, National Resources Committee (October, 1937), p. 40.

constant, any discrepancy between the fertility ratios of the immobile and mobile groups computed in this manner may be attributed to a more or a less favorable age distribution of one group.

Actually the age distributions of the mobile females were found to make for higher fertility ratios. However, the limited extent of this tendency relative to the tremendous differential occurring leaves the greater part of the excess unexplained. In Table 2 the fertility ratios, actual and computed,<sup>6</sup> for the immobile and mobile females are compared with respect to the percentage excesses in the mobile group. The fertility differential actually found was approximately five times greater among the white females and approximately eight times greater among the Negro females than the difference attributable to their respective age distributions.

TABLE 2

THE FERTILITY RATIOS, ACTUAL AND COMPUTED (BASED ON THE NUMBER OF WOMEN 15-44), FOR BOTH RESIDENTIAL CATEGORIES BY RACE COMPARED WITH RESPECT TO THE PERCENTAGE EXCESSES IN THE MOBILE GROUPS

Group	ACTUAL			COMPUTED		
	Immobile	Mobile	Percentage Excess	Immobile	Mobile	Percentage Excess
Total	432	679	57	349	383	11 0
White	462	709	53	350	379	10 8
Negro	339	339	87	347	388	11 2

Another presentation of the wide gap unbridged by the age factor is a comparison of the number of children under 5 actually found per 1,000 mobile women 15-44 to the number that could be expected from their age distribution.<sup>7</sup> These data are presented in Table 3. Roughly, the number of children under 5 found per 1,000 mobile females 15-44 was over 40 per cent greater than the number ordinarily resulting from such a relatively favorable age distribution. The difference between actual and expected ratios was considerably greater for the Negro than the white females. Unquestionably, then, the age distribution cannot be held responsible for the comparatively excessive fertility of the mobile females.

A factor thus far neglected in our treatment which may have a determinative role in the discovered fertility differentials is the marital status of the females

<sup>6</sup> The computed fertility ratios (as previously indicated in text) are those that would pertain should the sample mobile and immobile females bear children in accordance with the average age-specific fertility rates for the entire United States.

<sup>7</sup> This expected number of children under 5 per 1000 mobile females 15-44 represents the same percentage excess over the actual number of children under 5 per 1000 immobile females that was found to be attributable to the mobile age distribution by the operations referred to in the text. This expected number was arrived at by the following simple equation: Computed immobile fertility ratio: Computed mobile fertility ratio=Actual immobile fertility:  $x$  (Mobile fertility ratio expected from age distribution).

TABLE 3

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 MOBILE WOMEN 15-44  
COMPARED TO THE NUMBER EXPECTED FROM THEIR AGE DISTRIBUTION

Group	Actual	Expected	Excess	
			Number	Percentage
Total.....	679	474	205	43.2
White.....	709	501	208	41.5
Negro.....	637	379	258	68.0

15-44 of the two residential categories. Any possible distorting influence of this factor was ruled out by limiting the fertility considerations to married women of the sample. The number of children under 5 per 1,000 married women (15-44) by race for each of the mobility groups is presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

THE NUMBER OF CHILDEN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 MARRIED WOMEN (15-44)  
OF BOTH MOBILITY GROUPS BY RACE

Group	Immobile	Mobile	Excess	
			Number	Percentage
Total . . . . .	700	940	240	34.3
White . . . . .	726	939	213	29.3
Colored . . . . .	653	941	288	44.1

In every case the fertility ratios of the mobile married females was significantly larger than that for the immobile married females. However, these differentials found for married females were only slightly greater than half the size of those prevailing for all females.

Is it likely that the fertility differential between immobile and mobile wives would disappear but for a more favorable age distribution characterizing those mobile? In order to answer this question, the same technique used to discover the influence of age for "all women" was applied to the married females. This essentially is tantamount to holding both age and marital status constant and observing the comparative fertility ratios of the two groups. In Table 5 the actual and computed fertility ratios for the immobile and mobile wives by race are compared with respect to percentage excesses in the mobile groups. It is obvious that the age distribution was a negligible factor in the married females' fertility differentials. The small role it did have apparently made for greater fertility among the mobile Negro wives and slightly retarded it among the corresponding white wives.

All of the evidence yielded by this study point to a positive association between residential instability and fertility. If such demographic factors as age

TABLE 5

THE FERTILITY RATIOS, ACTUAL AND STANDARDIZED, FOR THE IMMOBILE AND MOBILE FEMALES BY RACE COMPARED WITH RESPECT TO PERCENTAGE EXCESS IN MOBILE GROUPS

Groups	ACTUAL			COMPUTED		
	<i>Immobile</i>	<i>Mobile</i>	<i>Percentage Excess</i>	<i>immobile</i>	<i>Mobile</i>	<i>Percentage Excess</i>
Total.....	700	940	34.3	444	449	1.1
White.....	726	939	29.3	445	443	-.6
Negro.....	653	941	44.1	436	456	5.0

and marital status fail to explain this relationship completely, as these data indicate, what other conditions may be partially responsible? It seems likely that those social characteristics, such as poverty, ignorance, and lack of skill, to which is ordinarily attributed the high fertility of classes at the bottom of the socio-economic scale, would be present in even more extreme forms among highly mobile low-income farm groups. It follows that the mobility may be considered a cause as well as a result of these conditions. Of course no simple causal relationship is postulated. Rather the evidence presented would seem to justify the statement of a functional interrelationship between rural mobility and fertility that would in no way exclude the influence of one or more additional factors.

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### SOCIAL RESEARCH IN ACTION

Since the depression years, the increase in the types and the activity of federal agencies dealing with social and economic problems has turned the spotlight upon social research. This is especially true in the rural field as a result of the expanded operations of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Administrators of the various state and federal agricultural programs have used the services of the agronomist, the geneticist, the veterinarian, and others to good advantage. To supplement the work of these specialists, the administrators turned to the social scientists for further assistance. It was recognized that the knowledge of what was possible, from the standpoint of scientific agriculture, must be tempered by what was desirable from the standpoint of individual and group values.

Practical application of social science has not been a new development. Social research has frequently operated in conjunction with programs designed to promote civic welfare. Most of such activity in past years, however, had been restricted to local areas and local situations. Such research for the most part was haphazard and informal in the sense that it was not always recognized as a distinct function of the agency.

The emphasis upon the work of the research sociologist has grown. His responsibility has likewise grown, whether he operates as a staff member of a rural action program, or as an independent adviser. His function is to collect, analyze, and interpret his findings with respect to the administrator's immediate and future problems. He must be capable of providing the administrator with alternative courses of action. He must measure the results of the program and evaluate it in part and as a whole in terms of present and long-time social values. He becomes, in effect, a social engineer.

Programs handling millions of dollars annually to assist in the social and economic re-adjustments of individuals, families, and groups cannot afford to advance blindly. Research is needed as a guide to test not only what should be done from the standpoint of greatest social values, but to determine the regions or localities where assistance is required. It is also needed to test the methods and objectives, and lastly to measure results of the program. It would be extremely foolhardy to launch a nationwide program of soil conservation, for example, without proper knowledge of how the methods being used would affect the people living on the land. A program of rehabilitation among disadvantaged farm families, for example, should have adequate information as to what constitutes a "disadvantaged condition." Who are these families; where do they live; what can be done for them; what can be done to prevent other families from entering the disadvantaged class? When the objectives are crystallized into active procedure the results should be analyzed and evaluated in terms of the greatest good to the individuals, to the community, and to the nation.

The research sociologist will be unable to find all of the answers to all of the questions. The least he can do is to frame the data discovered, together with the analyses and the applications to be drawn, in such a manner that will assist the administrator in facing the problems confronting his program. A functional relationship between researcher and administrator can be effective only through a working co-operation. The administrator must make known the particular problems he expects to meet. The research sociologist not only should cover those specific problems but should also anticipate, insofar as is possible, related problems that may arise. In this regard he operates not only as a guide for current activities, but also as a forecaster for future activities. Perfection in his guidance and his predictions will not be expected. The administrator is merely acknowledging that the devices of the social scientist will offer additional assurance that the purposes of the program will be fulfilled.

Such assistance will come, not only from the research sociologist on the administrative staff, but will come also from social scientists carrying out independent research. The administrative value of such research will be enhanced if the collection and analyses of data cover the following five phases in whole or in part. They are applicable to agencies working in rural areas, such as the Farm Security Administration, the Social Security Board, the Work Projects Administration, and other state and federal programs.

*Locating the Problems and Problem Areas.* The analysis of the six rural prob-



lem areas by Beck and Forster is an example of the type of study designed for practical use in analyzing special problems and their location.<sup>1</sup> The problem areas are defined; the characteristics of the people and resources are studied; and the plans and prospects for rehabilitation of the people are analyzed. Possible indices for use in locating problem areas have received the attention of a number of students. Lively and Almack have described the statistical use of census and other data in locating such areas.<sup>2</sup> Knowledge as to the location and description of problem areas is of value in developing corrective programs on a regional basis.

*Measuring the Type and Intensity of the Problems.* The report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy illustrates the measurement of a specific problem.<sup>3</sup> Tenancy is viewed with respect to its effect upon the people and the land. Measures are made of the different types of tenancy, the intensity of tenancy and the problems arising out of farm tenancy in various regions. The report affords practical assistance to the administrator in pointing out the nature and the degree of tenancy problems.

*Indicating and Evaluating Methods of Approach.* A number of existing programs did not have the benefit of the experience of previous programs dealing with similar problems. It was therefore necessary to evaluate certain methods of procedure used in the past by similar agencies dealing with related problems. For example, very little was known in this country about the selection of farm families for resettlement or colonization projects. It was necessary for the Farm Security Administration to undertake studies of family selection methods used by other agencies in rural areas. These included studies of family selection on reclamation projects in this country, and colonization projects in other countries.<sup>4</sup> The existing agencies have now operated for a sufficient length of time to allow a new perspective of methods through the study of their own experience. The methods now being used may be found adequate, or the need for adjustments may be shown.

*Measuring Progress.* A yardstick is needed for use in evaluating the degree of success of each program. It is essential that the administrator have a periodic check on not only the favorable but on the unfavorable aspects of his program as well. To attempt to operate an action program without such checks would

<sup>1</sup> P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, *Six Rural Problem Areas*, Research Monograph I, FERA (Washington, November, 1935). 167 pp.

<sup>2</sup> C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas With Application to Ohio*, Dept. of Rural Economics Mimeograph Bulletin 106, Ohio State University and Ohio AES, FSA Region III co-operating (Columbus, January, 1938). Mimeographed, Part I, 34 pp.; Part II, 23 pp.

<sup>3</sup> *Farm Tenancy*, Report of the President's Committee, prepared under the auspices of the National Resources Committee (Washington, February, 1937). 108 pp.

<sup>4</sup> John B. Holt, *An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects*, SRR 1, USDA, FSA and BAE co-operating (Washington, September, 1937). 54 pp. See also, Marie Jasny, *Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project—Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California*, SRR V, USDA, FSA and BAE co-operating (Washington, June, 1938). 88 pp.

compare with attempts to navigate a steamship without aid of compass or sextant. In order to observe the results of its own program the Farm Security Administration recently completed an analysis of farm families receiving assistance through its Rehabilitation Division.<sup>5</sup> Although the study left many questions unanswered, it made available to the administrators of the program an analysis of the experience of the organization in rehabilitating disadvantaged farm families.

*Basis for Planning.* Programs dealing with social and economic maladjustments within agriculture, for example, will probably be unable to accomplish any lasting benefits through short-time operations. Progress is necessarily slow. Planning must therefore go beyond that of budgeting for the next fiscal year. Certain of the changes required for eliminating or reducing the maladjustments in the man-land relationships may take generations to accomplish. The safest basis available for future planning is upon information relating to each of the preceding four factors. A survey of agricultural conditions in the Middle West illustrates this type of research.<sup>6</sup> A study of existing factors and available methods of approach are used as the basis for future planning. It is a type of research that can be used by administrators of national, state, or even local programs which are dealing with the general problems characteristic of the Great Plains.

The testing of objectives of the program is a correlative of planning. Are the accepted goals the most desirable from the standpoint of the local community, or the nation? Is it wise to subsidize farm operators under existing methods of laissez-faire agriculture? Is it desirable to promote home-ownership of family-size farms? Which is the most desirable in disadvantaged areas, readjustment of man-land relationships, or resettlement into other areas? Questions of this nature will be raised whenever the program concerned with such problems is outlining its future activity. Will social research accept the obligation of using its existing methods and techniques in supplying all available information for the administrator's use?

In selecting the foregoing studies as examples of each type of research no attempt has been made to pick out individual studies and hold them up as perfect examples of what is needed. The research needs of each particular agency will dictate the standards for its own program. The five phases listed, however, will probably be found applicable to most action programs working within rural areas. Social research which fails to provide information on each phase or which fails to supply it at the time it becomes needed by the agency has evaded its greatest responsibility.

*Summary.* A practical view of the function of social research is that it affords a better knowledge and understanding of society in order to facilitate the development of social assets and the reduction of social liabilities. This purpose

<sup>5</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families*, SRR IX, USDA, FSA and BAE co-operating (Washington, August, 1938). 93 pp.

<sup>6</sup> *The Future of the Great Plains*, Report of the Great Plains Committee (Washington, December, 1936). 194 pp.

can best be served by developing a co-operative and functional relationship between researcher and administrator. Only by doing this can the social scientist justify the responsibility that has been placed upon him in recent years. No longer can he look upon social science as an end in itself, with no concern for its practical application. If he does, science will not achieve its ultimate progress and the social scientist will labor under the self-imposed handicap of isolating himself from both the source and the purpose of his own existence. The socially desirable alternative is full acceptance of his role in the dynamic field of social engineering.

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#### HAVANA MEETING OF THE PERMANENT AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

As the United States representative on the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor Office, I feel an obligation to keep the students of rural problems in this country informed concerning the activities of the committee. While the International Labor Office has been organized and has been functioning for over twenty years, it was not until 1937 that it organized a permanent committee to study the international problems of the vast number of workers engaged in agriculture throughout the world. The first meeting of this committee was held in Geneva, Switzerland, in February, 1938.<sup>1</sup> The second meeting of the entire committee was called for April, 1939, but owing to political disturbances in Europe was postponed until October 30, and on account of the outbreak of war in September had to be again postponed. In lieu of this meeting of the entire committee it was decided to hold a meeting of the American representatives at Havana in connection with the American Labor Conference on November 23, 1939. This meeting was attended by the representatives from Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Venezuela, and the United States. There were two items on the agenda:

1. The effect of the present situation on the welfare and standard of living of the agricultural populations.
2. Extension of social insurance to the rural population.

While the committee recognized that present conditions were not comparable with those obtaining throughout the world during the previous World War, they nevertheless canvassed carefully the economic and social repercussions of that conflict with a view to avoiding as far as possible a repetition during and after the present crisis. In all of the countries represented, governmental action in behalf of agriculture is much more evident today than it was during the years

<sup>1</sup> The proceedings of this first meeting have been published under the title "Social Problems in Agriculture," and copies are obtainable for \$1 each from the Washington Branch of the International Labor Office, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. A brief resume of this meeting by the writer will be found in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, Vol. III, No. 2 (June, 1938).

1914 to 1918. Price policies of various kinds, marketing regulations, and production planning are examples of governmental policies which have developed in recent years. Moreover, efforts have been made in many of the countries to make farmers more secure in the land tenure system. In Mexico, of course, widespread agrarian reform since 1934 has been more far-reaching than in any of the other countries. Also there has been a considerable development of social legislation in favor of agricultural wage-paid labor. Even in the United States wage-fixing machinery has been set up in the case of wage earners employed in the production of sugar beets and cane. Minimum wage legislation has been introduced in Cuba and Mexico and is pending in Brazil.

The existence of large surpluses of agricultural products in practically all of the countries except Mexico constitutes a situation in contrast with that prevailing in 1914. It is quite unlikely, therefore, that the present crisis in Europe will justify any extension of production. Any extraordinary demand created by the war in Europe could in all likelihood be satisfied by the existing surpluses without enlarging the capacity of the agricultural plant. Nevertheless, it was agreed that there would be significant repercussions upon agriculture throughout the Americas as a result of the conflict. There may be temporary advantages in certain branches of agriculture, but the long run effect is certain to be detrimental. The committee therefore suggested that "governments and competent agricultural organizations call the attention of farmers to these eventualities in order that they may be prepared to cooperate in the application of whatever measures must be taken to minimize the repercussions of the war."<sup>2</sup>

The committee unanimously favored the extension of forms of social insurance to cover the agricultural population, particularly in the fields of sickness and maternity, invalidity, old age and death, industrial accidents and occupational diseases. Chile is the only country in the Western Hemisphere that now has a comprehensive form of social insurance which includes wage workers in agriculture as well as small farmers.

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<sup>2</sup> The Permanent Agricultural Committee meeting at Havana, *Report of The Meeting*. Mimeographed. (Available free of charge from the Washington Branch of the International Labor Office, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.)

# Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis, Editor

## POPULATION

*Wilton: A Rural Town Near Metropolitan New York*<sup>1</sup> is the third of a series entitled *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut*.<sup>2</sup> The investigation is based principally upon personal interviews with 881 households, constituting 95 per cent of the total population of Wilton, a town which has changed rapidly from a predominately agricultural community outside New York City to a rural residential area. The migration to the community has been wave-like in pattern: artists tended to come during one period; stockbrokers during another; writers during another; and so on. The reasons people gave for moving to Wilton were as follows: "advantages offered to children by the local school and open country; lower taxes; and accessibility of Wilton to cities, combined with a rural New England setting." Also, some desire to "escape" from social life and to live apart from the local community. Nearly one-half of those gainfully employed are commuters, three out of ten commuting to New York City, 55 miles away, which may take two to three hours each day. Slightly more than one-half of the commuters use the railroad; the remainder use automobiles.

Almost one-half of the residents engage in farming activities, but most of this is of a "hobby" or recreational nature. Although the average household maintains 3.4 organizational memberships, more than half of these are outside the community. Less than half of the householders actually belong to a church, and those who are members belong to nonlocal churches five times out of eight.

*The Natural Increase and Migration of Kentucky Population: 1920 to 1935*,<sup>3</sup> as revealed by analysis of census data for rural farm, rural nonfarm, and urban people of both the white and the black races, have been described by means of maps and exposition. Seven rural eastern counties would double in population within 24 to 33 years if no migration occurred. Where urban population was concentrated rates of growth were lower. Only recently developed urban coal mining areas, stocked by new arrivals from the farms, did not have far lower rates of natural growth than rural areas. Partly because the negro population of Kentucky is relatively more urban, and partly because of a relatively lower

<sup>1</sup> Nathan L. Whetten, *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut*, 3. *Wilton: A Rural Town Near Metropolitan New York*, Connecticut State College Bulletin 230 (Storrs, February, 1939). 132 pp.

<sup>2</sup> The other two publications in the series were: 1. *Windsor: A Highly Developed Agricultural Area*, and 2. *Norwich: An Industrial Part-Time Farming Area*, reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* June, 1937, and March, 1939, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Merton Oyler, *Natural Increase and Migration of Kentucky Population: 1920 to 1935*, Kentucky AESB 395 (Lexington, August, 1939). 45 pp.

rate of increase in all residence groups, it is barely self-maintaining. If there were no out migration Kentucky's population would double in 77 years. Except for the coal mining counties, migration out was positively correlated with rate of natural increase. "Because the counties having the highest index of natural increase and the heaviest emigration also have the smallest economic resources, these counties are handicapped in the provision of adequate health, educational and cultural facilities for that part of their population which will later migrate to cities and wealthier rural areas."

*Composition and Characteristics of the Agricultural Population in California*,<sup>4</sup> as determined by estimates and census data, are presented to show the difference between "agricultural and farm population, to estimate the number of farm laborers, farm operators, and dependents of both not living on farms; to show the number of gainful workers living on rural farms while working in other industries than agriculture; to separate the total agricultural population into employer and employee classes; to show the importance of work off the farm for pay or income by farm operators; and to make an estimate of the proportion of wages paid for farm labor which is received by people not living on farms."

Among the findings recorded are the following: "the income earned by farm operators working in other industries than agriculture and representing the equivalent of 18,000 full-time workers, and the income earned by the 42,608 gainful workers in other industries living on rural farms must be considered as an addition to the income from agricultural production in dealing with the income and welfare of farmers or people living on farms."

The total expenditure by farm operators for hired labor cannot be treated as an expense to people living on farms, because a considerable part is paid by operators not living on farms, and because over one-third is paid to people living on farms; part to farm operators who also work in agriculture for wages and part to hired laborers who live on farms and are counted as part of the farm population.

Of the 135,676 farms listed in the 1930 Census of Agriculture for California, 10,877 (or 8.0 percent) were occupied urban farms; 106,335 (or 78.4 percent) were occupied rural farms; and 18,464 (or 13.6 percent) were operated by people who did not live on the farms. Most of these unoccupied farms have no dwellings.

Farming operations and the activities of people living on farms are becoming so intermingled with other industries and occupations that it is no longer possible to treat agriculture or people living on farms as isolated separate entities. Agricultural policy in the future must consider these complications.

*Farm-City Migration and Industry's Labor Reserve*<sup>5</sup> is a Work Projects Administration report which attempts to use library and census materials to analyze

<sup>4</sup> George M. Peterson, *Composition and Characteristics of the Agricultural Population in California*, California AESB 630 (Berkeley, June, 1939). 48 pp.

<sup>5</sup> Francis M. Vreeland and Edward J. Fitzgerald, *Farm-City Migration and Industry's Labor Reserve*, WPA Report No. L-7 (Philadelphia, August, 1939). 67 pp.

rural-urban migration. Problems of industry and agriculture have, according to the report, undergone a merging process. "Even should its productive efficiency level off, agriculture could not during the next 25 years provide place for more than a fifth of the expected excess of births over deaths in rural regions. Furthermore, its population increase is concentrated in exactly those regions where pressure is at present greatest."

"They represent a reserve for industry which will be extensively tapped, if ever, only when industrial demand for labor mounts far beyond that which can be met by the existence force plus the other reserves. These groups together constitute a substantial proportion of those who now represent our unemployment and relief problem. All find themselves caught between the pressure conditions on the land and in the cities."

*Immigration Settlements in Connecticut: Their Growth and Characteristics*<sup>6</sup> is a report of the Works Progress Administration Federal Writers' Project. The characteristics, institutions, locale, and history of some 17 migrant groups are included.

Probably the Jews are the most extensively organized of the groups. They maintain organizations of all types, and excel particularly in the field of welfare. In the field of benevolent and educational organization the Irish are strong; but, because of the absence among them of a strong nationalistic feeling, they are less likely to draw strict lines of separation between themselves and outsiders, and their organizations have ceased to be purely Irish in character but are rather agencies of the Catholic Church. The Italians are most extensively organized along the social and nationalistic, or patriotic lines. French-Canadians have organizations which are mostly social and cultural and which, like those of the Irish, are more intimately connected with the church. Among the Poles nationalistic and benevolent societies are the most prominent. The Swedes have good benevolent societies and are the only group which maintain a Salvation Army of their own. "Singing societies which are numerous among them are another characteristic of their organized life. The group that leads all others in social and recreational organizations are the Germans. Their Turnvereins and Liedertafels, found wherever a German settlement exists, testify to this. Among the less numerous groups, the Hungarians and Slovaks have probably the best functioning social organizations."

#### LEVELS OF LIVING AND LAND USE

*Incomes and Expenditures of 299 Vermont Village Families*<sup>7</sup> is the title of a bulletin based upon an analysis of records selected from those taken by personal interview in 1936 as part of the nation-wide Consumer Purchases Study. The families who lived in six villages ranging in population from 1,190 to

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Koenig, *Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut: Their Growth and Characteristics*, WPA and Connecticut State Department of Education (Hartford, 1938). 68 pp.

<sup>7</sup> Marianne Muse and Margaret E. Openshaw, *Incomes and Expenditures of 299 Vermont Village Families*, Vermont AESB 450 (Burlington, July, 1939). 46 pp.

2,075 reported cash living expenditures of \$1,461. Costs were distributed on a percentage basis as follows: food, 30; household operation, 14; housing, 13; automobile, 11; clothing, 8; medical care and recreation (each) 4; furniture and gifts (each) 3; personal care and tobacco (each) 2; reading matter, education, taxes, and miscellany (each) 1 per cent.

The most recent publication of the Consumer Purchases Study<sup>8</sup> indicates that people living in small centers in the drought states suffered more than those in larger centers with more diversified occupations. The data included in the study reveal the income patterns of 7,458 families in five small cities and 22 villages of the Plains and Mountain Regions.

"One point that stands out in the whole study is the similarity of the patterns found throughout the different communities and the different socioeconomic groups. For example, the pattern of family support by the principal earner (usually the husband) is predominant in the villages as in the cities, in the different occupational groups, in families of widely different composition, and in both the higher- and the lower-income classes. Many differences which are of significance were found; but they are of less consequence than the patterns of American family life that emerge."

*An Analysis of Pertinent Social and Economic Factors Affecting Land Use in Overton County, Tennessee*,<sup>9</sup> indicates that there was a large back-to-the-land movement of migrant sons and daughters between 1930 and 1935 to the poor land farming areas of the Appalachians. Seventy per cent of the increase in the number of farms from 1930 to 1935 was due to nonfarm people from Detroit, Akron, Toledo, and other northern cities as well as the local mines. Ten per cent of the new farms were created by bringing new land into farms, 50 per cent by dividing existing farms, and 40 per cent by reoccupation of abandoned farms.

*Land Use and Family Welfare in Pope County*<sup>10</sup> in Southern Illinois are unsatisfactory. One survey indicated a gross income of \$277; 29 per cent reported a gross income of less than \$100. In 1936 42 per cent of all families in the county were receiving public assistance and 64 per cent of all persons 65 years of age or over were recipients of old age assistance, as compared with 28 per cent for the State as a whole. Church affiliations are more common than other formal social ties, but studies indicated that almost one-half of the "family makers" belonged to no organization.

<sup>8</sup> Gertrude Schmidt Weiss, Day Monroe, and Kathryn Cronister, *Family Income and Expenditures Plains and Mountain Region, Part 1, Family Income*, USDA (MP) 345 (Washington, D. C., 1939). 330 pp.

<sup>9</sup> John E. Mason and Edward L. K. Gruehn, *An Analysis of Pertinent Social and Economic Factors Affecting Land Use in Overton County, Tennessee*, USDA Land Economics Report No. 4 (Washington, D. C., August, 1939). Mimeographed, 83 pp.

<sup>10</sup> V. B. Fielder and D. E. Lindstrom, *Land Use and Family Welfare in Pope County, Illinois AES* (Washington, D. C., July, 1939). Mimeographed, 105 pp.



## RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

*Educational Foundations for Rural Rehabilitation*<sup>11</sup> is based upon data collected for the Survey of Current Changes in Rural Relief Population in Colorado in 1935, including data for some 9,000 members of households who were recipients of relief. Among the conclusions derived from the study are the following:

1. Heads of rural relief households completed an average of 6.6 school grades.
2. The average schooling completed by heads of households who were beet laborers was only 3.5 grades.
3. Less than average educational attainment of adults in any occupational or color group seems to be paralleled by a similarly low average educational attainment of their children.
4. The proportion of school children who may be thought of as educationally retarded increases with age and by the time the average school children of rural relief households reach 15 years, approximately 75 per cent are below what may be considered normal achievement.
5. Heads of households which were under 25 years of age completed more school grades than any older age group.

*Aiding Needy Persons in Missouri*<sup>12</sup> has been prepared as a handbook to be used by those who desire a "factual basis for planning the future development of public relief and welfare activities in Missouri." The history of the development of relief and the relief agencies is described. Data concerning present and past relief payments, particularly those for old age, dependent children, general relief, or surplus commodities, child welfare, and Civilian Conservation Corps are included.

*A Comparative Study of Certain Relief and Non-relief Households in Selected Areas of Rural Maryland*<sup>13</sup> indicates that relief households included younger, less experienced, more unskilled persons and were otherwise more disadvantaged than non-relief households. Over-specialization in agriculture and industry and exhaustion of natural resources added to the acuteness of the impact of the depression. The study is based upon interviews with 788 households made in 1936.

*Rural Unemployed Not Receiving Assistance*<sup>14</sup> is a survey of rural and town families who had been certified as in need of assistance but who were awaiting

<sup>11</sup> R. W. Roskelley and Olaf F. Larson, *Educational Foundations for Rural Rehabilitation*, Colorado AESB 457 (Fort Collins, November, 1939). 30 pp.

<sup>12</sup> *Aiding Needy Persons in Missouri*, State Social Security Commission of Missouri (Jefferson City, June, 1939). 180 pp.

<sup>13</sup> Theodore B. Manny and Harry G. Clowes, *A Comparative Study of Certain Relief and Non-Relief Households in Selected Areas of Rural Maryland*, University of Maryland (College Park, 1939). Mimeographed, 117 pp.

<sup>14</sup> *Rural Unemployed Not Receiving Assistance*, WPA RB, Series II, No. 18, (Washington, D. C., October, 1939). Mimeographed, 15 pp.

Work Projects Administration employment in ten southern counties, and of rural families having members registered at a public employment office in ten northern and western counties. The unemployed needy in the South fared much worse than those in the North and West. Crop and wage reduction, mechanization and curtailment of nonfarm wage earning opportunities caused Work Projects Administration rolls in the South to mount. "Even so, during the winter of 1938-39 an estimated 500,000 needy rural families in 13 southern states were without public assistance." "Nearly 20 percent of those whose usual occupation was farming were completely displaced from agriculture in 1939. Of these displaced farmers more than three-fifths had lost their farms after the 1938 crop. Most of the others were displaced in 1937 with a few accounted for as far back as 1935."

*The Rehabilitation of Virginia Farm Families*<sup>15</sup> according to a report based upon 25 samples of all Farm Security Administration borrowers has made the following and other accomplishments:

1. Crop yields have improved.
2. Landlord-tenant relations have been improved even though changes in tenure status were few.
3. The farms of white operators are larger currently (108 acres) than at acceptance; negro farms are smaller (76 acres).
4. The average white family owns 1.5 horses or mules, 2 cows, 3 hogs, and 40 chickens. Negro families are somewhat below this average. The number of families with livestock has increased, even though the total number of stock has decreased.
5. The typical borrower family has increased \$140 in net worth.

#### FARM LABOR AND TENANCY

*Recent Changes in Farm Labor Organization in Three Arkansas Plantation Counties*<sup>16</sup> are revealed in a field study of 89 plantations with an average of 1,039 acres, 23 resident families of which 17 were sharecroppers, 3 share renters, and 3 wage labor families. Although cotton acreage decreased 21 per cent and the number of tractors increased 69 per cent, the average number of resident families decreased only 6 per cent from 1932 to 1937. This relatively small decline in resident labor is due to the fact that chopping and picking cotton have not been mechanized and that operators fear labor shortages for these operations.

The most important change in plantation labor organization was that occasioned by the shift from sharecroppers to wage hands who have a relatively low level of living. The social participation of both groups is centered in the church, but high mobility is associated with low social participation and levels

<sup>15</sup> B. L. Hummel and R. B. Hummel, *The Rehabilitation of Virginia Farm Families*, Virginia WPA (Blacksburg, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 50 pp.

<sup>16</sup> Glen T. Barton and J. G. McNeely, *Recent Changes in Farm Labor Organization in Three Arkansas Plantation Counties*, Arkansas AES Preliminary Report (Fayetteville, September, 1939). Mimeographed, 49 pp.

of living. About 40 per cent of all occupancies were for one year, and about 60 per cent did not exceed two years. Moves were usually for short distances, 62 per cent involving less than eight miles.

Oklahoma ranks sixth among the states in proportion of tenancy, with 61.2 per cent in 1935 according to the report, *Farm Tenancy in Oklahoma*,<sup>17</sup> which is a study based upon census and other secondary sources. According to the report: "as compared to owner-operators, tenants plant a smaller proportion of their land to legumes, have less pasture and livestock, plant more intertilled crops, and terrace a great deal less land. Tenant farmers tend to foster the depletion of soil fertility more than do owners."

On the average the dwellings of owner-operators were valued at more than twice as much as tenant dwellings in 1930. Nearly one-half of the owner-operators have telephones as compared with one-sixth of the tenants in the State. Owners subscribe to newspapers and magazines to a much greater extent than do tenants.

Owners support religious organizations more than do tenant operators. Only 57 per cent of the tenants belong to a church, while 71 per cent of the owner-operators belong to a church. Educational attainments of owner-farmers are greater than those of tenant-operators, signifying that there is probably some association between farm tenancy and illiteracy.

*Farm Tenancy in Pennsylvania*<sup>18</sup> is the title of a study which had as its objective the determining of the attitude of tenants toward their problems, the describing of the kinds of leases commonly used, and the suggesting how unsatisfactory leasing arrangements may be improved. Five thousand mailed questionnaires were sent to tenants, to which 530 replies were received. The questionnaire listed four disadvantages and five advantages to be checked if important to the tenant receiving the blank. Advantages were checked almost twice as often as disadvantages, which, in view of attitudes of tenants recorded by other studies, indicates to the reviewer that selection in the returns was important in this study. The only disadvantage that was indicated by more than 40 per cent of those replying was "unwillingness on the part of landlords to provide conveniences and proper living conditions for the tenants." Personal interviews to determine prevailing leasing arrangements and to suggest needed adjustments were obtained on 208 tenant-operated farms scattered throughout the state.

#### RURAL YOUTH

*Rural Youth in North Carolina*,<sup>19</sup> between the ages of 15 and 29 inclusive, who leave rural for urban areas have more formal education than those who remain. Also "there is a tendency for the better educated individuals to go into

<sup>17</sup> John H. Southern, *Farm Tenancy in Oklahoma*, Oklahoma AESB 239 (Stillwater, December, 1939). 38 pp.

<sup>18</sup> P. I. Wigley, *Farm Tenancy in Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania AESB 383 (State College, September, 1939). 37 pp.

<sup>19</sup> Robin M. Williams, *Rural Youth in North Carolina*, North Carolina AESB 324 (State College Station, Raleigh, June, 1939). 63 pp.

non-farm occupations." If youth do not find employment in the cities, the rural communities will have to bear the burden of supporting surplus members and must develop a more satisfying community life. At present there is a "lack of organization to fit the specific needs of young adults of the out-of-school group." As a source of formal social contacts among rural youths the church ranks first, the school second.

In the past rural youth in North Carolina, who constitute a larger proportion of the states' population than in any other state except South Carolina, have been handicapped by inadequate educational facilities for those who need practical training and cannot complete the standard academic curriculum. These and other conclusions resulted from a field investigation based upon personal interviews with 731 households in three selected areas in North Carolina.

The American Youth Commission presents *A Program of Action for American Youth*<sup>20</sup> in which it recommends: that "every young person who does not desire to continue in school after 16, and who cannot get a job in private enterprise, should be provided under public auspices with employment in some form of service"; that the Federal Government support a public health program; that public recreational programs be greatly expanded; that the financial and administrative aspects of our educational system be reorganized in such a way as to equalize educational opportunity.

An American Youth Commission bulletin reports on various types of *State Conferences for Older Rural Youth*,<sup>21</sup> with the hope that "presentation of these materials will encourage youth and their leaders to engage in a further exchange of opinions and experiences in state conferences for older rural young people."

*Youth in Agricultural Villages*<sup>22</sup> declined in number from 1930 to 1936, a trend which stands in contrast to that of youth on farms. A survey of youth living in 45 agricultural villages in June, 1936, and of youth who left these villages and settled elsewhere gives evidence of high mobility among the youth of agricultural villages. Almost one-half of all young men and more than one-third of all unmarried young women in the villages who were out of school had moved out of or into their villages at least once since becoming 16 years of age. A surplus of young women in contrast to young men indicates that agricultural villages are concentration points for young women in rural territory.

By way of contrast and comparison with the youth living in the agricultural villages at the time of the survey, 3,400 youth who had achieved economic independence away from the villages were studied. Urban centers attracted a larger proportion of the young women than the young men, and marriage ap-

<sup>20</sup> *A Program of Action for American Youth*, American Youth Commission, (Washington, D. C., October, 1939). 19 pp.

<sup>21</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton, *State Conferences for Older Rural Youth*, American Youth Commission (Washington, D. C., December, 1939). Mimeographed, 32 pp.

<sup>22</sup> Bruce L. Melvin and Elna N. Smith, *Youth in Agricultural Villages*, WPA RM XXI (Washington, D. C., 1939).

peared to be an important cause of migration for village girls whether they went to cities or remained in rural areas.

Youth in agricultural villages attend school to a greater extent than youth in rural areas as a whole, and more young men than young women are in school. Village youth attain a relatively high educational level and over one-half of all out-of-school youth have at least completed high school. Relatively few village students take such vocational courses as the local high schools offer, however, and hence are not trained for any particular pursuit. Those who have the limited training offered by the high schools are usually prepared for already overcrowded fields, reflecting the lack of facilities for adequate vocational guidance as well as for diversified training.

Although a large proportion of the youth in agricultural villages have jobs, their incomes are often low. More than one-half of all out-of-school young men and unmarried young women received no income at all or less than \$300 during the year prior to June 1, 1936. As a group these young people owned very little property other than personal belongings. The most common types reported were automobiles, furniture, and savings. Even one-fifth of the married young men owned nothing other than personal property. More than one-half of the out-of-school young men and seven-tenths of the unmarried young women with property reported assets valued at less than \$300.

The availability of social and recreational opportunities for youth varied greatly. In-school youth participated more frequently in local organizations than out-of-school youth, and girls more frequently than boys. The radio and reading were the most popular types of informal recreation, while the most serious lack appeared to be in outdoor sports.

*The Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth*<sup>23</sup> met to formulate "objectives and policies which can be accomplished in whole or in part by action of the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government." The topics discussed were: social and economic security, education and recreation, farm tenancy, health and housing, public employment, special problems of youth, civil liberties, and political suffrage.

#### COOPERATIVES AND OTHER RURAL AGENCIES

Of a dozen bulletins<sup>24</sup> on cooperatives received this quarter only one, *Atti-*

<sup>23</sup> *Proceedings of the Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth*, Department of Labor (Washington, D. C., January, 1939). Mimeographed, 123 pp.

<sup>24</sup> *Cooperative Agriculture in Florida*, Florida Department of Agriculture and WPA (Tallahassee, February, 1939). 58 pp.; R. C. Dorsey, *Farmer Co-ops in Michigan*, St. Paul Bank for Cooperatives (St. Paul, Minnesota, 1939). 28 pp.; Harold Hedges, *Organization Structure of Farmers' Elevators*, FCA Circular No. C-115 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 50 pp.; H. H. Hulbert, *Cooperative Marketing of Livestock at Cincinnati*, FCA B 34 (Washington, D. C., May, 1939). 130 pp.; *British Isles Conference on Agricultural Co-Operation, 1939*, (London, 1939). 112 pp.; John S. Burgess, Jr., *Some Observations on the 1937-38 Assembling Plan of the Oklahoma and Mississippi Cooperative Cotton-Marketing Associations*, FCA Special Report No. 17 (Washington, D. C., April, 1938). Mimeographed, 18 pp.; *Federal Credit Unions*, Semiannual Report on

*tudes of Farmers Toward Cooperative Marketing*,<sup>25</sup> devotes any considerable amount of space to the sociological factors in the functioning of cooperatives. The latter study has as its basis field interviews with 326 farmers located in five areas in Ohio. Among the findings and recommendations reported are the following:

1. Farmers "had a resistance toward information put out by the cooperatives."

2. Smaller or local associations have a better opportunity of keeping members informed than large organizations, the offices of which are many miles away.

3. "It would seem that all cooperatives should give farmers more information of an educational nature, and stay away from the propaganda type of information. It would seem that information of a factual nature, educational and well timed, is necessary to get farmers interested."

4. "To most farmers, a cooperative association which is 30 or more miles away is a rather impersonal thing. Since it is, they look upon the cooperative most of the time as another competitive organization handling their products."

How the trading areas of Stillwater, Oklahoma, were delimited by classes in Business Administration at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College is described by a publication received from that institution.<sup>26</sup> The personal interview schedule with instructions complete enough to advise the interviewer how not to introduce himself is included. Also instructions for delimiting the areas from the schedules which were taken from "the first farmer in every marked mile" and the resulting maps and analyses are included. The study also ascertained the extent of mail order trade, reasons for buying and selling at customary locations, the radio stations preferred, and newspaper circulation areas. The reasons most frequently given for trading in any center were "nearest town" (38 percent of the total reasons given); "lower prices for goods" (14 percent); "friends or acquaintances live there" (12 percent); and "best market for produce" (11 percent).

*Trends in Rural Retailing in Illinois 1926 to 1938*<sup>27</sup> brings up to date the findings of a previous study printed in 1928 which had indicated a decline in the business of villages and towns. During the last decade merchants who were interviewed in 72 villages in central and southern Illinois have experienced a decline in sales. The only kinds of business showing an increase in the number

Operations, December 31, 1938, FCA, (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). Processed, 20 pp.; and the following bulletins from the Farm Credit Administration: Circulars E-12, E-19, E-20, E-21, E-23, C-113, and C-114, (Washington, D. C., 1939).

<sup>25</sup> George F. Henning and Earl B. Poling, *Attitudes of Farmers Toward Cooperative Marketing*, Ohio AESB 606 (Wooster, September, 1939). 36 pp.

<sup>26</sup> Perham C. Nahl, *Application of the Interview Method to a Trading Area Survey of Stillwater, Oklahoma*, Oklahoma A. & M. College Market Research Study No. 2, (Stillwater, February, 1939). 41 pp.

<sup>27</sup> Robert V. Mitchell, *Trends in Rural Retailing in Illinois, 1926 to 1938*, University of Illinois, Bulletin Series No. 59, (Urbana, August, 1939). 63 pp.

of stores were automobile stores, certain retail stores, and liquor stores. In the opinion of the village merchants the most important factors causing decline in sales since 1926 were the use of automobiles and improved roads. Other causes as indicated by the merchants were: chain stores, agricultural depression, depression psychology, decreased employment, declining population, bank mortality, and inefficiency. Many efficient village merchants, especially those carrying large assortments of attractive merchandise, operating neatly arranged stores, and employing sound business methods had experienced unusual success.

*Some Rural Social Agencies in Missouri—Their Nature and Extent*<sup>28</sup> are described according to (1) their general nature and purpose; (2) their structure, including method of financial support; (3) their program of work accomplishments, and method of functioning; and (4) their geographic distribution as indicated by maps and charts as well as other descriptive materials. Over 35 agencies are classified according to primary function: Educational Agencies, Religious Agencies, Health Agencies, Welfare Agencies, Socio-economic Betterment Agencies, and Social and Recreational Agencies. Rural areas are relatively deficient especially in educational, health, and social recreational facilities.

"As a *profession*, medical practice has made great strides. As a *social service*, medical practice has been hampered by a widespread and stubborn survival of the traditions of individual business enterprise at a time when most other professions have enhanced their service to the community through a large degree of integration with public and private institutions and corporations." However, "it is significant that a few of our more progressive industrial corporations have seen fit to facilitate, on behalf of their employees, methods of financing medical practice which broaden the social service rendered." A number of the existing plans for the *Group Purchase of Medical Care by Industrial Employees*<sup>29</sup> are here presented in some detail. There is also a discussion of the attitude of organized medicine toward group purchase plans.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

*Culture and Agriculture*<sup>30</sup> is the title of the report of the conference of Cultural Anthropology sponsored by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics last year. The viewpoint of the cultural anthropologist is described as follows:

(1) The ways of living in a society constitute a whole of interrelated parts. It completes our understanding of any institution or custom to comprehend its relations with others characterizing the community and to define its place in a total organization of traditional ways. Similarly, this viewpoint assumes that a change in an element in the community, such as, for example, modification in a form of land distribution, may result in changes in other parts of the total organization.

<sup>28</sup> C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *Some Rural Social Agencies in Missouri*, Missouri AESB 307, (Columbia, November, 1939). 58 pp.

<sup>29</sup> Leahmae Brown, *Group Purchase of Medical Care by Industrial Employees*, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University (Princeton, New Jersey, 1938). 53 pp.

<sup>30</sup> *Culture and Agriculture*, Report of session of Conference on Cultural Anthropology, USDA (Washington, D. C., 1939). Mimeographed, 31 pp.

(2) The viewpoint thus brings into a single framework more special viewpoints, such as consideration of the economic or the technological system, which abstract from the whole some particular aspect. More specially it supplements such special viewpoints by including in consideration less commonly considered aspects of the community life, such as the social organization, the moral system and the other ultimate values of the people. The viewpoint implies that rural societies like all others exist not merely in terms of a rational order responsive to practical and deliberate considerations, but also and very largely in terms of a personal, moral, and non-rational order. The exponents of this point of view claim a contribution in their emphasis that men must not only have something to live with but something to live for. The modes of living of farmers or of any other people tend to involve or to develop conventional understandings as to what is right and proper which lie outside the limits defined by efficiency or expediency.

In the January issue of *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities* (Vol. XIV, No. 1)<sup>81</sup> is a bulletin given over to the analysis of objectives, history of development, accomplishments and present status of Rural Sociological Extension. Extension administrators and supervisors, and rural sociologists in research, teaching, and extension were canvassed to determine what they believed to be the function of rural sociological extension work.

*Little Known Facts about the Amish and the Mennonites*<sup>82</sup> includes a discussion of these "world-famed agriculturalists" who plow deep, build big barns, ride in buggies, and own their homes. Among the so-called little known facts discussed are the customs relating to births, bundling, blue gates, pow-wow, and temperance.

In addition the following publications were received this quarter:

- Alvin T. M. Lee, *Land Utilization in New Jersey*, New Jersey AESB 665 (New Brunswick, July, 1939). 50 pp.
- G. H. Aull, *The Probable Economic Effects of A Homestead Exemption Act on Public Revenues in South Carolina*, South Carolina AESB 323 (Clemson, August, 1939). 30 pp.
- R. R. Renne, *What Is Happening to Montana's Population?*, Montana AES Mimeographed Circular 12 (Boseman, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 13 pp.
- Agricultural Outlook Charts, 1940, Farm Family Living*, USDA (Washington, D. C., October, 1939). Mimeographed, 33 pp.
- Stanley Wilner and Raymond L. Schafer, *Statistical Analysis of Land Ownership in North Dakota in 1935*, North Dakota AES (Fargo, March, 1939). Mimeographed, 10 pp.
- Survey of County Homes in North Carolina*, North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, (Raleigh, February, 1938). Mimeographed, 15 pp.

<sup>81</sup> "The Field and Objectives of Rural Sociology Extension," *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, USDA (Washington, D. C., January, 1940). Mimeographed, 41 pp.

<sup>82</sup> Amnon Monroe Aurand, Jr., *Little Known Facts about the Amish and the Mennonites*, Aurand Press (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1938). 30 pp.



- John W. Manning, *Unicameral Legislation in the States*, Studies in Legislation, No. 1, Bureau of Government Research, University of Kentucky, (Lexington, January, 1938). Mimeographed, 13 pp.
- International Directory of Co-Operative Organizations*, International Labour Office (Geneva, 1939). 160 pp.
- Prairie Tamers of Miner County*, Federal Writers' Project, South Dakota WPA (Carthage, 1939). 35 pp.
- A Survey of Research in Forest Land Ownership*, Report of a Special Committee on Research in Forest Economics, SSRC (New York, 1939). Mimeographed, 93 pp.
- From the Ground Up*, National Resources Committee, New England Regional Planning Commission (Boston, Massachusetts, March, 1939). 54 pp.
- David Horowitz and Rita Hinden, *Economic Survey of Palestine*, Jewish Agency for Palestine, Economic Research Institute (Palestine, 1938). 214 pp.
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# Book Reviews

*Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor*

*Rural Community Organization.* By Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1939. ix, 448 pp. \$3.00.

This book, essentially a treatise on purposeful community control and direction, deals with the philosophy and technology of social planning from the point of view of the rural community. The authors see the rural community as the most significant cultural unit for social control, and they emphasize its importance as a promoter of democracy (pp. 412-415). They see the community as the unit through which democratic social planning must function. They imply that planning by democratic means is impossible in any community so large that its organized relationships are unintelligible to its members (pp. 417-418). They believe that for the realization of a high civilization, the best type of community is the "rurban" community which embodies many of the advantages of both city and country.

The rural community is defined as "that form of association maintained between the people, and between their institutions, in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village which is the center of their common activities" (p. 50). This represents a more mature definition than that offered by the senior author in many of his earlier writings where he stressed the area-people concept of community. It is even more mature than the definition offered (p. 481) in his book, *The Rural Community*, published in 1932, in which the concept of social interaction was stressed. Even so, the definition does not include the notion of "corporate unity" or ability to work together for the common good. The definition also implies that *any* population aggregate in association in a local area, and with institutions, is a community. The reviewer questions whether such aggregates, everywhere and always, possess enough organization to qualify as a community. However, the authors apparently believe (p. 75) that a population aggregate may be *unorganized* and still be a community. This appears to be at variance with statements elsewhere (p. 73) which stress that "every community must have some sort of organization if it is a real community." The definition appears to limit the community concept to the "rurban" type, since it characterizes the community as "a local area in which they (the people) live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village."

Community organization is presented as a process of problem solving. "So long as the community is working satisfactorily there is no . . . problem." Community organization is, therefore, a function of change occurring within or without the community and is initiated either for the purpose of preserving certain conditions or values or for the purpose of more fully harmonizing existing conditions and the standards held by the people. Thus, community organization exemplifies local autonomy, and the final criteria for determining its need and its direction are to be found in the social philosophy and attitudes of the

local population. This implies that community building by external means is an impossible procedure.

In the discussion of types of community organization, the establishment of special interest groups is made coordinate with those forms (direct or indirect) which involve the membership of the entire community. The reviewer feels that, in the interest of clarification, it would be better to introduce the concept of all-community organization as a coordinate with special interest organization and to subdivide the former into its components *direct* and *indirect*. This is a minor point, however.

The book should receive a warm welcome from teachers of elementary students. It is written for the student rather than for the purpose of impressing the expert, and provides a good summary of American experience growing out of the so-called rural community movement in recent years. Concrete case studies to illustrate the points discussed are generously interspersed throughout. The book will undoubtedly be widely used as an undergraduate text in this field.

University of Missouri

C. E. LIVELY

*Americans in the Making.* By William Carlson Smith. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. xvii, 454 pp. \$3.75.

The process of assimilation of the immigrant to America has a natural history. Its earliest stage is initiated in the homeland when the individual's alluring daydreams of a land of unbounded opportunity intensifies more and more his increasing dissatisfaction with an old milieu from which he seeks an escape. The process terminates only after the passing of generations when the immigrant's children or his children's children have finally fashioned their lives in conformity with the new world culture.

Between the initial and final stages of assimilation is a continuing story of mutual conflict, disillusionment, confusion, humiliation, self-consciousness, and continual crises in the lives of immigrants; of painful and often unsuccessful attempts at adjustment to the strange new environment, of reluctant adoption of external and often meaningless behavior under the compulsions of necessity; of gradual and unconscious changes in basic attitudes and philosophy of life, and the acquisition of meanings and sentiments that enable the newcomers to gain conceptions of themselves as Americans among Americans. This drama is concretely presented by the author in liberal use of intimate personal documents such as immigrant autobiographies, case histories, diaries, and letters. Such materials are fitted into a general framework designed to show the varying phases of the process of assimilation and to show the many factors which hasten or impede the process. The materials are interpreted from the point of a sympathetic but scholarly observer of human behavior.

This book should prove useful to the specialist in the social sciences, to welfare workers, and to teachers, and should prove interesting to the general reader. It is too often assumed that the ideal of democracy is an order of society ironed down to a dead level where everyone will, as far as possible, be like everyone else. The newer conception of democracy is that of a community based on functional differentiation but with participation on a plane where each individual

can enter into the attitudes of others whom he affects in his daily living. To such a community the immigrant and his children have much to contribute as this and similar writings so clearly indicate.

Ohio State University

A. R. MANGUS

*God's Valley.* By Willson Whitman. New York City: The Viking Press, 1939. 320 pp. \$3.00.

This significant book about the Tennessee Valley Authority is required reading. Many may disagree with the work, but they cannot disregard it. It represents popular sociology at its best. The book describes the relation existing between man and land under frontier, laissez-faire conditions; and then it examines the effects upon it of Tennessee Valley Authority controlled conditions. Within this framework Whitman discusses, in a very engaging manner, everything from freight differentials to nitrates and phosphates, and from erosion to politicians. She recounts, in all its human detail, the problems of the transition of a people from an era of fundamentalism to one of electric refrigerators. Her knowledge of the relation of these people to their dammed rivers and transplanted mountains reveals intimate contact with the share croppers and mill workers themselves.

Incidentally, her observations upon the Morgan *vs.* Morgan squabble are enlightening and on the whole seem to be fair. Dr. Morgan of Antioch she feels was a good man like Moses "until he got mad." Even though this be considered, there perhaps should be a dam named for him.

Perhaps the extent of disagreement with this book will vary directly with the degree of tolerance that the reader has for the type of vivid language that makes qualification difficult. Yet, if the expression excels in picturesqueness rather than in disciplined accuracy, the sociologist will find this better source material than many an official commission report on tenancy, living standards, share cropping, or a number of the other issues which make the South the country's number one economic and social problem.

It may also be difficult for the reader to identify the Tennessee Valley with the South, as Miss Whitman frequently does, or to accept her implied extension of the Tennessee Valley situation to the entire South. But such a difficulty is attendant upon a thoroughly enjoyable and informative visit to that region "where Yankees drive to gawp at the natives and to make jokes about moonshine stills, and to buy hooked rugs made by the mountain women and fox pelts ordered by their menfolk from Montgomery Ward."

The book is equipped with twenty-one photographs, excellently selected and beautifully reproduced. It has an appendix that is far from being a vestigial remain, actually giving the average reader information that he wants to know, instead of being composed of a mass of statistics which the author could not work into the text. The index makes the book useful as a reference for those interested in the Tennessee Valley Authority in particular, or in social planning or regionalism in general.

New Jersey College for Women  
Rutgers University

JOHN WINCHELL RILEY, JR.

*The Log Cabin Myth.* By Harold R. Shurtleff. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939. 243 pp. \$2.50.

Sociologists know that when a myth becomes imbedded in folk thinking and tradition, it is difficult to eliminate it. One of these myths that is a part of our American folk conceptions is that the log cabin was the early and general form of dwelling used by the English settlers.

Shurtleff, in his research monograph introduced and prepared for publication after his death by one of his Harvard teachers, Dr. S. E. Morison, has convincingly supported his thesis that there were no log cabins erected by the English settlers from Newfoundland to Virginia until after the seventeenth century, but that they "first built temporary shelters of tents, Indian wigwams, huts or cottages covered with bark, turf or clay, and, as soon as circumstances allowed replaced them with framed houses," the framed house being the form of dwelling they brought with them from England as part of their cultural heritage.

The fact that the log cabin was not used by the English colonists until well after the beginning of the eighteenth century, they having then adopted this form of construction from the Swedish settlers who brought it from their homeland and used it in their Delaware settlements, has previously been shown in other studies. But Shurtleff's study adds sufficient documentary proof to completely destroy the myth, besides making a positive contribution to the knowledge about the type of early colonial housing.

After carefully defining his terms and indicating the implications of his study, Shurtleff presents the main body of his evidence in a series of chapters beginning with the type of house used in seventeenth century Newfoundland and continuing down the coast to Virginia. This evidence is from the writings of early historians, letters, travelers' diaries, legal documents and records, official town records, the instructions of colonizing companies, and the requests of settlers for materials. Besides, there are illustrations of the early houses and villages.

The origin of the log house as a form of dwelling is shown to be the Swedish settlements on the Delaware, from whence they spread, well after the beginning of the eighteenth century, to the Pennsylvania Germans and Scotch-Irish, and then to the other settlements.

The error about the log cabin arose about 1825 and became confirmed through historians' misinterpretations. It became fixed by its connection with the political campaigns of Harrison and Tyler. Likewise, the drawing of Washington Allston in Palfrey's "New England" (1860) of the house of early settlers together with several other illustrations, seems to have been important in giving the idea general acceptance.

Rural Sociologists, who are interested in an historical approach, will derive benefits from reading this volume. It is a carefully executed research study that sticks rigidly to the one thesis presented.

Cornell University

W. A. ANDERSON

*Suye Mura: A Japanese Village.* By John F. Embree. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. xxvii, 354 pp.; 36 ill.; 4 figs.; 7 maps. \$3.00.

This study of modern country life by anthropologists represents their expansion from the "primitive" to the modern alleged primitivism. The aim is "to present an integrated social study of a peasant village in rural Japan" which in many respects is representative of most rural Japanese communities. *Suye Mura*, on a main southern Japanese island depending mainly on rice-growing and secondarily on silkworm cultivation, is one of a number of villages near the towns of Menda and Taragi, and in basic patterns of social organization is similar to its neighbors. Life tends to be centered in the *buraku*, a social unit consisting of a headman (*soncho*), a village office (*yakuba*), a village Shinto shrine (*sonsha*), and frequently a common primary school and agricultural association. A number of these are politically and socially united into a *mura*, which is roughly analogous to our Township. The *buraku* is divided into groups of three or four families called *kumi* which function primarily in religious festivals and the control of crime. Between the members of the *kumi* there is joint responsibility for crimes committed by any member and a responsibility for the general welfare. The division of labor is dominantly within the farming occupation, but there are a few specialists bordering on the professional type, such as the carpenter, the gravestone cutter, the cakemaker, the midwife (who must have formal training and is legally recognized), and notably the Shinto priests who combine farming with their professional activity. The range of intimate personal contacts extends from the household as far as the *buraku*, or occasionally to another *mura*. In general the inhabitant of this rural community lives in a social structure characterized by *gemeinschaftlich* stable relationships and oriented to the philosophy and value-system of Shintoism.

It resembles preliterate groups in possessing strong kinship ties, intimate local grouping, "periodic gatherings in honor of some deified aspect of the environment." It differs in that "each little peasant group is part of a larger nation which controls its economic life, enforces a code of law from above, and, . . . requires education in national schools. The economic basis of life is not conditioned entirely by the local requirements but by the nation, through agricultural advisers. . . . In religion and ritual there are many outside influences to complicate the simple correlation of rites and social value, festivals, and agricultural seasons . . . and the rituals and festivals are not indigenous to the community nor is the community spiritually self-sufficient."

Neither social anthropology nor rural sociology has made many *organic* studies of the contemporary social structure. The old anthropology studied traits; the new, life as a whole. The value of this transitional work is not lessened because it possesses elements of both the old and the new anthropologies. From it proper crossbreeding with rural sociology might give us a distinctly new and valuable approach to the community.

*Peasant Life in China.* By Hsiao-Tung Fei. New York City: E. P. Dutton, 1939. xxvi, 286 pp.; appendix; illustrations. \$3.50.

This is an intensive survey of the economic organization of a village in eastern China in relation to its social structure, both of which have been undergoing a tremendous process of change through cultural contact with the Western world. Two main motives dominate the story, "the exploitation of the soil, and the reproductive processes within the household and the family." The two are so closely interwoven and intimately interpreted that one feels justified in saying that no recent literature on rural China has shown such clarity in presentation.

The institution of the *Chia*, the expanded family, different from the primary and the large-family, is analyzed through the balance of the opposing forces working for integration and for disintegration. It provides "the transmission of social functions from one generation to the other—whereby social continuity is secured in spite of biological discontinuity" (p. 37). Population control is limited by the material environment of the community. "The introduction of a young man to the land means the displacement of an old man in the working team" (p. 38). The cyclical process is completed whereby "knowledge and material objects are transmitted from the old to the young, and the latter gradually takes over at the same time his obligations towards the community and the older generation" (p. 38). Herein we find the institutions of marriage, property, inheritance, and filial obligations. Many students of Chinese social institutions have regarded the ceremonial expenses in marriage and death as unnecessary wastes. Here such functions have been shown to be necessary in establishing a new economic unit in the *Shia* and in creating kinship relations in the community for mutual help and security.

In the chapter on livelihood the so-called "standard of living" is described in the true light of its institutional functions. The brevity and clarity of exposition defy paraphrase and merit only citation. The radiation of social functions from the *Chia* to the neighborhood, the community, and the village, forms, as it were, concentric rings of human relationships where kinship and its extensions serve to pull the villagers together. The village-town relationship according to the author is mainly an economic one, one that works to the disadvantage of the villagers through usury. Out of this arises absentee landlordism and "permanent tenancy." Herein is the crucial problem of poverty and despondency of the Chinese peasantry.

The author finds of importance the emotional adjustments of the Chinese peasants in regard to man-land ratio and family-farm correlations in agriculture. "Present technology has fixed the amount of labour required by the size of the land," and "this fact has far-reaching influence on land tenure, on the scattered system of farms, on the frequency of family division, and on the small size of the household" (p. 171). The chapter on land tenure is one of the most brilliant. The investigator holds with Malinowski that the tenure system grows out of the uses to which the soil is put, out of the economic values which surround it. Therefore, "land tenure is an economic fact as well as a legal system. . . .



You must know first how man uses his soil, how he weaves round it his traditional legends, his beliefs and mystical values, how he fights for it and defends it; then and then only will you be able to grasp the system of legal and customary rights which define the relationship between man and soil." (p. 174.)

In the silk industry, the second main source of income of the villagers, the Old World meets the New; and here we find a detailed description of the processes of disintegration, both economic and social. The methodology employed is sound in that it is not a refilling into the framework of Western minds with Chinese materials but a thoroughly digested employment of scientific constructs towards understanding a situation. A venturesome criticism might be that the book is somewhat marred by the attempt to derive sweeping generalizations from a one-man study of a limited field, and this goes virtually for all field workers.

University of Wisconsin

CHING-YUEN HSIANG

Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences: I. An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. By Herbert Blumer. New York: The Social Science Research Council, 1939. xvii, 210 pp. \$1.00.

The first part of this book is a critique by Blumer of Thomas and Znaniecki's famous work. It is the first of a series of appraisals, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, of important American social science books. The second part is made up of comments by Thomas and Znaniecki on the critique, a transcript of the discussion which took place at a conference on the critique attended by a representative group of social scientists, and, finally, supplementary statements on the conference by Gordon W. Allport, George P. Murdock, Malcolm W. Willey, and Read Bain.

Blumer holds that the enduring value of *The Polish Peasant* will not rest on the elements which have thus far made it famous. Although the recognition that social life involves the interaction of objective factors and subjective experience is important, the concepts of "attitude" and "value" are ambiguous and inadequate, and "laws of social becoming" probably cannot be founded upon them. (Incidentally, in his rejoinder Thomas indicates that the "Methodological Note" was prepared just before the first two volumes of *The Polish Peasant* went to press and represents partly an afterthought.) Blumer also questions whether the relation between the analytical and theoretical matter and the elaborate mass of source material included in *The Polish Peasant* was quite what the authors claimed that it was. They asserted, "The analysis of the attitudes and characters given in the notes to particular letters and in introductions to particular series contains nothing not essentially contained in the materials themselves; . . . the synthesis constituting the introductions to particular volumes is also based upon the materials. . . ." As a matter of fact, the letters and the other source materials do not necessarily carry for the ordinary reader the interpretation given to them in the notes; and these notes, together with the introductions to particular volumes, are based on intimate acquaintance with

Polish society in Europe and America far beyond anything presented in the materials. This intimate acquaintance is what gives Thomas and Znaniecki's study of Polish society its value. Outside of this excellent description of a particular society, Blumer feels that the importance of *The Polish Peasant* is largely historical. It drew the attention of sociologists to the problem of method in their science and proposed the use of human documents, particularly the life history, as source material. It introduced certain theories, for instance that of social disorganization, which have proved to be fruitful. And, most of all, it was a strong stimulus to actual research. To this reviewer, Blumer's critique appears to be an able, just, and temperate one.

The conference on the critique was drawn at once into a discussion of the validity of sociological theory. The value of the transcript seems to be largely that of an object lesson, showing what difficulties can be encountered in dealing with this subject. Sociologists still seem to be suffering from inferiority feelings with respect to the natural sciences, without appreciating that the material they deal with is far more subtle than any studied by the natural sciences, that there are many accepted theories in the natural sciences which do not provide a basis for predicting or controlling natural phenomena, and finally that, on the whole, progress in the natural sciences has not been accompanied by elaborate discussions of methodology.

Harvard University

GEORGE C. HOMANS

*The Educational Needs of a Rural Community.* By William C. Radford. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1939. 183 pp. 6 shillings.

The significance of this study made under the auspices of the Australian Council for Educational Research for American sociologists is twofold. It contains in Chapters I, III, and much of IV the first thoroughgoing social study of an Australian service station town of which the reviewer knows. It combines extensive use of census data with field work. The community covers about 900 square miles; the total population is about 8,000, less than half being in the center. About 65 census occupational classifications are represented among the 5,066 employed persons. Agriculture is the leading occupation. Within the town center the proportions employed in the ten summary categories is quite comparable to the occupational distribution in American service station towns. The population is aging; the number of children declining. Those below 21 years of age were 43.3 per cent of the population in 1921, 38 per cent in 1933. The number of farmers is also slowly declining; but the proportion of bread winners engaged in commerce and finance is gaining, 15 per cent in 1933 as against 12.2 per cent in 1921. The social and religious life are also considered. Both are judged to be weaker than need be and are revealed as weaker than would be the case in an average American community of the same size. The school is carefully considered as a social institution. An item of passing interest relates to the magazine reading habits of the community. More than one-fourth of the monthlies subscribed to are American, and of these two-thirds are "crime, western, screen, love and romance."

The second important feature of the book is the excellent way in which the sociological data are related to education and the educational data and recommendations are tied into the sociological findings. For instance, jobs held by students are analyzed by last grade completed; job prospects by years are related to curriculum problems and so on. Few surveys known to the reviewer do a better job in this particular, and one would wish for that reason that his book could have a far wider circulation than it will among American schoolmen and educational sociologists.

Teachers College  
Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

*Race Relations and the Race Problems.* Edgar T. Thompson. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939. xiv, 338 pp. \$3.50.

*Black Folk Then and Now.* W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939. ix, 401 pp. \$3.50.

The symposium book on race relations with special reference to the South, emphasizes *relations* rather than race. Its ten chapters discuss: "The Nature of Race Relations" (R. E. Park); "Competition and the Racial Division of Labor" (E. B. Reuter); "The Trend of the Racial Balance of Birth and Deaths" (S. J. Holmes); "Racial Competition for the Land" (R. B. Vance); "Patterns of Race Conflict" (G. B. Johnson); "The Negro as a Contrast Conception" (L. C. Copeland); "The Plantation: The Physical Basis of Traditional Race Relations" (E. T. Thompson); "A Comparative Study of American Caste" (W. L. Warner and A. Davis); "Race Mixture and the Mulatto" (E. V. Stonequist); and "Race Relations and Social Change" (C. S. Johnson). The concept, status, serves as the interconnecting link between these subjects.

Park, taking the world for his subject, circles it "like a girdle" and contributes a remarkable essay which, if not always convincing, is, nevertheless, thought-provoking. In his opinion "race conflicts in the modern world, which is already or presently will be a single great society, will be more and more in the future confused with, and eventually superseded by, the conflicts of classes" (p. 45). Realizing that "the effect of education and conspicuously the education of Negro women has had a devastating effect upon the Negro birth rate" leads him to claim "that there is apparently no way in which a people can so effectively commit race suicide as by educating its women." On the other hand, he views the effect of education as serving "to transform the status of the Negro in the United States from that of a caste to that of a racial minority" (p. 34). However, G. B. Johnson is "strongly of the opinion that Park has overestimated the degree to which the color line has shifted" (p. 148). Warner and Davis say that "only the superficial observer, who must also be an incurable optimist, can argue the generalization that the Negroes form a lower caste in the south, upon the sole ground that minor variations in the degree of their subordination exist" (p. 244). Reuter suggests that "the caste system in view of the relative capacities and incapacities of the Negroes and poor whites, tends to push the poor whites below the Negroes in the scale—to make of the Negroes

a sort of intermediate caste between the levels of the white population" (p. 60). Stonequist believes that "the role of the mixed blood in the United States has a double character: sociologically, to lead the Negro group in its struggle for status; biologically, to provide the point of fusion with both the black and white races" (p. 270).

C. S. Johnson develops "the thesis that those race problems which are the structure of present day race relations are an incident of world economics, and the race relations code a behavior developing out of the contact and conflict of economic interests of the groups identified as racially different" (p. 272). In his opinion "Negro workers are now recognizing in the C. I. O. the most strategic weapon for their advance as a class. It means for them the abolition of economic segregation" (p. 298). Like Park, he maintains that "despite the weight of tradition there is a progressive shifting of these racial relations, notably in the south, from a castelike structure to a class organization" (p. 300).

A book is usually stimulating. *Black Folk Then and Now* which is "an essay in the history and sociology of the Negro race" lives up to expectation. Critical readers will question not a few of the sweeping anthropological and historical generalizations; however, the author makes no claim of "exact scholarship" and admits areas of "conjecture" and even "guesswork." It is fair to say, nevertheless, that Du Bois's essay contains a great deal more of fairly accurate and thoughtful statements than "conjecture."

With the exception of one chapter, "Black United States," Du Bois deals mainly with the Negro in Africa and the West Indies "then and now" and his fate at the hands of the European nations. Quite revealing is the author's *exposé* of the economic and political control of Africa by Europeans, especially the English. In the final chapter, "The Future of World Democracy," Du Bois voices again his hopes and dreams of a liberated Negro race through a united world proletariat of white and dark workers as a solvent for the problem of the twentieth century, the color line.

These two books are a valuable addition to the literature on race relations and on the Negro, who certainly is highly "rural."

Louisiana State University

VERNON J. PARENTON

*Houseboat and River-Bottoms People.* By Ernest Theodore Miller. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939. 146 pp.; 43 statistical tables; bibliography; and index. Paperbound, \$1.50; cloth, \$2.00.

This detailed sociological analysis of 683 households in sample localities in six Illinois counties adjacent to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers is from field data gathered in 1935 as a cooperative research enterprise with the Works Progress Administration. It aims to portray the living conditions found in an environment dominated by two of our great historical Midwest rivers and to discover the extent to which the depression had stimulated self-help or subsistence pursuits supplied by these rivers. But beyond the emergency purposes of the study was the desire to discover the structures, the functional activities, and the essential cultures of the peoples coming into review.

After a chapter on methodology the discussion takes up: "Squatter Occupancy and Marginal Land," "River Self-help Pursuits," "Vocational Assortments," "Unemployment, Mutual Aid and Relief," "Types of Shelter and Residential Mobility," "Household Composition and Family Organization," "Ecological Organization and the Community," and "Culture Continuity and Ecological Organization." Each problem is analyzed statistically in the light of its historical backgrounds. The interesting and unique values are pointed out. The analysis reaches a depth of understanding that one would logically expect from a ripe sociologist.

The chief contribution is the scientific sociological presentation of a cross-section of a society that, thus far, has been too little or too partially known. Writers, like Mark Twain in his *Life on the Mississippi* and Edna Ferber in her *Show Boat*, have given us romantic pictures of some aspects of life in former years on these two great rivers; and so have historians like Hulbert in *The Ohio River*, and Turner in his *The Frontier in American History*, as they chronicle the lure of these rivers which served as avenues of communication and expansion for missionaries, fur traders, hunters, home-seekers, land-jobbers, free-booters, boatmen, explorers, and others of that motley horde that in the early days were attracted westward from settlements east of the Alleghenies. In fact, such interpretive accounts of these great rivers lay a foundation for understanding the historical development of states like Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri, and more especially the houseboat dwellers and river-bottoms people who now make up that interesting society which dwells along these rivers. Miller draws upon such works as these, but adds the elements of quantitative measurement, wider analysis, and more comprehensive interpretation of the social structures, the economic conditions and adaptations, and the essential cultures found here. Mature students of American history and society will find the subject-matter of this treatise interesting and its methodology an excellent sample of the combination of statistical and historical analysis.

University of Connecticut

J. L. HYPES

*Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage.* By E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939. xxiii, 472 pp. \$3.25.

*The Negro Family in the United States.* By E. Franklin Frazier. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. xxxii, 686 pp. \$4.00.

*Divorce and the American Divorce Novel 1858-1937.* By James Harwood Barnett. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1939. 168 pp.

*Study of the Legal Position of the Illegitimate Child.* Geneva: Advisory Committee on Social Questions, League of Nations, 1939. viii, 194 pp. \$1.00.

Burgess and Cottrell in the first of these important works concerning the struggles of the contemporary family analyze marriage adjustment among 526 essentially urban middle-class families, seeking to find what factors are most important for successful marriage. In modern society the conception of marriage as a contract has gained headway in the interpretation of family relations as

opposed to the former main conception of marriage as a status or a duty. The authors develop a measure of "happiness" which when plotted resulted in a reversed "J" curve of distribution of happiness in marriage in spite of a normal frequency curve which might be expected if the family really were a contractual or "companionate hypothesis" organization. Once this happiness rating was established for each family the relation of certain factors classified as cultural, psycho-genetic, "social type," economic, and "response patterns" were correlated with happiness ratings by the use of coefficients of contingency and the ordinary Pearsonian ( $r$ ). As the authors expected, it was found that a cultural assortative mating was related to success in marriage. Evidently women make marriage adjustments more easily than men. Educational and religious differences made no particular difference in happiness, according to the authors. Country residence and wholesome childhood environment were found important in facilitating happiness. Those who made happy marriages came most often from happy families, normal personalities, and families in which the persons married had a number of brothers and sisters. Socialized persons are more happy in marriage than "unsocialized." In other words, happy normal people tend to be happy and normal in their love life. Security and stability of the income seem more important than its amount. Companionship between husband and wife was more important than romantic conceptions. According to this analysis white-collared groups are more happy in their married life than are the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers. Personality adjustment is also a factor, but that seems to turn to the problem of assortative mating again. Sex seems to be more dependent upon happiness in marriage than the opposite. This is contrary to a number of recent studies and statements which have made happiness dependent upon sexual adjustment. (Here again is the old problem of cause-effect relations between correlated variables.) In general, the authors are optimistic about the prediction of success in marriage. The whole study leaves a picture of the present family as one which has thrown off many of its external bonds and now must cling together through internal cohesion. This makes the success of the modern family much more dependent upon assortative mating and upon careful selection of partners than is generally thought to have been true in the past. The old conclusion as to the influence of children upon happiness in marriage reappears again in a suggestion that similar attitudes regarding children is important for success.

The book by Frazier ranks with those by Burgess and Cottrell and by Barnett as being a very important recent contribution to the family. This takes the American Negro family from slavery to the modern cities where the family is rebuilding itself in the Harlems and other semi-segregated districts. The book is an extremely worthwhile story of the Negro and his family as well. Under the plantation system the Negro family tended toward a matriarchal type due to the breaking up of the husband-wife relations and the conception of the slave as live property, which was the only possible definition under the historically unsophisticated Anglo-Saxon common law which set the dominant American legal pattern. Successive chapters show the breakup of family life

*with the beginning of slavery, the development of the matriarchal conception, the rise of the mulatto, the beginning of the free family, the role of the grandmother, the beginnings of the new family conception, the islands of mixed bloods, and the development of middle and upper-class conceptions regarding the Negro families. Then came the disorganization of the modern industrial city where the middle class of browns paralleled the white middle class family conception, and where the black proletariat is rapidly developing the small family idea. The city produced the black (or brown) Puritan, on the one hand, and the *Shim* phenomenon as well. A number of worthwhile appendices give case studies and statistical data which bear out the thesis. If its proofs of disorganization among the American Negroes seem depressing at times, it must be remembered that the American Negro has achieved what he has against much greater odds than the whites who also are showing extremely disorganized family life today.*

Barnett's work is his thesis at Pennsylvania which summarizes not only the problem of divorce as it is taken up in the 50 important novels which have discussed the matter since T. S. Arthur's *The Hand but not the Heart* in 1858, but also from the viewpoint of other literary sources, as well as legal, scientific, and statistical treatises. The development of the conception of the contractual or companionate marriage and family is not a recent one but goes back into threads of individualism in American history and into the general demoralization of western peoples with the coming of the industrial system. Barnett's work is a good companion volume for the study of demoralization of the Negro family as given by Frazier and the problem of internal harmony through assortative mating which sticks out all over the analysis by Burgess and Cottrell. Both those who are disturbed by our present family demoralization and those who consider it a natural step in the rise of the individual and of a "brave new world" will find in Barnett's work proof that Connecticut and, successively, Michigan, Indiana, and the other border states were the Reno divorce mills of yesterday. The *omnibus* clause in the early divorce legislation played the same role in the contractual conception of marriage as does the "incompatibility" clause today. While Barnett implies (pp. 68, 140 *et passim*) that he is sympathetic with the apostles of the brave new world, yet this does not prevent him from developing a very worthwhile analysis of the divorce situation as it is treated psychologically by the most individualistic groups in present American life.

The volume on the illegitimate child is a very good analysis for contemporary societies which furnish such information to the League of Nations. It is evidently drawn up in part by persons familiar with legal terminology because its presentation has all the formalism of a set of law school lectures. Appendix tables give a summary of recent statistics upon the number and proportion of illegitimate children in various societies. The work is based upon the tacit assumption that illegitimates should get greater recognition and protection under the laws, thus pushing their social position much more closely toward that of the legitimate. It has very little to say about the problem which has troubled a number of countries, namely, decline in social and legal position of the legiti-

mate child and legitimate wife brought about in many cases by attempts to improve the role of the illegitimate child and the mistress.

All of these studies concern the family which is after all one of the basic values of rural life and of the foundations of nationalism. All of them are interesting either because they plow fresh ground or recultivate old intellectual fields more carefully than has been done beforehand. All of them are interesting as much for what they imply as for what they say. However, Frazier looks at his people from the background of a struggle against demoralization. He is almost apologetic that his people have not yet developed the strong familism which is inherent in traditions of the European races. On the other hand, the representatives of the European peoples imply that this tradition is in itself an antithesis to individual freedom. With greater or less degree they look with skepticism concerning any legal or moral compulsion which would intend to increase the status conception of the family. Neither do they imply that there is any organic reality to the family itself which might under given conditions of continued demoralization bring about imminently a sort of rejuvenation or *risorgimento* of familism. Frazier uses this assumption more or less tacitly, but here again he is writing against the background of unconscious experience different from those of the representatives of the European races. In other words, one witnesses here that family specialists unconsciously cling to out-dated tacit assumptions in a period when linear conceptions of social change have already been overthrown by the facts. This is important because a more realistic point of view concerning the family would probably give a conceptual color to their interpretations considerably different from those which they have presented. All these studies lay the background for a neo-organic or semi-realistic interpretation of the family, but no single work grasps its significance.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Lester F. Ward: The American Aristotle.* By Samuel Chugerman. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939. xiii, 521 pp. \$5.00.

This work is sponsored by forty-four eminent scholars and carries an editorial note by Charles A. Ellwood and Howard E. Jensen, editors of the new Duke Sociological Series, an introduction by James Q. Dealey, and a foreword by Harry Elmer Barnes. In tone it emulates Ward and his achievements, lamenting the neglect of his works and holding that Ward laid the philosophical foundation of such modern social movements as feminism, woman's suffrage, universal public education, and the New Deal program of social planning.

Chugerman holds that the neglect of Ward by American scholars was "one of the major intellectual crimes of the age." After a childhood of trying hard-ship and little formal education Ward worked his way to great distinction as a scholar in many fields. He achieved a world-wide reputation as botanical paleobotanist and geologist; he mastered Greek, Latin, Hebrew, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and was familiar with Russian, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese. He wrote nearly 600 papers, besides his five books, totaling over 8,000 pages.

After giving the story of Ward's background of struggle and achievement,



Chugerman makes a topical analysis of Ward's philosophical system. He discusses the scientist-philosopher, the biologist, the psychologist, the anthropologist, the sociologist, the synthesist, the monist, the philosopher of history, the economist, the sociocrat, the liberal, the feminist, the environmentalist, the meliorist, and the moralist.

While the treatment is necessarily brief and sketchy at many points, it ties Ward's works up with those of Aristotle, Kant, Comte, Darwin, and Spencer. Less often does he show how Ward has affected his contemporaries and his successors. To a considerable extent the sociologists of this century have leaned toward the laissez-faire philosophy of a Spencercian evolutionary determinism, or a Sumnerian enervating mechanistic-customary fatalism to the neglect of Ward's challenging, militant philosophy of intelligent social action that creates opportunity, manufactures genius, substitutes the rational for the customary, the man-made for the evolutionary.

Some readers may object to the biographer's evaluations of specific parts of Ward's social philosophy, which are occasionally projected into the discussion and analysis; but all will find the account very much alive, stimulating, at many points inspiring. The biographer-reviewer has done a difficult job well. If he succeeds in bringing to the front Ward's works, and more important still, his basic tenets for social action, as this book should do, he will have accomplished much toward social progress.

The State College of Washington

PAUL H. LANDIS

*Vanishing Lands.* By R. O. Whyte and G. V. Jacks. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1939. xvi, 332 pp. \$4.00.

Soil depletion and the consequent social and political implications are among the most important studies appearing today. The authors of this book give us a glimpse of the magnitude of soil erosion over the world. Dividing the world into areas such as "Europe and the Mediterranean," "North and South America," "Australia and New Zealand," and "The Orient," they show how certain regions have met or are meeting the problem of a depleting national domain. For the Americas the authors are required to confine their study to the extent of soil erosion because we have only just begun to take invoice, because little has been done to stop it, and because nothing has been done to rebuild our soil.

It is the authors' thesis that, as it becomes more obvious that the individual is impotent to cope with soil erosion alone, he is turning to collective action as a solution. Thus, "the tendency for the state to become the principal forest owner," they find, "is an almost inevitable consequence of adopting a protective forest policy." Collectivism obviates many of the obstacles to soil conservation encountered in highly individualistic societies. The American farmer, they assert, is being driven by economic forces to accept concerted action as the way out. Planning boards, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the New Deal agricultural program are pointing the direction toward the rehabilitation of our land.

New York University

RAY F. HARVEY

*Untersuchungen zur Methode und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschung an Hand eines Vergleichs der Volkszählungslisten der Township Westphalia, Clinton County, Michigan, vom Jahre 1860 mit Auswanderungsakten des Kreises Adenau (Rheinland)*, Forschungen zur Rheinischen Auswanderung Herausgegeben von der Forschungsstelle Rheinland in aller Welt, Düsseldorf, Heft 3. By Joseph Scheben. Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, Bonn a. Rh., 1939. 155 pp.

*Grundlagen und Entwicklungsrichtung der landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugung in Niederländisch-Indien*, Berichte über Landwirtschaft Zeitschrift für Agrarpolitik und Landwirtschaft, 146. Sonderheft by Dr. W. K. G. Gretzer. Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung Paul Parey, 1939. 180 pp.

Has America's melting pot reduced the German immigrants to part and parcel of the "restless atomized mass"? Scheben attempts to answer this and other questions, as well as technical problems, involved in the study of the German emigration to America. He compares the 1860 United States Census list of persons living in the Michigan township, including the German village, Westphalia, with various German documents and comes to the conclusion that the United States Census may render an understatement of the number of Germans in Michigan. Through this process and the use of letters and American studies, it was possible to show that a considerable proportion of the later migrants to the American village came from one small area in Germany and that they did not all join the "floating mass" but sought familiar ties with old neighbors and relatives as well as permanent homes where German values could be retained.

The Dutch have been among the most successful colonizers in the world. Gretzer presents an interpretation of the basis of the 300-year Dutch experience in colonization and gives a detailed statement of the geographical, social, and economic conditions in the Dutch East Indies. The analysis includes a statement of the historical development of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies and a description which gives special emphasis to the structure and types of prevailing agricultural enterprises.

The studies of Gretzer and Scheben are in line with two interests of Nazi Germany: (1) The millions of people with German blood living outside the Reich, and (2) the general problem of colonies which many think Germany must regain in order to have a balanced economy.

United States Department of Agriculture

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Fare to Midlands*. By Henry Charleton Beck. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1939. 456 pp. \$5.00.

This book is the third in a series by the same author dealing with forgotten towns of New Jersey. The two previous volumes were reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* (Vol. III, No. 3). The present work consists of some twenty-two rambling sketches of old towns in Central New Jersey, many of which were formerly of importance in one way or another, but which are now in various stages of decay. At least one seems to have died completely. The author has

evidently spent a great deal of time visiting and interviewing the "oldest inhabitants" of these communities and has produced a generally interesting "journal of an antiquarian," which includes much fragmentary American history (mostly of the Revolutionary War), is full of readable anecdotes about the towns and their people, and is jammed with colorful folklore. Liberally illustrated with photographs and provided with a large map showing the forgotten towns, it will undoubtedly be of interest, especially to those who are familiar with the region.

From the point of view of sociology, however, the work suffers from being unsystematic and haphazardly organized. No attempt is made to study any one town thoroughly, or to interpret the material in terms of general statements. Little care, apparently, has been given to selecting the most pertinent material from what was available. These are not justifiable criticisms of the book itself, however, for the author was evidently not writing as a sociologist. In his Foreword he states: "On the one hand you can have dry-as-dust records, old deeds, absolute certainty, established authorities. On the other you can choose folklore, history in the words of those who recall, or remember having heard, the old legends based on fact." (p. 23.)

Clearly, this work is not one of great sociological importance; yet it raises many problems of sociology in the areas of population mobility, urbanization, and social organization, which may bear systematic research in an effort to discover why these towns have been forgotten, a question that is neglected by the author.

University of Connecticut

HENRY W. RIECKEN

*Die Baumwollpacht in U. S. A. und ihre jüngste Entwicklung.* By Peter Wecker. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt Verlag, 1939. 154 pp. RM 6.80.

The American social scientist has vigorously seized upon the social and economic conditions existing within the framework of Southern cotton tenancy as a fertile field for scholarly endeavor. However, its exploitation has not been exclusively confined to his efforts. A German student, Peter Wecker, undertakes an overall treatment of cotton tenancy in this 154-page work. Relying entirely on secondary sources, Wecker traces cotton tenancy from its colonial beginnings through its most recent developments.

This work is made up of three broad sections. The first is a brief description of the origin and early history of cotton tenancy. The second part is concerned with the numerous problems burdening cotton tenancy immediately prior to the New Deal. The final, and by far the most extensive section, is a critical survey of the several ameliorative measures initiated during the Roosevelt regime. Refraining from positive assertions as to the final outcome of these measures, Wecker cautions that historical developments (such as those in Southern tenancy) cannot be terminated "über nacht" and formed anew.

The brevity of this work is hardly commensurate with the breadth of the subject. However, the systematic and thoroughly-documented treatment makes

the most of the limited space. Possibly the greatest contribution of this work to rural sociology is its attempt to integrate and tie together the numerous, recently-published, fact-finding studies on various phases of Southern cotton tenancy. It is likely that the six and one-half page, minutely-classified bibliography, including both American and European sources, will prove useful to the researcher on Southern problems.

United States Department of Agriculture

HOMER L. HITT

*Minnesota Farmers' Diaries.* With an Introduction and Notes by Rodney C. Loehr. St. Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society, 1939. vii, 247 pp. \$2.50.

In a 33-page introduction, the William R. Brown and Mitchell Y. Jackson diaries are placed in the setting of Minnesota life through a period which marked the beginning of agriculture as an independent occupation in the state and which witnessed the introduction of the grain reaper and threshing machine. Brown's diary furnishes a running account of daily work and events from October 25, 1845, through June 14, 1846. Jackson's diary covers a considerably longer period of time. From entries which began on September 8, 1841, and ended on December 20, 1873, the editor has lifted those beginning August 8, 1852 and ending June 5, 1863.

These diaries, read in the light of Loehr's carefully prepared introduction, vividly reproduce the details of daily living and reflect the enterprise and initiative of the diarists. Planing and matching the boards for a floor, fashioning a harrow from white oak and iron, trying out a new reaper, and similar activities add zest and excitement to the essentially hard life of the frontier. Threads of state, national, and world events are woven in. But the firm foundation of the early farmer's economic independence is indicated in scores of small entries: "made a door for the hen-house"; "tramped out 1,200 sheaves of oats with 4 horses"; "made 9 light sash for the old kitchen"; "filed crosscut saw"; "prepared a barrel to steam potatoes for the pigs"; "made 5 ox bows"; "worked on a land roller"; "hoed some onions"; "commenced plowing for potatoes and rutabagas"; and so on. Every page vividly reproduces lines of that pattern of American living that resulted from a combination of free labor and abundant natural resources; and throughout these diaries there run evidences of a singularly clear-cut set of notions about decency, thrift, and accountability.

This book merits a varied and extensive constituency of readers: students of American rural society, officers and members of study groups, women's clubs, farmer's organizations, and those scores of readers whose personal experiences have repeated at least some of the details of living on a farm, known so well to William R. Brown and Mitchell Y. Jackson of Washington County, Minnesota.

University of Arizona

E. D. TETREAU

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University of Arizona

E. D. TETREAU

*The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Populations.* By Paul H. Landis. Pullman, Washington: Research Studies of the State College of Washington, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1938. Pp. 160-188.

This useful and much-needed study estimates the number and populations of unincorporated rural aggregates for the last four census years. A three-fold classification is used: hamlets (under 250 people), small villages (to 1,000), and large villages (to 2,500). The source is *Bradstreet's Commercial Ratings*, checked with available census and atlas data. Detailed findings are given for the nation, regions, and states. Limitations inherent in the data are clearly recognized, and the statistical work is unusually lucid. Results emphasize the urban trend, the decrease of hamlets, and the fact that "village population" and "rural non-farm population" are not interchangeable terms. This first rate piece of work should be called to the particular attention of every student of the American community. Its merit is not to be judged by its length (28 pp.).

Harvard University

ARTHUR K. DAVIS

*Masters of Their Own Destiny.* By M. M. Coady. New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1939. x, 170 pp. \$2.00.

This is the story, as told by the Director of Extension at St. Francis Xavier University, of the efforts and methods used to spread the philosophy of economic cooperation through adult education to the Scottish, French, and Irish people of the Maritime Provinces of Canada. In less than a decade the "Antigonish Movement" despite opposition, has worked an economic and social regeneration into the inhabitants of what were formerly destitute and decadent fishing districts, farming sections, and factory towns. Through concrete achievements, Dr. Coady has apparently vindicated his thesis that the average "common man can be at once a worker, a student, a business man, and an intelligent citizen." To the rural sociologist who is interested in the consumer-cooperative movement, in the social and economic rehabilitation of small communities, in a practical demonstration of real rural functionalism and social action, this little book deserves serious consideration.

Louisiana State University

VERNON J. PARENTON

*Teachers College Record*, "Rural Education Number." New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, January, 1940. 123 pp. \$0.45.

The January issue of the *Teachers College Record* is devoted entirely to rural education. In the "Foreword," which sounds the keynote for the entire issue, the principle is set forth that "Rural children, youth, and adults must be educated in terms of their individual interests, abilities and needs, and to solve the life problems which they are or will be facing." The life needs of rural dwellers, it is pointed out repeatedly, can only be discovered by understanding the rural communities in which they live.

Articles dealing with the following topics constitute the subject matter of

the issue: "Local and Economic Forces in Rural America and Their Significance to Rural Education," by Edmund deS. Brunner, Teachers College, Columbia University; "Planning the Curriculum for Rural Schools," by Fannie W. Dunn, Teachers College, Columbia University; "Social Studies and the Rural Community," by Anne Hoppock and Marcia Everett, Helping Teachers, Warren County, New Jersey; "Music for Rural Schools," by S. T. Burns, School of Music, Indiana University; "English in the Rural High School," by Paul W. Stoddard, Principal, Housatonic Valley Regional High School, Falls Village, Connecticut; "Supervised Correspondence Study," by Sidney C. Mitchell, Superintendent of Schools, Benton Harbor, Michigan; "Education for Teachers in the Rural Environment," by Kate V. Wofford, Director of Rural Education, State Teachers College, Buffalo, New York; "Guidance of Rural Teachers," by Helen Hay Heyl, Chief, Bureau of Curriculum Development, Albany, New York; "Educational Administration in Rural Areas," by Frank W. Cyr, Teachers College, Columbia University; "Pupil Transportation," by M. C. S. Noble, Jr., Teachers College, Columbia University; "Occupational Adjustment of Rural Youth," by Edwin A. Lee and Henry B. McDaniel, Teachers College, Columbia University; and "Special Phases of Rural Education,"—including education of minority groups in the United States, i.e., Appalachian-Ozark mountaineers, American Indians on reservations, Mexicans of the Southwest, migratory agricultural workers, and Negroes in rural areas, and rural education in foreign lands—by Mabel Carney, Teachers College, Columbia University.

One must not expect to find a complete treatment of the many problems of rural education in this issue of the *Teachers College Record*. That is altogether too much to ask. The articles are, on the whole, thought provoking and point the way to a very different type of rural education from that usually found in practice.

The reviewer notices certain omissions or oversights, however, in the compositions. The educational problems of the small village and town are not mentioned, and yet this type school presents problems different from those of the open-country or the urban school. Then the problems of recreation and of health in the rural schools are entirely neglected. These are deserving of a significant place in any publication dealing with rural education.

It is very gratifying to anyone interested in rural sociology to find that a publication from the great teachers college of America should recognize that "the future of the nation is in the hands of the rural teacher."

Louisiana State University

MARION B. SMITH

*The Problem of Social Change.* By Newell L. Sims. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1939. 477 pp. \$3.50.

In view of the complexity of the subject and the vast amount of contradictory literature, to attempt another work on social change is a piece of sheer audacity. Newell Sims, however, modestly endeavors to order rather than to further the existing confusion. He is correct in assuming a definite need for an inclusive textbook, and also in his opinion that "most of the data in this field are theories



instead of demonstrated facts about the process." The usefulness of what he has done lies not so much in originality of organization and analysis as in bringing together in one volume widely scattered materials. The problem of social change is handled indirectly through a synoptic exposition and criticism of many leading views.

Fourteen chapters comprise the four main parts of the book, "Historical Aspects of Social Change," "Natural Factors in Social Change," "The Nature of Social Order and Change," and "The Process of Social Change." Since the publication purports to be primarily a synthesis, the author's problem was largely one of summarizing, classifying, and interpreting fairly well-known data. The first of these tasks is more successfully accomplished than are the other two. A logically coherent classificatory system would have ordered the material more effectively and prevented frequent overlapping of topics from one part to another. A number of items treated under factors, for example, reappear under another guise in later chapters; and others which should have been dealt with in a more comprehensive section on factors are developed for the first time in a discussion of the process of change. Historic and systematic causation are occasionally confused, as are different types of variables. That the work is not altogether satisfactory in these respects may be partially excused by the immensity of the methodological difficulties involved.

Though forming a coherent whole of the thought on social change is no easy matter, Sims has succeeded in piecing together short summaries of the more important theories in a manner that will find general acceptance. Seldom does he attempt to foist personal prejudices upon the reader; and his interpretations, though general, on the whole are accurate. The leaning toward outmoded views of the pre-logicality of the primitive would find scant acceptance among anthropologists, and a neglect of the non-logical category of thought would be deplored by many sociologists. In several places the author lapses into unrealistic thinking (e.g., concerning the "new" Negro and the "new" Russian), but value judgments are minimized. There are a few misinterpretations, and one is annoyed by the rather prevalent way of summarizing a man's theories in several pages and then dismissing them in a sentence or two, as in the discussions of Pareto and Sorokin.

Whatever the shortcomings of this book, the writer has produced a commendable summary and an analysis of an extensive nature. Teachers of the subject will be grateful for the inclusion of many American theorists and much recent thought. *The Problem of Social Change* shows evidence of careful compilation, and the result is a volume superior to most of the secondary treatises now available.

University of Maryland

LOGAN WILSON

*Contemporary Social Problems.* By Harold A. Phelps. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938. xiv, 820 pp. \$3.50.

This work is a revision of Phelps' text by the same name first published in 1932. Although the organization of materials remains much the same there are several improvements in the revised edition. A new introductory chapter opens the book; brief introductory statements begin each main part; some materials have been omitted, and others have been incorporated in new chapters. Recent materials are to be found throughout the book. Works published since 1932 often comprise as many as half the dated items in the chapter bibliographies.

Part I deals with the economic sources of social disorganization: poverty, unemployment, occupational hazards, and depressions. Part II considers the physical and mental sources of social disorganization: physical illness and defectiveness, mental diseases and deficiency, and the bio-social problems of population. Part III, bearing the rather unsatisfactory title, "Specific Cultural Sources of Social Disorganization," contains treatments of standards of living, insecurities of the aged, transients, broken families, crime, punishment, and juvenile delinquency. Part IV, previously a three chapter "Summary," is now "An Approach to Social Planning," with discussions of the types of social problems, the nature of social problems, how they develop, their scientific study, and their relationship to social action and reform. The change of title and content of Part IV are obvious indications of how much our perspective has changed since the New Deal came to power.

Although all these modifications seem to be improvements, there remains the underlying urban point of view, with attention devoted almost exclusively to urban problems, or urban phases of social problems. Possibly some of the problems of rural America may be more likely to receive attention at the hands of social problems text writers now that John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* has become a best seller. Seriously, however, the question should be raised: why have only a few texts in this field, such as those by Gillette and Reinhart, Gillin, and notably Odum, seriously recognized the importance of non-urban problem phenomena?

Several possible explanations may be offered. First, problems of the city may simply be more obvious to the writer because they are the focal points of so much human misery, and at the same time of the great public and philanthropic agencies. Second, it is conceivable, especially to the optimistic ruralist, that rural social problems are truly insignificant, at least as compared with those of the city. Third, increasing urbanization of American society, including the permeation of rural areas by urban influences, may actually be accomplished by a decline in the relative importance of purely rural problems. But in the light of the numerous relevant studies published by the Agricultural Experiment Stations, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, and the Division of Social Research in the Work Projects Administration, it will not be seriously contended that rural problems, and the rural phases of rural-urban social problems, may safely be ignored.

# News Notes and Announcements

## MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, DECEMBER 28, 1939

The meeting was called to order at 3:00 P.M. by the president, Carl C. Taylor.

T. J. Woofter, Jr., reported on the situation with respect to sociology personnel in government service.

Edmund deS. Brunner moved that the incoming chairman appoint a committee of five, consisting of the chairmen of the society's committees on teaching, research, and extension; a member from a training institution; and a member from the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, to canvass the situation with respect to personnel training and placement. Motion seconded and passed. It was further suggested that this committee offer its cooperation to the committee on rural social studies of the American Council on Education.

The chairman then called for the report of the secretary-treasurer. The auditing committee, O. D. Duncan, chairman, certified as to the correctness of the accounts, and the following report was approved:

December 21, 1939

### RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY FINANCIAL STATEMENT

1939

#### RECEIPTS

Cash on hand, December 16, 1938 . . . . .		\$85.69	
315 Total memberships . . . . .	\$951.00	951.00	
281 active members . . . . .	843.00		
1 honorary member . . . . .	3.00		
2 contributing members, \$10 each . . . . .	20.00		
1 contributing member . . . . .	7.50		
1 contributing member . . . . .	5.00		
29 student members . . . . .	72.50		
8 1938 memberships paid . . . . .	22.50	22.50	
Grand total . . . . .			\$1,059.19

## EXPENDITURES

To *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*

315 1939 subscriptions @ \$2.50	\$787.50	
8 1938 subscriptions @ \$2.50	20.00	
		807.50
Printing	39.90	
Office supplies and postage	18.40	
Galpin memberships and subscriptions	19 00	
Bank service and clearance charges	1.20	
Telegram	.35	
		78.85
Grand total		\$886.35
Receipts		\$1,059.19
Expenditures		886 35
Cash on hand December 21, 1939		172.84

The future of the official journal, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, was next discussed. T. J. Woofter, Jr., moved that the society request the executive committee to canvass the situation and prepare ways and means whereby the society can assume full responsibility for the journal on January 1, 1941. Motion was seconded and carried. P. B. Boyer moved that the society express its appreciation to the Louisiana State University for its support of the quarterly journal, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*. Motion was seconded and approved.

C. Horace Hamilton moved that a continuing committee of seven or more be appointed to continue study of terminology and definitions and to prepare a statement of extent and types of tabulations for 1940 census materials. Motion seconded and passed.

C. H. Hoffer moved that the chairmen of the two committees on extension plus a representative of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare prepare in a suitable way for circulation the reports of the extension committee. Motion seconded and passed.

Charles E. Lively moved that prepublication in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* of papers for the annual meetings be discontinued. Motion seconded and passed.

O. D. Duncan moved that Article IV of the by-laws, concerning elections, be amended to read as follows:

"Article IV. *Elections*.

"At the beginning of each year the president shall appoint a nominating committee of five members. This committee shall nominate three candidates for each position and report their names to the secretary before November first. Not later than November fifteenth the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the three nominees for each position, which ballot to be valid shall be returned to him not later than November thirtieth in an envelope bearing the signature of the member. An election committee appointed by the president shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting the election of those who have received a plurality of the ballots cast "

Motion seconded, discussed, and carried.

The election committee reported the election of the following: John H. Kolb as president; T. Lynn Smith as secretary-treasurer; Paul H. Landis as a member of the teaching committee; Harold C. Hoffsommer as a member of the research committee; and Lowry Nelson as a member of the editorial board.

The committee reported that the vote for vice-president, elected member of the executive committee, and member of the extension committee was inconclusive. Proceeding to ballot, the members present elected Charles E. Lively as vice-president, Howard W. Beers as a member of the executive committee, and B. L. Hummel as a member of the extension committee.

The meeting adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

T. LYNN SMITH,  
*Secretary-Treasurer.*

### NEW MEMBERS AND FORMER MEMBERS REJOINING IN 1940

*(Supplementing Membership List Published in December, 1939,  
Issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY)*

Ashburn, Karl E.	Southwestern Louisiana Institute	Lafayette, La.
Benedict, M. R.	University of California	Berkeley, Calif.
*Black, Thelrel R.	Department of Sociology	University, La.
Bowden, G. T.	Harvard University	Cambridge, Mass.
Cox, Oliver C.	Wiley College	Marshall, Texas
Davidson, Dwight M., Jr.	Bureau of Ag. Economics, U.S.D.A.	Washington, D. C.
Dennis, William V.	Pennsylvania State College	State College, Penn.
Frame, Nat. T.	Milwaukee County Court House	Milwaukee, Wis.
Geddes, Jos. A.	Utah State Agricultural College	Logan, Utah
Gomillion, Charles G.	Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
Hummel, R. B.	Apt. Y3A Cameron Court Apts.	Raleigh, N. C.
Kollmorgen, Walter M.	Bureau of Ag. Economics, U.S.D.A.	Washington, D. C.
Loomis, Ralph	University of Missouri	Columbia, Mo.
Lord, George E.	University of Maine	Orono, Maine
McCall, Margery S.	810 East Boulevard	Baton Rouge, La.
Meldrum, Gilbert	Rhode Island State College	Kingston, R. I.
Moore, Wilbert E.	Harvard University	Cambridge, Mass.
Mumford, Eben	Michigan State College	East Lansing, Mich.
Nichols, Ralph R.	2024 Wroxtton Road	Houston, Texas
Page, John S.	Bureau of Ag. Economics, U.S.D.A.	Washington, D. C.
Riecken, Henry W.	University of Connecticut	Storrs, Conn.
Rose, John Kerr	6928 Maple St.	Tacoma Park, D. C.
*Rossoff, Milton	1410 East 58th St.	Chicago, Ill.
Samuels, Samuel B.	National Farm School	Farm School, Penn.
Splawn, Mary	Bureau of Ag. Economics, U.S.D.A.	Washington, D. C.
Van de Wall, Willem	University of Kentucky	Lexington, Ky.
*Whittington, Curtis A., Jr.		Liberty, Miss.
*Winkler, Fred		Garfield, Wash.
*Young, Chester W.	Box 2482	University, La.
*Zapata, José M.	549 West 113th St.	New York, N. Y.

\* Student member.

*Field Courses in American Problems:*—There is a growing awareness that in the teaching of the social sciences the classroom and the book must be vivified by observation and interpretation in the field. One of the agencies which has

lately turned its attention to the problem is The Open Road—a non-profit membership organization which has as its object the promotion of international and inter-regional understanding. For fifteen years The Open Road has been helping Americans to travel abroad observantly. In that period it has operated approximately 400 field trips, independently and in conjunction with colleges and universities. During the past year The Open Road has initiated a program in the United States which aims to acquaint Americans with their own country—not its tourist sights, but the lives and problems of its people. Social science departments in leading institutions are being offered expert and complete facilities in the conducting of field trips.

The program for 1940 is principally a project in teacher education on the graduate level. Summer courses have been worked out with five institutions as follows:

*Teachers College, Columbia University:* A Sociological Field Course in Southern Conditions. This course was given with signal success in the summer of 1939.

*Graduate School of Education, Harvard University:* A Workshop in Social and Economic Factors Influencing Education in New England.

*School of Education, Northwestern University:* Problems of American Youth As Exemplified in Certain Urban and Rural Communities of the Middle West.

*Colorado State College of Education:* Life Problems on the Great Plains and in the Rocky Mountain Area.

*School of Education, New York University:* Field Seminar in the Sociology of the Tennessee Valley Region.

Enrollment is limited in each case to between twelve and fifteen qualified students. Fees are very moderate, being based on actual costs in the field, with no charge for overhead. Inquiries regarding these courses may be addressed to the institutions or to The Open Road, 8 West 40th Street, New York.

*Harvard University:*—Professor Clifford Kirkpatrick of the University of Minnesota will give courses in Introductory Sociology and Social Psychology at the Harvard Summer School. Courses in Family and Rural-Urban Sociology will be given by Professor Carle C. Zimmerman, and Professor James Ford is offering a course in Social Pathology. Research and consultation courses for graduate students are also announced.

The New England Conference on Family Relations will be held at Harvard University on July 24, 25, and 26. At this conference many leading specialists and authorities on the family and child problems will be present. The meetings and round tables of this conference are open without charge to all officially registered in the Harvard Summer School and to all others upon payment of a small fee. Those interested in participating in this program should write Carle C. Zimmerman, Chairman of the New England Conference on Family Relations, 200 Emerson Hall, Harvard University.



# RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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No. 2

## CONTENTS

<i>Fertility in Rural Areas in Relation to Their Distance from Cities, 1930.</i> By Warren S. Thompson and Nelle E. Jackson . . . . .	143
<i>Economic Aspects of Remedial Measures Designed to Meet the Problems of Displaced Farm Laborers.</i> By Murray R. Benedict . . . . .	163
<i>Acadian Animal Caste in Southwest Louisiana: Some Sociological Obser- vations.</i> By Lauren C. Post . . . . .	183
<i>Social Organization in Arizona's Irrigated Areas.</i> By E. D. Tetreau . . . . .	192
<i>Private and Public Costs of Isolated Settlement in the Cut-Over Area of Minnesota.</i> By John E. Mason . . . . .	206
<i>Notes</i>	
<i>The Sex Ratio and Marriage in Rural Communities with Special Reference to Negro Marriages.</i> By Oliver C. Cox . . . . .	222
<i>Concepts of the Old and the New Plantation Systems.</i> By Sue Lyles . . . . .	227
<i>Migration of Minnesota Rural Youth.</i> By Lowry Nelson and Don Mitchell . . . . .	229
<i>Some Problems and Social Setting of Community Life in Maine As Told by College Students.</i> By E. J. Niederfrank . . . . .	232
<i>Better Rural Sanitation Improving Nation's Health.</i> By A. W. von Struve . . . . .	238
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis . . . . .	241
<i>Book Reviews.</i> Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman . . . . .	259
Smith, <i>The Sociology of Rural Life</i> , by Dwight Sanderson . . . . .	259
Clapp, <i>Community Schools in Action</i> ; Muench, <i>Manifesto on Rural Life</i> ; League of Nations Report, <i>Urban and Rural Housing</i> ; Humble, <i>Rural America Reads</i> , by D. E. Lindstrom . . . . .	261
Fisher, <i>Children of God</i> ; McNiff, <i>Heaven on Earth</i> , by Reed H. Bradford . . . . .	263
Ludlum, <i>Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850</i> , by Wendell H. Bash . . . . .	264
Ligutti and Rawe, <i>Rural Roads to Security</i> , by David W. Twomey, S.J. . . . .	265
Gingerich, <i>The Mennonites in Iowa</i> , by Wilbert E. Moore . . . . .	266
Hall, <i>Tangier Island: A Study of an Isolated Group</i> , by George F. Theriault . . . . .	267
Ball, <i>Federal, State, and Local Administrative Relationships in Agriculture</i> , by Ray F. Harvey . . . . .	267
Mosca, <i>The Ruling Class</i> , by Lee Emerson Deets . . . . .	268
Prentice, <i>Hunger and History</i> , by Merton Oyler . . . . .	269
Partridge, <i>Country Lawyer</i> , by Henry W. Riecken . . . . .	270
Hagood, <i>Mothers of the South, Portraiture of the White Tenant Farm Woman</i> , by Margaret Warnken Ryan . . . . .	271
Carman (ed.), <i>American Husbandry</i> , by Carle C. Zimmerman . . . . .	272

Kroeber, <i>Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America</i> , by Loren C. Eiseley	272
Panunzio, <i>Major Social Institutions An Introduction</i> , by Bryce Ryan	273
Vance and Danilevski, <i>Population and the Pattern of Unemployment, 1930-1937</i> , Chapple, <i>Measuring Human Relations An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals</i> , Dékány, <i>Communautés et Organisations</i> , Gini, "Trade Follows the Flag", Gini, <i>Sovranità Politica E Correnti Commerciali</i> , Gini and De Orchi, <i>Il Ciclo Sessuale Delle Madri Delle Famiglie Numerose</i> , Valenziani, <i>Renaissance Démographique En Oceanie Française</i> , by Carle C. Zimmerman	274
Massingham, <i>Country Relics</i> , by T. Lynn Smith	277
Lindstrom, <i>The Church in Rural Life</i> , by W. H. Stacy	277
Croxtton and Cowden, <i>Applied General Statistics</i> , by Conrad Taeuber	278
Proceedings of the Twenty-First American Country Life Conference, <i>Disadvantaged People in Rural Life</i> , by William H. Sewell	278
Lord, <i>The Agrarian Revival</i> , by Dorothy Dickins	279
Gould, <i>New England Town Meeting</i> , by Carle C. Zimmerman	279
Hill, <i>Training for the Job</i> , by T. Lynn Smith	280
Klein, <i>Civil Service in Public Welfare</i> , by T. Lynn Smith	280
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i>	281



# Fertility in Rural Areas in Relation to Their Distance from Cities, 1930

Warren S. Thompson\* and Nelle E. Jackson†

## ABSTRACT

This study is based on data for the rural population of sixteen groups of townships extending in a stated direction from eleven large cities of the United States. One group of townships lies in the Middle Atlantic states, three in the East North Central, three in the West North Central, three in the South Atlantic, three in the West South Central, and three in the Pacific states.

No two areas present identical pictures of the relationship between fertility, as measured by the ratios of children under five to persons fifteen to forty-four, and the seven factors selected to measure the degree of isolation from urban influence, the economic status of the family, and the demographic characteristics of the population. Even when two areas extending out from the same city are compared, they are found to differ in many respects, and the age-old acceptance of urban influence on fertility is somewhat discredited in a few areas.

In the United States, one of the first differentials in fertility to be demonstrated statistically was that between states having different proportions of urban and rural population. The decline which was known to have been going on in the birth rate had resulted in lower ratios of children to women in the urbanized states than in those that were more rural. This was clearly shown by comparing the respective ratios of children to women by states.<sup>1</sup> This difference was even more striking when urban and rural populations were compared.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, when the states were ranked according to their degree of industrialization, from the beginning of the 19th century onward, there was not only a rather steady decrease in the ratios of children to women as the degree of industrialization and urbanization increased, but also this difference was large as early as 1800.<sup>3</sup>

\* Director, Scripps Foundation, Miami University.

† Statistician, Scripps Foundation, Miami University.

<sup>1</sup> Walter F. Wilcox, *Proportion of Children in the United States*, Department of Commerce and Labor Bulletin No. 22 (Washington, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> Warren S. Thompson, "Race Suicide in the United States," *Scientific Monthly*, V (July-December, 1917), 22-35, 154-165, 258-269.

<sup>3</sup> P. K. Whelpton, "Industrial Development and Population Growth," *Social Forces*, VI, No. 3 (March, 1928), 458-467; and VI, No. 4 (June, 1928), 629-638. (See Table II, p. 462.)

It was quite logical, therefore, to assume that the development of industry and commerce which brought people together in cities had a fairly close connection with the decline of the birth rate. This assumption seemed to be proved when it was found that the ratios of children to women were considerably lower in the rural populations of the more industrialized and commercialized (urbanized) states than in more rural states.<sup>4</sup> Apparently the mere presence of cities in the neighborhood, even though people did not live in them, affected the fertility of the rural population.

Brunner and Kolb<sup>5</sup> undertook to give this hypothesis greater precision by calculating the ratios of children under 10 to women 20-45 for counties around Des Moines and found that there was a direct relationship between these ratios and the distance of the counties from the city: the farther away the counties the higher the ratios of children to women. Beck,<sup>6</sup> in his examination of the 1930 Ohio birth rates based on births allocated to the place of residence of the mother, concluded that "counties near large cities had lower birth rates than those some distance away."

It seemed worth-while to investigate this matter in more detail, and such a study was undertaken by the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems in cooperation with the Research Committee on Urbanism of the National Resources Committee. This study made use of township data from the 1930 census, rather than county data as had Brunner and Kolb. In thus reducing the size of the unit of population and area dealt with, it was necessary to use a ratio of children under 5 to 1,000 persons (rather than women) 15-44. It was possible, however, by using this smaller unit to secure groups which were more homogeneous with respect to each of the seven factors it was proposed to use in the correlations.

The seven factors used for each township are the following: A, the distance from the township to the city; B, the percentage of the farm land in crops; C, the average value of farm land and buildings per acre; D, the proportion of the rural population living on farms; E, the ratio

<sup>4</sup> Warren S. Thompson, *Ratios of Children to Women*, 1920, Census Monograph XI (Washington, 1931); and Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Statistics, 1. National Data*, National Resources Committee (Washington, October, 1937), Table XIII, pp. 40-50.

<sup>5</sup> Edmund deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933), pp. 114-115.

<sup>6</sup> P. G. Beck, "Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio," AESB 533 (Wooster, Ohio, May, 1934), p. 26.

(in the rural population) of persons 25-34 years of age (the most fertile years) to those 15-24; F, the sex ratio (number of males per 100 females) in the total rural population; and G, the proportion of the rural population that is native white.

Correlations of three orders (zero order, first order partial, and two-fold multiple) are given for each of these factors with the ratios of children to persons (X) for 16 groups<sup>7</sup> of townships, each group extending in a stated direction<sup>8</sup> from one of the 11 cities (counting Dallas and Fort Worth as one city for our purposes). The detailed results of these correlations (zero order, first order partial, and twofold multiple coefficients and values necessary to be significant) for the 16 areas may be obtained from the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Oxford, Ohio, by sending ten cents to cover the cost of mailing.

#### COLUMBUS, OHIO

Two of the areas studied center in Columbus: one lies to the northwest; the other to the southeast.

These areas are of considerable interest in that some of the factors used show quite different degrees of correlation with the ratios of children to persons (X). Thus in the Columbus-southeast area, the zero order correlation of distance with the ratios of children to persons is positive and significant ( $r_{AX} = .27$ ): the greater the distance from Columbus the higher the ratios of children to persons; while in the Columbus-northwest area, the coefficient is negative and of about the same degree of significance ( $r_{AX} = -.25$ ): the greater the distance from Columbus the lower the ratios of children to persons. But when the multiple and partial correlations including distance (A) are considered, distance from Columbus is sometimes of doubtful significance. In the southeast area where, as we have seen, the correlation between distance (A) and ratios (X) is positive and significant, the twofold multiple correlations with distance ( $R_{ABX}$ ,  $R_{ACX}$ , etc.) are all significant

<sup>7</sup> These groups varied in number of townships according to the shape of the area used and the relative influence of the city considered. For instance, the Asheville area included 112 townships; the Atlanta-north, 119 townships; the Atlanta-south, 118; Columbus-northwest, 77; Columbus-southeast, 65; Dallas, 97; Fort Worth, 76; Des Moines-northwest, 97; Des Moines-south, 98; Indianapolis, 53; Kansas City, 133; Little Rock, 117; Portland, 172; Rochester, 73; Spokane-southeast, 76; and Spokane-west, 74 townships.

<sup>8</sup> For Indianapolis, Little Rock, and Asheville the area formed more or less of a circle around the city; and for Portland, the area was somewhat more than a semi-circle, being confined to the townships in Oregon south of the Columbia River.

except that in which the proportion of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 ( $R_{\Delta EX}$ ) is used. This coefficient (.27) falls slightly below the level of significance (.30). On the other hand, in the partial correlations of distance and ratios where other factors are held constant ( $r_{\Delta X, B}$ , etc.) only  $r_{\Delta X, G}$  (G being the proportion of the rural population that is native white) rises to the level of significance (.30) although all the others approach very near significance except  $r_{\Delta X, C}$  (— .11). When, however, A is held constant ( $r_{BX, A}$ , etc.) there is only one really significant coefficient, the value of the land per acre showing a significant inverse correlation with the ratios ( $r_{CX, A} = - .30$ ); and this significant inverse correlation of C and X is maintained when other factors are held constant ( $r_{CX, B} = - .54$ ;  $r_{CX, D} = - .36$ ;  $r_{CX, E} = - .36$ ;  $r_{CX, F} = - .37$ ; and  $r_{CX, G} = - .39$ ). It may be worth noting that  $r_{BX, A}$  is .18 while  $r_{BX}$  is — .13; the high intercorrelation of distance and percentage of farm land in crops ( $r_{AB} = - .84$ ) probably influences this coefficient unduly.

In the area northwest of Columbus where the zero order correlation between distance (A) and ratios (X) was negative (the greater the distance the lower the ratios) only two of the twofold multiple correlations including distance are above the level of significance ( $R_{\Delta BX} = .33$  and  $R_{\Delta EX} = .37$ ). All the others fail of attaining this level but by only 2 or 3 points. In the partial correlations where distance and ratios are used with other factors constant only  $r_{\Delta X, E}$  actually reaches the value of — .28 required for significance, but all the others are from — .23 to — .25. Distance is certainly fairly closely but inversely related to the ratios of children to persons in this area.

The important point here is that while distance is significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons in these two groups of townships centering in Columbus, the relation is exactly the opposite: in the southeast area the ratios of children to persons increase as distance from Columbus increases, while in the northwest area the ratios of children to persons decrease as distance increases. This is the only one of the 16 areas studied in which the relationship between distance and the ratios of children to persons is significantly inverse in the zero order. However, in Des Moines-south there is one partial ( $r_{\Delta X, C} = - .37$ ) which is inverse and significant; and in a few other areas there are negative partials of A with X, but these are too low to be of significance (ranging from — .07 to — .20). In the Columbus and Des Moines areas, then, the relation between distance and ratios of children to per-

sons is not as simple and direct as Brunner and Kolb found in the counties about Des Moines.

The factor which shows the highest correlation with the ratios of children in the area southeast of Columbus is value of farm land per acre ( $r_{CX} = -.38$ ). All the multiple correlations ( $R_{ACX}$ , etc.) in which C appears are highly significant, the highest of all being  $R_{BCX}$  (.55) and the lowest being  $R_{CEX}$  (.38). Likewise, all the partials of C with X, holding other factors constant ( $r_{CX.A}$ , etc.) are significant, the highest of all being  $r_{CX.B}$  (— .54) and the lowest  $r_{CX.A}$  (— .30). In all cases this relationship is inverse, i.e., the higher the value of the land per acre the lower the ratios of children to persons. In the area northwest of Columbus, on the other hand, the correlation of value with ratios is negligible ( $r_{CX} = .08$ ) and the CX partials ( $r_{CX.A}$ , etc.) are of no significance. The CX multiples ( $R_{ACX}$ , etc.) are likewise of no significance, only approaching significance when in combination with A, B, or E which themselves have significant zero order correlations with X ( $R_{ACX} = .26$ ;  $R_{BCX} = .24$ ; and  $R_{CEX} = .27$ ). The low correlation of land values with the ratios of children to persons in the northwest area may be due to the relatively small variation in land values in this area as compared with the southeast area.

In the southeast area the percentage of the rural population living on farms (D) shows about as close a correlation with the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{DX} = .25$ ) as does distance but considerably less than does value. In the northwest area, on the other hand, the proportion of the rural population on farms shows no appreciable correlation with the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{DX} = .07$ ), but the percentage of the farm land in crops and the ratio of persons aged 25-34 to those aged 15-24 are both correlated about as closely with the ratios of children to persons as is distance from city ( $r_{BX} = .24$ ;  $r_{EX} = .26$ ; and  $r_{AX} = -.25$ ).

It is also worth noting that the percentage of the farm land in crops has a significant positive correlation (.24) with the ratios of children to persons in this area northwest of Columbus, and that it is the only one of the 16 areas which does have such a correlation: the greater the percentage of farm land in crops the higher the ratios of children to persons. In all the other areas this correlation is either too low to be of any significance, or it is inverse, i.e., the higher the percentage of farm land in crops the lower the ratios of children to persons.



Thus this area northwest of Columbus stands out as being different from our other areas in two respects: (1) the greater the distance from Columbus the lower the ratios of children to persons and (2) the greater the percentage of farm land in crops the higher the ratios of children to persons. Unfortunately, the data at our disposal have not enabled us to examine this situation more closely in the hope of finding some explanation for the departure of this area northwest of Columbus from the more common pattern. It will be noted, however, as the discussion proceeds that this area may not be quite as peculiar as it appears to be at this stage.

#### DES MOINES, IOWA

It will be recalled that the statement of Brunner and Kolb to the effect that the birth rate increased as the distance from the city increased was based on data for counties around Des Moines but extending farthest to the northwest. It was believed that it would be of interest, therefore, to examine the township data for two smaller areas out from Des Moines in the same way as the two out from Columbus. Both of the areas chosen were included almost entirely within the larger area studied by Brunner and Kolb, and each included almost a hundred townships.

In the area northwest of Des Moines the correlation between distance and the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{AX} = .37$ ) is much the highest of all the zero order correlations, the zero order coefficients for other factors with X ranging from  $-.05$  to  $-.17$  and from  $.05$  to  $.24$ . This would seem to confirm the view of Brunner and Kolb. Furthermore, the multiple and partial correlations using distance (A) are all of significance, ranging from  $.38$  to  $.45$  for multiples and from  $.32$  to  $.45$  for partials. All the multiples in which A appears are higher than any in which it does not appear; and all the partials in which A is correlated with X, other factors being held constant, ( $r_{AXB}$ , etc.) are of significance, only one ( $r_{AXD} = .32$ ) falling below the zero order ( $r_{AX} = .37$ ). On the other hand, only  $r_{BXA}$  ( $-.27$ ) has a coefficient high enough to be significant among those in which A is held constant, and that is of doubtful significance because of the relatively high intercorrelation between A and B ( $.41$ ) and the low zero order of B with X ( $-.08$ ). The only other factor giving a significant zero order correlation with ratios is the proportion of the rural population living on farms (D) and this is considerably less significant ( $r_{DX} = .24$ ) than distance

( $r_{AX} = .37$ ). Value of land per acre (C) which was of importance in the Columbus southeast area is of doubtful significance here ( $r_{CX} = -.17$ ) except when value is combined with D in the twofold multiple correlation ( $R_{CDX} = .34$ ) or when D, the proportion living on farms, is held constant ( $r_{CDX} = -.25$ ). This latter is probably unduly affected by the relatively high intercorrelation of C and D (.26).

In contrast with this northwest area, distance shows no significant zero order correlation with the ratios of children to persons in the southern area, and the slight correlation shown is inverse ( $-.09$ ) as in Columbus-northwest. It is of interest that only one other factor does not have a significantly high coefficient in the zero order correlations, viz., the percentage of the rural population native white ( $r_{GX} = .06$ ). This is not surprising in this area or in most northern rural communities where practically all the population is native white and the proportion native white varies little from township to township. The fact that most of the multiples, except  $R_{AGX}$  (.15), in which A appears are significant (ranging from .26 to .42) merely reflects the fact that all the other factors are significantly correlated with X in the zero order, as has been noted above. The insignificance of distance in this area is further shown by the fact that the only first order partial correlation in which A and X figure that is significant is  $r_{AXD}$  ( $-.37$ ), i.e., there appears to be a significant inverse correlation, as in Columbus-northwest, between distance and the ratios of children to persons when value is held constant, but this result may be biased by the high inverse correlation between A and C ( $r_{AC} = -.72$ ) and the low value of the zero order  $r_{AX}$  ( $-.09$ ).<sup>9</sup> However, the fact that the partials  $r_{AXB}$  ( $-.20$ ) and  $r_{AXD}$  ( $-.18$ ) are considerably higher than  $r_{AX}$  ( $-.09$ ) and are inverse also suggests that distance may be correlated inversely, like Columbus-northwest, with ratios of children to persons. But this inverse relation is not as clear as in Columbus-northwest. On the other hand, all the first order partials in which A is held constant ( $r_{BXA}$ , etc.) are significant with the exception of  $r_{GXA}$  (.12); and  $r_{CXA}$  ( $-.42$ ) is highly significant.

<sup>9</sup> All partials were calculated, whether or not the zero orders, upon which they were based, showed up as significant. The general formula for partials is:

$$r_{AXB} = \frac{r_{AX} - r_{BX} r_{AB}}{\sqrt{1 - (r_{BX})^2} \sqrt{1 - (r_{AB})^2}}$$

Thus when  $r_{AX}$  is low and  $r_{BX}$  and  $r_{AB}$  are relatively high the partial  $r_{AXB}$  will be of doubtful significance as a measure of relationship between A and X.

Of the other factors which are of significance in this southern area, the sex ratio (F) appears to be the most closely related to the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{FX} = .32$ ) although the percentage of farm land in crops (B), the average value per acre (C), the proportion of the rural population living on farms (D), and the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 (E) all have significant correlations with the ratios of children to persons, the zero order coefficients being  $-.21$ ;  $-.22$ ;  $.23$ ; and  $.25$ , respectively.

The only respect in which the two areas have similar significant correlations is in the increase of the ratios of children to persons as the proportion of the rural population on farms increases. The most significant point to remember is that the simple direct relation of increasing fertility and increasing distance from Des Moines does not hold when two portions of the Des Moines area, studied by Brunner and Kolb on a county basis and as a whole, are examined separately and in more detail.

#### ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

South of Rochester, New York, distance and the ratios of children to persons have a highly significant and positive zero order correlation ( $r_{AX} = .35$ ); but the zero order correlations of percentage of farm land in crops ( $r_{BX} = -.32$ ) and value of land per acre ( $r_{CX} = -.32$ ) with the ratios of children to persons are almost as high, while that of sex ratio ( $r_{FX} = .43$ ) is even higher. The only factor which shows a definitely insignificant correlation with the ratios of children to persons is the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 ( $r_{EX} = .07$ ); for the coefficient of proportion of the rural population native white with the ratios of children to persons is barely significant ( $r_{GX} = .23$ ), and the proportion of rural population on farms with the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{DX} = .22$ ) is just below the level of significance.

As would be expected when  $r_{AX}$  (.35) is high, all the multiples in which A is a factor are high, ranging from .35 to .50. In the first order partials, however, ( $r_{AXB}$ , etc.) the relationship of A and X is of little significance when the percentage of farm land in crops ( $r_{AXB} = .18$ ) or the value of land per acre ( $r_{AXC} = .20$ ) is held constant, probably because of the high intercorrelation of A and B ( $-.72$ ) and A and C ( $-.64$ ). But even so, there is no doubt that the ratios of children to persons increase as distance from the city increases. The ratios of children to persons also increase as the percentage of farm land in crops

decreases, as the value of land per acre decreases, and as the sex ratio increases. When the three orders of correlations are considered, this last factor—sex ratio—has the closest correlation with the ratios of children to persons of all the factors used.

It is of interest that the proportion of the rural population native white is positively correlated with the ratios of children to persons—the higher the proportion native white the higher the ratios of children to persons—and not inversely as might possibly be expected from our general knowledge of the relationship between fertility and foreign birth. This is the only northern area in which the proportion of the population that is native white is significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons.

The outstanding fact in the Rochester correlations is the number of factors which vary significantly with the ratios of children to persons rather than the close correlation of any one factor.

#### INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Around Indianapolis only two of the seven factors used have zero order correlations with the ratios of children to persons which are significant—the proportion of rural population living on farms ( $r_{DX} = .30$ ) and sex ratio ( $r_{FX} = -.32$ )—while a third, the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24, is of doubtful significance ( $r_{EX} = .22$ ). Distance is far below the level of significance in all the partial correlations, as are also percentage of farm land in crops (B) and value of farm land (C). Likewise, the multiple correlations in which A, B, and C appear only approach significance when D or F or possibly E are included; and even then they do not attain the necessary level.

The correlation of the proportion of the rural population on farms (D) with the ratios of children to persons conforms to the general pattern—it is direct. The correlation of sex ratio (F) with the ratios of children to persons (X) is inverse here ( $-.32$ )—the higher the sex ratio the lower the ratios of children to persons—while in the Des Moines-south and in the Rochester area, as we have just seen, and in the Fort Worth area, as will be discussed later, it is direct. This significantly inverse correlation of sex ratios and ratios of children to persons is peculiar to Indianapolis, although such a relationship is found in several other areas but is too low to be significant.

Unlike Rochester, where it appeared that most of the factors used were rather closely correlated with the ratios of children to persons,

it can be said that only two of them are so related in Indianapolis. Clearly, the factors used in these correlations with the ratios of children to persons are not the important ones in the Indianapolis area.

#### SPOKANE, WASHINGTON

In the Far West three areas were studied, two extending out from Spokane (one to the west and one to the southeast) and one around Portland, Oregon. In the two Spokane areas, as in the Columbus and Des Moines areas, somewhat contradictory results were obtained. In the area southeast of Spokane distance and the ratios of children to persons have a significant direct correlation ( $r_{AX} = .32$ ), and this holds for all orders of correlations where distance (A) is present. The only other factor showing a significant correlation is the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 ( $r_{EX} = .32$ ). This also carries through all multiple and partial correlations and is of about the same magnitude as the correlations for distance and ratios of children to persons. As might be expected, the multiple  $R_{AX}$  shows up largest (.42) of all multiples for this area. West of Spokane, however, there is a negligible zero order correlation between distance and the ratios of children to persons, and there is no significant multiple correlation where A is used unless B, the percentage of farm land in crops ( $r_{BX} = -.33$ ), or E, the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 ( $r_{EX} = .40$ ), is also present. Likewise, the only significant partial correlations are those where B or E appear with the other factors held constant, although  $r_{FXD}$  is barely significant ( $-.28$ ) and inverse, as for Indianapolis.

In the relation between the percentage of farm land in crops (B) and the ratios of children to persons there is also a marked difference in these two areas. Southeast of Spokane this relation is negligible in all orders of correlations, while west of the city these correlations are significant and inverse as usual: the larger the percentage of farm land in crops the lower the ratios of children to persons.

The only factor which shows considerable correlation with the ratios of children to persons in both areas is the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 ( $r_{EX} = .32$  for the southeast area and .40 for the west area): the higher the proportion of persons 25-34 (the most fertile years) the higher the ratios of children to persons. In both areas wherever E is included in the partial and multiple correlations with the ratios of children to persons, its influence is apparent.

It is interesting to note that the highest multiple for the area west of Spokane is  $R_{BEX}$  (.50), showing that ratios correlate higher with percentage of farm land in crops and proportion of persons in the most fertile age groups than with other combinations; while the highest multiple for the southeast area is  $R_{AEX}$  (.42), as stated above.

In the two Spokane areas then, it appears that the higher the ratios of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 the higher the ratios of children to persons; but there the resemblance of the two areas, as shown by the correlations of these seven factors, ceases.

#### PORTLAND, OREGON

This area stands out as unique in that there is only one factor, viz., percentage of rural population on farms (D), which shows a significant zero order correlation with the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{DX} = .16$ ), and this is just barely significant. Moreover, there are only three multiple and two partial correlations which are clearly significant; and of these only  $R_{DEX}$  (.31) and  $r_{DXE}$  (.29) are appreciably above the level of significance.

If Spokane and Portland are typical of the Far West, the factors used in these correlations are much less closely related to the ratios of children to persons in this region than in the areas studied in the Middle West and the East, and also than in those of the South, as will be shown presently.

#### ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

The correlations for the area around Asheville show that four factors out of the seven used have coefficients that are well above the value necessary to be highly significant; while two others, E, the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24, and F, the sex ratio, have coefficients that approach significance. The nature of these relations as shown in the zero order correlations may be summed up as follows: (1) the farther the rural population lives from Asheville the higher the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{AX} = .37$ ); (2) the smaller the percentage of land in crops the higher the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{BX} = -.40$ ); (3) the lower the value of the farm land per acre the higher the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{CX} = -.49$ ); (4) the larger the proportion of the rural population living on farms the higher the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{DX} = .41$ ).

In the first order partials ( $r_{AX.B}$ , etc.) where the different factors are in turn held constant, A and X are shown to have a very significant correlation except when value C is held constant ( $r_{AX.C} = .19$ ); and, conversely, the coefficient  $r_{CX}$  ( $-.49$ ) is much reduced when A is held constant ( $r_{CX.A} = -.38$ ). This is to be expected when two factors are rather highly intercorrelated ( $r_{AC} = -.46$ ). The zero order correlations for B, D, and F with X are but little affected when A is held constant, while those for E and G are materially raised.

The percentage of farm land in crops (B) and the proportion of the rural population living on farms (D) show just slightly higher correlations with the ratios of children to persons in all the different orders than does distance (A). In general, the correlations of these three factors may be said to be of the same magnitude. On the other hand, the value of farm land per acre (C) has much the highest zero order correlation of all, and taken altogether has more highly significant multiples and partials than any of the others, although the highest multiple of C with another factor ( $R_{CTX} = .55$ ) is just the same as the highest multiple for B and D ( $R_{BDX} = .55$ ). The partials for C and X are also, on the whole, well above those for any other factor, the highest partial of all being  $r_{CX.E}$  ( $-.53$ ).

On the whole it appears that the factors used in these correlations are more closely related to the ratios of children to persons in the Asheville area than in any of the northern areas, even closer than in Rochester.

#### ATLANTA, GEORGIA

A comparison of the two Atlanta areas, one north and the other south, with one another and with Asheville shows that the correlations are all of the same general pattern, although the coefficients are not of exactly the same magnitude. This is the only one of the five pairs of areas of which it can be said that they are much alike. The same four factors—distance (A), percentage of farm land in crops (B), value of farm land per acre (C), and proportion of the rural population on farms (D)—that had significant correlations in the Asheville area show significant correlations with ratios of children to persons in both these areas. In addition, in the northern area the percentage of the rural population native white (G) also has a high correlation with the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{GX} = .45$ ): the more white the population is the higher are the ratios of children to persons. In the southern area

where there is but little variation in the proportion of native whites, although there is a larger Negro population, this factor has no significant correlation with the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{GX} = -.11$ ). But the most important difference between these two Atlanta areas is perhaps in the closeness of the correlation between distance (A) and the ratios of children to persons (X). This connection is considerably closer in the northern area which extends into a rough hilly country peopled almost entirely by native whites than in the southern which is more uniformly level and has also a high proportion of Negroes. The factor which shows the highest correlation with the ratios of children to persons in both areas is the proportion of the rural population on farms (D), and this remains significantly high in all orders of correlations. In Atlanta-south  $r_{DX} (.49)$  is not much reduced when other factors are held constant except where value (C) is involved ( $r_{DXC} = .37$ ), but in Atlanta-north the value of  $r_{DX} (.47)$  is lowered appreciably in three of the partials ( $r_{DXA} = .34$ ,  $r_{DXC} = .30$ , and  $r_{DXG} = .29$ ).

It is also of some interest that, although in neither of these areas is sex ratio (F) of much significance, yet in both, the coefficient  $r_{FX}$  is negative: the lower the number of males per 100 females the higher the ratios of children to persons. This relationship ( $r_{FX}$ ) seems to be less constant than that of most of the other factors, being direct in some areas and inverse in others, although of negligible significance in most of them.

In the Atlanta areas as in the Asheville area the factors selected for correlation with the ratios of children to persons show a closer relation to the variations in the ratios of children to persons than in most of the northern and western communities. But it may be noted again that distance is not as closely correlated with the ratios of children to persons as are value and the proportion of rural population living on farms, particularly in the area south of Atlanta.

#### FORT WORTH AND DALLAS, TEXAS

In the area west of Fort Worth three factors show a relatively high degree of correlation (zero order) with the ratios of children to persons. They are distance ( $r_{AX} = .29$ ), ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 ( $r_{EX} = .41$ ), and sex ratio ( $r_{FX} = .40$ ). In the area east of Dallas none of these three is significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons; but three other factors do show a considerable measure of correlation. They are the percentage of farm land in crops



( $r_{BX} = -.32$ ), the value of farm land per acre ( $r_{CX} = -.38$ ), and the proportion of the rural population on farms ( $r_{DX} = .29$ ).

Examination of the multiple and partial correlations for the area west of Fort Worth shows that distance is not as closely correlated with the ratios of children to persons in this area as it is in several other areas, but three of the partials and all of the multiples of A with X are significant. In the partials,  $r_{AX}$  is never raised appreciably by holding the other factors constant nor is it reduced appreciably except in  $r_{AXB}$  (.15). When A in turn is held constant ( $r_{BXA}$ , etc.), its effect on the zero order coefficients of these factors with X is negligible except in two cases. Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude that, while distance is somewhat correlated with the ratios of children to persons in this area, the connection is not very close, not as close as that of the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 or the sex ratio. In all the orders of correlations these two factors vary rather closely with changes in the ratios of children to persons, and when used together ( $r_{EFX} = .52$ ) they yield the highest twofold multiple.

In the area east of Dallas the multiples and partials for percentage of farm land in crops (B), for value of land per acre (C), and for proportion of rural population on farms (D) confirm the zero order correlations in showing that these factors vary rather closely with changes in the ratios of children to persons. The most important is the value of farm land per acre; and, as usual, this relationship is inverse: the higher the value of land the lower the ratios of children to persons.

If Dallas and Fort Worth are considered as a single center for our purposes, we find that out of the five pairs of areas radiating from a common center only one pair—that from Atlanta—can be said to be essentially uniform in the correlations of these various factors with the ratios of children to persons. Clearly, the factor of distance from a city is only one of several factors which vary more or less significantly with the ratios of children to persons in most of these areas.

#### LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Around Little Rock four of the seven factors are significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons as shown by the zero order correlations. They are distance, value of land per acre, percentage of rural population on farms, and the proportion of the rural population native white.

Distance is of significance not only in the zero order but also in all its multiples and in all the partials except where value is held constant ( $r_{AX.C} = .15$ ); but it is also considerably reduced in magnitude where percentage of rural population native white is held constant ( $r_{AX.G} = .23$  while  $r_{AX} = .30$ ). This is not surprising, for distance and value ( $r_{AC} = -.48$ ) and distance and native white ( $r_{AG} = .41$ ) are rather closely intercorrelated. When the two factors, distance (A) and proportion of rural population living on farms (D), are combined with ratios ( $R_{ADX} = .44$ ), the correlation is highly significant but not quite as high as when value (C) and proportion on farms (D) are combined with ratios ( $R_{CDX} = .47$ ). However, there is little to choose in closeness of correlation between C and D with the ratios of children to persons in the Little Rock area, and both are more significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons than is distance.

It is of some interest that the correlation of G, the proportion of the rural population native white, with the ratios of children to persons is positive here, as it was around Rochester and north of Atlanta: the larger the proportion of the population native white the higher the ratios of children to persons. The general situation is probably much the same in the two southern areas. The proportion of the population white increases as the land becomes more broken and hilly, and the ratios of children to persons also rise. Around Asheville and Spokane the correlation was also positive but too low to be of much significance. Is it significant in the southern areas that the hill people are more isolated than any other part of our population? East of Dallas the correlation between G, the percentage of population native white, and the ratios of children to persons hardly reaches the level of significance; but it is inverse: the lower the proportion of the population native white the higher the ratios of children to persons; and in the area south of Atlanta this relationship was also inverse, although so low that no emphasis should be placed upon it. It can be said, however, that there is no very significant increase in the ratios of children to persons as the proportion of Negroes increases in the level land areas east of Dallas and south of Atlanta. In both of these areas it might have been expected to stand out more clearly if it were a fact.

#### KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

In the area south of Kansas City, distance (A), percentage of land in crops (B), value per acre (C), and proportion of rural population

on farms (D) are all significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons (X). On the whole, this pattern of correlation is somewhat more typical of the South than of the North, although not too much stress should be placed on this point.

When the three orders of correlations for distance (A) and value (C) with X are compared, the distance factor seems to be slightly more closely correlated with the ratios of children to persons than the value factor, but the difference is not great. Both, however, are definitely higher than percentage of land in crops and the proportion of the rural population on farms. The intercorrelation of A and C is high ( $r_{AC} = -.75$ ); hence, when either is held constant while the other is correlated with X, the coefficient is low ( $r_{AXC} = .17$ ,  $r_{CXA} = -.10$ ). But, while A and C are of much significance, the multiple correlation in which they are combined ( $R_{ACX} = .36$ ) is not as high as that in which A is combined with D ( $R_{ADX} = .39$ ), and the multiple  $R_{BDX}$  (.37) is also slightly higher than  $R_{ACX}$ . There is very little intercorrelation between B and D ( $r_{BD} = -.08$ ).

Here again, such relationship as there is between the proportion of the population native white and the ratios of children to persons is positive. As in the other areas where this was the case, the poorer hilly lands have almost no Negroes but do have high ratios of children to persons.

### SUMMARY

From these correlations it appears that none of the factors used here is consistently and significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons in all areas, but several of them are so frequently and highly correlated with the ratios of children to persons that they are probably of considerable significance.

In the zero order correlations ( $r_{AX}$ ,  $r_{BX}$ , etc.) distance is significantly and directly correlated with the ratios of children to persons ( $r_{AX}$ ) in ten of the sixteen areas—the greater the distance the higher the ratios of children to persons—and is below the level of significance in five cases. In the other case, Columbus-northwest, the correlation is definitely inverse, i.e., the greater the distance from the city the lower the ratios of children to persons. Likewise, distance is significant in 46 of the 96 possible partials of distance with ratios when other factors are held constant ( $r_{AXB}$ ,  $r_{AXC}$ , etc.), the relationship being direct in all but one case, Columbus-northwest ( $r_{AXE} = -.28$ ), as discussed above.

In view of these correlations of distance with the ratios of children to persons it can be said that, in studying the variations in ratios of children to persons and probably of birth rates, the distance of rural people from a fairly large city is a factor to be taken into account. But if distance should be shown to be a causative factor of importance, it is probably because it is a measure of the degree of isolation of the rural population from those influences of the city which make for the voluntary control of the size of the family. It is quite certain, however, that distance is not the only measure of isolation, and it may not be the best measure. Of the factors used in these correlations it is believed that the proportion of the rural population living on farms is also a measure of isolation of the rural population from urban influence. Both A and D measure isolation. It was found that in seven of the ten areas where A showed a significant direct correlation with X, D also showed a significant direct correlation with X: the higher the proportion of the rural population living on farms the higher the ratios of children to persons. This relationship between D and X was also found in four of the five areas where A showed no significant correlation with X. Thus 14 out of 16 areas showed a significant direct zero order correlation between isolation, as measured by A or D, and the ratios of children to persons. Only one area, Spokane-west, showed no significant relationship between either A or D and X; and one area, Columbus-northwest, showed an inverse relationship. If A and D can properly be called isolation factors, then isolation can be said to be fairly closely related to the ratios of children to persons in 14 of the 16 areas studied here.

When the first order partials are considered, the proportion of the rural population living on farms has the third highest number (40 out of the possible 96) of significant coefficients with ratios (X) when other factors are held constant ( $r_{DX A}$ ,  $r_{DX B}$ , etc.). Distance (46) and value (43) are only slightly in the lead in number of significant partials out of the possible 96.

Certainly it would seem that the hypothesis, *the greater the degree of isolation in rural communities the higher the birth rate*, is worth investigating more carefully as better measures of isolation than distance from a large city and proportion of rural population on farms can be developed. It may very well be that distance from a fairly large city is of less importance as a measure of isolation than the ease of communi-

cation of rural people with some urban community, even though it may be a rather small town or city.

The percentage of the farm land in crops (B), which may be regarded as an economic factor, shows a significant zero order correlation with the ratios of children to persons in nine areas, two less than for each of the isolation factors. In seven of these nine areas the value of land and buildings per acre, which is also an economic factor, showed a significant correlation with the ratios of children to persons; while there were two areas in which value was correlated with the ratios of children to persons, but percentage of farm land in crops was not. Thus there are four areas in which only one of these factors is significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons and five in which neither is so correlated.

It may be interesting to note that Columbus-northwest, the area which stood alone with its significant inverse relationship between distance and ratios, is the only area which shows a significant direct relationship between proportion of farm land in crops and ratios, the other eight significant coefficients showing an inverse relationship, as do all nine of the coefficients of value with ratios. In general one could say, then, that the higher the economic status (as measured by B and C) of the township the fewer the children (as measured by ratios of children to persons) holds true in ten areas; that the higher the economic status (measured by B alone) the greater the number of children holds true in one area; and that there is no significant relationship in the other five areas.

On the whole, then, the isolation factors appear to be somewhat more closely correlated with the ratios of children to persons in these rural areas than the economic factors, but the difference is not large. Moreover, there is no area in which at least one of these four factors does not have a significant correlation with the ratios of children to persons, but there are five areas in which only one of these four factors does show such a correlation.

Although these correlations do not enable us to say with certainty that there is a direct causal relation between the degree of isolation and the ratios of children to persons, nor between the economic status of the community and the ratios of children to persons, yet it is not stretching the interpretation unduly to say that they create a presumption that there is such a connection. However, these correlations do not provide any reasonable basis for a statement regarding the relative importance

of these four factors nor, indeed, of the relative importance of isolation and economic status, assuming that we are justified in using these two general categories for the four factors, A, B, C, and D. However, since these four factors had the highest number of significant zero order coefficients with X (11, 9, 9, and 11, respectively, out of a possible 16, as compared with 5, 4, and 3 for the other three factors) and the highest number of significant partials with X when other factors are held constant (46, 34, 43, and 40, respectively, out of a possible 96, as compared with 31, 21, and 9 for E, F, and G, respectively), it seems reasonable to state that A, B, C, and D appear to be the more important of the factors considered. These four factors are also present in a large number of significant multiples: 72, of the 96 possible multiples containing A, being significant, 61 of those containing B, 63 of those containing C, and 64 of those containing D being significant; while, of multiples containing E, F, and G, 64, 57, and 45 were significant, respectively.

As a matter of fact, it is quite probable that in many communities isolation has considerable influence in determining the general economic status, as measured by value of land per acre and percentage of farm land in crops; while, in turn, the economic conditions measured in this manner determine to a greater or lesser degree the isolation of many rural communities. It is not improbable, therefore, that to some extent, even when grouped as isolation (A and D) and economic status (B and C), we are measuring some of the same conditions by each and all of these four factors. The high intercorrelations between some of these factors in several of the areas make it almost certain that we are not measuring distinct and separate factors by each of these sets of figures. But even so, we believe that one is justified in concluding that both the isolation and the economic status of rural communities are important factors in determining the birth rates.

The demographic factors, the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 (E) and sex ratio (F), come in a poor third in their correlations with the ratios of children to persons. There are only five areas in which the ratio of persons 25-34 to those 15-24 ( $r_{EX}$ ) is significant and only four areas in which sex ratio ( $r_{FX}$ ) is significant; but since  $r_{EX}$  and  $r_{FX}$  are both significant in two of these areas, there are nine in which neither factor is significantly correlated with the ratios of children to persons. It might be noted here that this relationship is direct in all cases except one. Clearly these demographic factors are not very intimately related

to the ratios of children to persons in the zero order correlations, although in the few areas where either E (5 areas) or F (4 areas) or both (2 areas) have a significant correlation with X, there is no other factor which shows as much significance except distance in Columbus-northwest and Spokane-southeast.

Finally, this study throws no direct light on the factors which may be important in accounting for the differences in ratios of children to persons between these different areas; for, in the Portland area the ratio of children to 1,000 persons is only 182, while in the Asheville area it is 311. In the former area there is almost no correlation between any of the factors used here and the ratios of children to persons, while in the latter there is a highly significant correlation between A, B, C, and D with the ratios of children to persons. On the other hand, in the Rochester area the correlations much more closely resemble those in the Asheville area than those in the Portland area, but the ratio of children to 1,000 persons is only 200. It is not unlikely that if we had had any satisfactory measure of the relative economic status and isolation of all of our townships we would have found some relation between these factors and the absolute ratios of children to persons. But such a study will have to be postponed to a later date when more adequate data are available.

Our original problem here was: Are there local variations in the ratios of children to persons which are related to the distance of the community from a large city? It seemed best to enlarge this query by asking whether these variations in the ratios of children to persons were related to other social and economic factors as well as to distance from the city; hence the seven factors used here. The answer to the question thus posed appears to be: Yes, the variations in the ratios of children to persons within what have generally been supposed to be relatively homogeneous social and economic groups are not inconsiderable and are often rather closely related to the variations in several social and economic factors which we can more or less adequately measure at the present time. We have chosen to designate the more important of these factors, *isolation* and *economic status*. We do not mean to imply that these are the only conditions which may be of importance in throwing light on the variations in the birth rate in rural communities, nor even that they are the most significant; but they are the most significant we have been able to measure with the data available.

# Economic Aspects of Remedial Measures Designed to Meet the Problems of Displaced Farm Laborers<sup>†</sup>

*Murray R. Benedict\**

## ABSTRACT

The problem of the agricultural migrant lies only partly in the realm of agriculture. Much of the distress of recent years has resulted from a decrease in urban employment which in earlier periods absorbed large numbers of workers of rural origin. The bad effects of these tendencies have been increased by rapid mechanization and drouth in the farm areas. The problem is likely to increase in the years just ahead. The numbers now seeking a living on the land cannot be absorbed as agricultural entrepreneurs and workers except by vast changes in the structure of the agricultural economy. Tenant-purchase and the breakup of large holdings offer only limited possibilities. Cooperative farming does not provide an adequate solution. Improved tenancy legislation would help. Publicly sponsored development of small industries along the lines of the British Trading Estates program might provide substantial betterment in some areas.

The general theme of this program is the effect of control policies upon farm labor together with a consideration of remedial measures. It seems impractical, however, to discuss remedial measures in terms of causes of the problem. A hungry man without a job and without a home is a social problem regardless of what brought him to that condition.<sup>1</sup> It may be that he was "controlled" out of a job, that he had to leave a drouth-ridden farm, or that he was displaced by the tractor. On the other hand, he may have lost a precarious hold on farm entrepreneurship through debt and low prices, or he may be a part of a new unmarketable surplus of workers. Even when employers cut down production in a laissez-faire economy, the workers displaced are just as much out of jobs as though such employers acted under some organized control scheme. It is well to keep in mind that displaced small operators were by no means absent from the picture in the days of glorified laissez-faire.

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<sup>1</sup> To be sure, in that segment of the problem where causes can be distinguished it may be pertinent to consider whether the process is reversible. In general, however, major social shifts of this kind hold little promise of easy reversibility.



I am impressed with the inadequacy of any brief treatment of so complex a problem. If these comments have any merits, they consist in throwing out certain ideas for further development. To treat them in detail would require a study of book size. In the early sections of the paper I discuss a number of measures in rather negative terms. This is not meant to be so much a qualitative deprecation as a challenge to the quantitative adequacy of these measures. The point I wish to emphasize is that large numbers of people are concerned and that small-scale programs, no matter how good in themselves, cannot make much impression on a problem of this magnitude.

It must be evident also that any sort of appraisal is largely personal. The statements made are, however, based upon a good many sources which it has not seemed practical to quote or footnote in so brief a treatment. If, in a few places, the writer has seemed to go out of the way to correct what appear to him to be misconceptions, particularly with regard to consolidation of holdings and sizes of farms, this is not intended as a defense of the large-scale farm unit, but rather as a step toward treating the problem realistically. Programs based on unrealistic assumptions can all too easily lead us away from the most promising lines of attack and into a morass of disillusionment and futility.

In a problem such as this, there is little profit in seeking a sharp distinction between sociological or welfare aspects and the economic phases. However, the previous speaker was asked to look at the situation from a sociological standpoint and it was suggested that I emphasize its economic aspects. In doing so I shall omit reference to many phases which, though unquestionably of great social significance, do not have very great current importance from an economic standpoint.

Looked at in this light it seems clear that the problem is only partly agricultural. In fact, the major part of it may lie in urban rather than in rural economics; and unless this larger relationship is recognized, we can scarcely hope for soundly conceived remedial measures. For generations the rural areas have contributed a stream of migrants to the cities.<sup>2</sup> In other periods, prior to the last decade, machines have

<sup>2</sup> The net movement from farms to cities, according to estimates made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, averaged:

For the period 1920-1924 inclusive—666,200

For the period 1925-1929 inclusive—593,000

• For the period 1930-1933 inclusive— 61,750

For the period 1934-1937 inclusive—368,000

From Francis M. Vreeland and Edward J. Fitzgerald, *Farm-City Migration and Indus-*

taken the place of man-power, and rural areas have experienced a population exodus. Where, for example, are the people who might now be operating the abandoned farms of New England and New York State? What has become of the men who used to harvest the wheat crop of the plains area? In the main they have been absorbed into the ranks of urban workers or have migrated westward to take up new and more fertile lands, sometimes with a degree of hardship but often with little awareness that there was any problem or that such a migration was occurring.

Now, however, our society is like the man who, attacked by a wasting disease, becomes a prey to various minor ailments which could not have made headway had the patient been in good health. For two decades we have had considerable urban unemployment. Since 1930 this has assumed large proportions, and its impact on farm workers has been severe. It has checked the customary flow of new workers into urban industry and has rendered difficult the absorption of groups displaced by natural or technological changes affecting rural areas. Price policies in industry, rigid wage rates maintained by labor unions, and a price-conscious and control-minded agriculture have, of course, all had a part in creating the situation we now find, though they may not have been the most important causes.

Whatever its causes, the extensive unemployment in urban industries constitutes an almost insurmountable barrier between the unemployed farm worker and a job in urban industry. This, together with a rapidly changing agricultural economy in parts of the South and with drouth conditions of unprecedented severity, has given us a great mass of unstabilized, mostly unskilled workers, chiefly of rural origin. Unemployment and distress conditions have been widespread even in the rural areas of the Middle West, in the Lake States, and in the Northeast. However, since the most acute and dramatic situation centers around the migratory group with its head in California and its tail in the Southern Plains area, I shall give principal attention to that problem. In some measure the conclusions applicable to these wanderers may apply to the less mobile problem-workers of other areas.

Along with these recent migrants there is, of course, an older group, mostly unorganized, which "followed the crops" in times past. These

migrants came into their present situation from different causes and are probably somewhat better adjusted to the conditions in which they find themselves. They do, however, present many of the same problems, such as low incomes, lack of continuity of work, widely scattered temporary employments, and a high degree of insecurity. The newer migrant group has, in fact, intensified greatly the problem of improving the lot of these more established workers. Betterment of wages and working conditions is far easier under conditions of labor shortage than where surplus labor is available.

Certain conclusions seem warranted with respect to the situation as a whole and may serve to clarify the comments that follow.

*There are more workers available than are needed to carry on the agricultural activities of the United States as its agriculture is now organized.*

*These workers lack adequate income, stability of residence, decent living accommodations, and minimum health, educational, and recreational facilities.*

*There is little prospect that they will be absorbed into industries other than agriculture unless by some organized governmentally sponsored program.*

*Rural overpopulation is common to many parts of the world and underlies much of the international struggle for outlets for industrial products. The problem, so far as numbers are concerned, is likely to be intensified rather than lessened in the years just ahead.<sup>3</sup>*

*We probably would have had a large-scale problem of this kind even had there been no formal control measures in the various branches of the national economy. Regardless of controls as we now know them, there would have been large-scale dislocations resulting from restricted foreign markets; from our change to creditor status; from the slowing tempo of construction of major capital equipment such as railroads, factories, and highways; and from the disappearance of a rapidly advancing frontier.*

<sup>3</sup> O. E. Baker makes the following comment: "During the next few years, the maximum number of youth will occur—those born in 1921-1924. Many are now in high school and a few years hence college enrollment should reach its crest, other factors remaining equal. From 1939 to 1942 nearly two and one-half million youths will reach the age of 18 each year. The number of people 18-65 years, which may be called the productive ages, will increase over 1,000,000 a year until 1945, but will fall to 300,000 by 1955. Nearly 9,000,000 more people will need to be employed by 1955 or given relief." From a paper "Population Trends in Relation to Land Use," presented at the Southern Regional Conference of Extension Directors, Supervisors, and Subject-matter Specialists (Texarkana, Texas, February 7, 1939).

These are crude factual statements with which few will disagree. Proceeding from this fairly solid ground of accepted fact, I would like to suggest certain propositions which rest more on opinion and outlook but which may serve as some rough guide in our attempts to analyze the economic aspects of this problem. In the interest of brevity I shall state these categorically and with little qualification.

*Temporary and palliative measures should be developed rapidly and on a wide front in order to ameliorate the most acute forms of distress. Job security and stability of residence are essential to a satisfactory solution at least for the family groups. Few of the other problems can be met satisfactorily without these as a prerequisite.*

*If all of these people are to be absorbed in agriculture and if large numbers of them are to be given entrepreneurial status through ownership or tenancy there must be very extensive changes in the farming structure of the nation, with many more small farms, fewer large farms, and probably, a reversion to more primitive kinds of farming. (I would add, lest I be misunderstood, that it is conceivable the social gains to be derived might more than balance the losses even though we grant the assumption made above. The situation does, however, call for most careful weighing of relative values.)*

*Purchase of lands and resale to landless farmers on a basis of commercially efficient size units will not absorb enough of the landless farm group to solve the problem.*

*Solutions, to be sound, must seek to make these people productive contributors to the national income. Otherwise their lot can be improved only by lowering the general level of well-being of people not in this group. Unused capacity in labor is even more of a social waste than unused capacity in factories and lands since it is accompanied by serious depreciation in the moral fiber of the people.*

*A program which does not take into account the varied abilities, desires, and personal qualities in the group will fail at both ends, first, through giving too little scope for accomplishment by the able and industrious and, second, through placing on the incompetent and unindustrious responsibilities which they cannot or will not measure up to.*

With these generalizations in mind let us turn now to consideration of some of the remedial measures undertaken or proposed. Such measures may be roughly classified as temporary or palliative and longer range or more fundamental. Most of the activities so far undertaken

fall in the first of these classes. This would include such measures as the establishment of federal camps for migrants, Farm Security Administration grants for needy workers, Work Projects Administration undertakings, relief payments and emergency medical aid, farm debt adjustment, and much of the attempt at job finding by the employment agencies.

There seems little reason for lengthy discussion of these at this time. In situations of acute distress palliative and emergency measures should be put into effect at once. Principal justifiable criticisms of these programs seem to me to be of the following kinds: (1) inadequate scope, (2) lack of well-coordinated and efficient organization, and (3) high expense in relation to results accomplished. In part these defects arise out of inadequate previous planning of ways to meet emergency situations. For example, in such a program as that of providing temporary camps for migrants, after some five years or more of large scale migration, we now have thirty-one of these camps in operation or under construction. These will have a capacity of around 7,500 families.<sup>4</sup> They are reported to have cost, for capital equipment, in the neighborhood of \$200,000 to \$250,000 each. As in the case of most federal bookkeeping, the records of expenditure are not too inclusive. Reasons for slow progress in this program are not all attributable to the governmental agencies concerned. There has been, of course, considerable local opposition to establishment of such camps. However, along with this there have been too many cooks for the broth and a confusion of objectives. The function these camps should be designed to serve is, in my opinion, that of providing temporary havens for destitute people on the move. The Federal Government provides at great expense refuges and stopping places for migrant wild-fowl. Should it not do as much for its human migrants on the move through forces largely beyond their control and understanding?

These camps have also been viewed as demonstrations for local communities, but have lacked both the relationship to the community and the sort of educational program that would make them effective in this capacity. Private camps of the West and Southwest leave much to be desired, but the most deplorable conditions have arisen in those situa-

<sup>4</sup> These are distributed as follows:

14 in California  
3 in Arizona  
3 in Idaho  
3 in Oregon

2 in Washington  
4 in Texas, and  
2 in Florida.

tions where newcomers had no access to private camps and where public facilities were unavailable or inadequate in capacity.

The various emergency programs, or any one of them, afford scope for a paper of this length, and further discussion of this aspect must be omitted here. The burden on facilities and funds has become a very serious matter in the communities most directly affected. Major problems in this realm lie in equitable division of the financial load and in arriving at a just and constructive basis for transfers into and out of private employment.<sup>5</sup>

Turning now to longer term approaches to the problem, these seem to fall roughly into the following groups:

1. Tenant-purchase with a considerable measure of federal aid.
2. Breakup of large holdings.
3. Reorganization of agriculture to provide more continuous work and stabilization of residence by areas.
4. Garden cottages and small holdings.
5. Cooperative farming.
6. Unionization of labor.
7. Extension of Social Security to agriculture.

I shall deal with these in reverse order, since some can be set aside with relatively brief mention at this time.

<sup>5</sup> In those areas where such migrants tend to concentrate, the burden on local facilities and funds becomes a very serious problem, even though federal funds are provided in rather substantial amounts. For example, in Kern County, California's chief center for such concentration, in the upper San Joaquin Valley, and locale of the federal camp described in John Steinbeck's recent novel, expenditures for relief of various categories in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, amounted to approximately \$4,280,000. This includes federal, state, and local contributions and is for a county having a total population of about 124,000. These data are from unofficial but reputable sources.

The entire cotton crop of 1939 for Kern County was valued at about \$4,900,000. It may thus be seen that relief costs in that area amounted to practically as much as the total value of one of the major crops on which migrant farm workers were employed. This is in addition to the wage bill. It is obvious that not all of these expenditures were made for agricultural migrants. Such recipients, however, constituted the bulk of the load. Segregations are difficult to make, and the various agencies, particularly the federal agencies, are very reluctant, often unwilling, to furnish fiscal data on costs of this kind.

Kern County operates its hospital on a liberal basis as compared to most other counties in the state. In the past year, of an estimated 727 babies born to migrants in Kern County, 544 were born in the Kern County hospital. These constituted 44 per cent of all babies born in the hospital during the year. (From report, "*The Role of the Kern General Hospital*," by Joe Smith, Health Officer, [Bakersfield, 1939]. Mimeographed.)

These data are cited not as an argument for doing less, but to point out the necessity for federal and state participation in meeting the problems created by such large-scale migrations.

Social security provisions should eventually be extended to all classes of wage-workers. Leaving aside the objections of certain of the farm groups, the obstacles to this at present are mainly administrative.<sup>6</sup> I am doubtful whether the social security agencies have yet sufficiently mastered their task in the industrial field to warrant taking on this more difficult undertaking. In the second place, it seems almost a prerequisite that more stability of job and residence be attained for these people before a workable social security program can be introduced.

Unionization of farm workers is another proposal that has had much consideration. It is a full-sized topic in itself. Commenting very briefly, it seems warranted to say that unionization in agriculture has made slow progress not only in the United States but in most parts of the world. Organization problems in such a migrant or scattered group are baffling; and there has been a notable lack of effective, constructive leadership. Unionization has always been difficult where surplus labor is available and where employers and employees are widely scattered.

The economic effects of such unionization as has occurred and the strikes arising out of it afford scope for a major study in themselves. There is little dependable information on this subject. Unions naturally claim credit for such wage advances as have occurred in times of union activity. Employers tend to exaggerate the losses incurred through strikes. Both items are significant, but we do not know how much they are. Such wage advances as have occurred through union action have operated to change the division of a total industry income. Such total income was not increased thereby. Losses both in wage-incomes during strikes and in disruption of agricultural activities have been heavy. It is difficult to conceive that, in the chaotic labor conditions of the past few years, farm workers' union activities on the West Coast, where they have chiefly centered, have actually resulted in a net advantage to any group. This is neither to condemn or commend the general principle of labor organization, but rather to attempt a sober statement of results up to this time. In the opinion of this writer, some provision for collective bargaining in an orderly, responsible way should be made. Under present conditions, possibly even permanently, it would seem more promising of constructive results to establish by law suitably constituted county wage boards empowered to establish minimum wage rates and working conditions and with representation from employees, employers,

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Arthur J. Altmeyer, "The Farm Family and the Social Security Act" (Washington, 1937). Mimeographed.

and the public. This type of wage-determining machinery was established in Britain in 1917, was dropped in 1921, and was re-established for England and Wales in 1924 and for Scotland in 1937. It has worked reasonably well, and there has been little labor strife under it.

Conditions in Britain are not closely comparable to those in the areas here under consideration but are far more favorable to unionization. Nevertheless, representatives of both the English and Scottish unions of farm workers have supported the wage-board legislation, though sometimes reluctantly. The effects seem to have been more in checking violent declines in wage-rates and in improving working conditions than in positive increases of earnings. Their effect would seem to be in the direction of lessening the impact of price fluctuations on the farm worker while increasing the fluctuations of the operators' net returns. Such a system probably would decrease employment in some degree through inhibiting some production that can be carried on in low-price periods only by using extremely low-cost labor.

Garden cottages and small part-time holdings have likewise been much discussed. They offer possibilities and appear desirable under some conditions. From the standpoint of major effects on the agricultural economy as a whole they do not seem to call for extensive discussion here. Their success depends in considerable measure upon more stable employment in the community for the families concerned and some provision for preferential hiring of local residents. Many undertakings in this realm have, in my opinion, assumed too readily that workers should purchase these homes. In general, they should not be expected to enter into purchase contracts. Their financial resources are too meager; their incomes and place of residence too uncertain. In many cases the worker is at an age where a long-term purchase program would seem inappropriate. Bearing these qualifications in mind, publicly sponsored housing construction on a modest basis and on a much larger scale seems logical. Its main effects would be in providing better housing rather than in any important changes in the economy of the industry.

Cooperative farming has been considerably stressed by various administrators and writers. Despite an almost unbroken record of failure of this form of organization in the United States, the plan is again being greeted with considerable enthusiasm. The stress on this form of organization is both ideological and economic, mainly the former. From an economic standpoint it is presumed that the advantages of large-



scale operation and large-scale marketing can be achieved, that better executive direction can be provided, and that the cooperating workers will be entitled to share in the usually nonexistent profits. A benevolent governmental agency assumes the risks but does not share in the profits.

It seems evident that these undertakings can and do provide better housing and social conditions than would be available to the workers under entirely individual farming except through similar heavy subsidization. It is too early to determine whether the technical advantages of larger use of machinery and larger-scale production enterprises can offset the inherent difficulties of joint operation and the innate individualism of these workers. Cooperation has usually come from necessity rather than from choice. Faced with the pressures and dangers of a wild frontier the Mormons built successful cooperative communities in Utah. As their prosperity and safety increased, the emphasis on cooperative features waned. They have been, however, probably the most successful long-term cooperators in farming to appear in the United States. Their early form of organization has had a lasting effect on the form of community life in that area and has no doubt had economic implications. It seems in point to recognize, however, that, if the thing desired is a small-village type of social life with some cooperation in the ownership of larger tools, this could be attained without pooling incomes.<sup>7</sup>

The investment is not likely to be less than for the establishment of a similar number of small farms. For example, the Mineral King Community in the southern San Joaquin Valley of California, established by the Farm Security Administration, provides for fifteen families on a cooperative basis. The initial investment is around \$10,000 per family. The average value per farm for the United States in 1935 was \$4,823; for the Pacific States \$11,099; for California \$15,466. For the Casa Grande Valley Farms in south central Arizona, another Farm Security Administration project, the initial investment amounted to \$480,458, not including equipment, for a group of sixty families. This is about \$8,000 per family. These figures are cited not in criticism but merely to point out that a cooperative arrangement is not necessarily cheaper to set up than independent farms which would provide for a similar number of families.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Various types of cooperation are being tried out by the Farm Security Administration. Not all involve pooling of incomes.

<sup>8</sup> For the 6,180 tenants, share-croppers or farm laborers who purchased farms under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act during its first two years of operation the average

If we assume an extensive development of this kind of farming organization, its effects would be, in the main, to modify the social pattern rather than to change major economic relationships in agriculture. These farms are operated commercially, raise much the same crops as others, employ seasonal labor, and do most of the other things that any large farm does. The principal questions seem to be: Can they succeed on an honest accounting basis? Are the families better off working under a collective arrangement than under an individual scheme? It is important, I think, that we free ourselves from a doctrinaire attitude toward collectivism. It is better or worse than a more individualized economy according to the results achieved and is intrinsically neither good nor bad in itself. It should not become a fetish.

A very important approach to the problem, but one that presents great practical difficulties, is that of leveling out the labor load. It is immediately evident that this goal, if attainable, is not a means of absorbing more farm workers. Its aim is continuity of work for fewer employees, and presumably more stability of residence for those employed. To bring this about will require certain incentives that do not now affect the larger operators. One of these is year-long responsibility for the work and income of the labor used. Where labor and management are combined in the farmer and his family, he has a strong incentive to use this labor resource through a large part of the year even though its value per hour may be less when applied to some crops than to others. This is a part, but not a major part, of the reason for the greater diversity of farming through the Middle West than in the West and South. Much of the special crop farming arises from special soils and climate such that a given crop is so much more valuable than its nearest competitor that there is little diversification even on the small one- or two-man farm. Specialty crops are by no means confined to the large farms nor is all the seasonal labor hired by them.<sup>9</sup>

expenditure for the farm and necessary new improvements was \$5,369. For the 39 farms so purchased in California the average purchase price was \$6,592 plus \$1,494 for improvements, a total of \$8,086. (From a News Release of the Farm Security Administration dated November 17, 1939.) The cooperative projects do involve entirely new construction for the homes and probably have provided better homes on the average. This may account for much of the difference in outlay. One advantage claimed for the cooperatives is continuous ownership of the land by the government. This again is a feature which could of course be provided in connection with individual operation if it should seem desirable.

<sup>9</sup> Data from the 1935 Census which are frequently quoted in this connection are misleading because the enumeration was taken in January. Few of the small farms employ labor at that time.

This problem might be attacked in three ways: (1) by subdivision to family-sized units, thus setting up the above mentioned incentive for whatever influence it can exert; (2) by requiring the employer of short-season labor to contribute to an unemployment relief fund in inverse proportion to the shortness of his period of employment, thus making it to his interest to spread work as much as possible; and (3) by forcing up wages in short season agriculture to a point where earnings in a short period of work will provide a year's living as is now done in various seasonal skilled occupations such as the building trades. This latter procedure would undoubtedly force out considerable amounts of production and curtail amounts of employment sharply. It also would undoubtedly increase the numbers of workers seeking these high rates since wage-rates often bulk larger in the workers' eyes than size of income. There is little doubt, however, that many specialty crop farms could produce more products for home use and spread labor more than they do if suitable incentives could be devised. This type of problem is one which lends itself particularly well to joint efforts at solution by farm employers and farm workers, if one may be so bold in these days of stimulated class conflict as to assume that employees and employers can have anything in common.

We come now to the much discussed problem of the breakup of large holdings. Since it is difficult to generalize on this matter even for a single state, to say nothing of the United States, I shall in the main use California as the guinea pig under discussion. First, it is necessary to mention a few mere facts lest the unwary reader of recent fiction and near-fiction assume that California is rapidly passing into the hands of some feudal baron who will presently own it all and will sit high on some mountain peak fending off the would-be users of the land with machine-guns, bombs, and legal ukases.

California does have many large farms, more than most other states. I think it would be a better place for farm people if some of these larger farms were divided into smaller operating units, provided that such units were not too small. I have been unable to find, however, any clear-cut evidence that extensive consolidation of holdings is occurring. I think the trend is the other way, and that subdivision is likely to proceed more rapidly in the coming decades even if government does nothing about it. Certainly holdings are not so large as they once were. In looking at acreage figures for the state one should keep in mind that some 49 per cent of the state's acreage in farms (about 15,000,000 acres) is in livestock ranches other than dairies, much of it on land

such that a man who would try to operate with less than a thousand acres would be a fit candidate for a mental hospital. In a widely read book of recent date ("non-fiction") we find such statements as the following: "California Lands, Inc.—the farm holding subsidiary of the Bank of America—at one time during the depression owned or controlled 50 per cent of the farm lands of Northern and Central California."<sup>10</sup> The statement is slightly exaggerated, to say the least.

Leaving aside, however, such minor misconceptions, there are large and highly industrialized farms in California, and they include some 18 per cent or more of the irrigated crop lands of the state. What are the probable economic effects and social advantages of subdivision? Comparatively little is known in a detailed way about the relative efficiencies of large and small farms. Surveys over many years in various parts of the nation usually indicate some advantages in labor-income for the larger farms. Many factors enter into these results, however. For specific enterprises such cost studies as have been made by the California College of Agriculture do not seem to indicate a clear advantage in either class. It seems probable that cash losses and gains fluctuate more for the large farm than for the small since wage rates tend to vary less than do incomes from farm products. Certainly it is not true that a minimum unit for efficient operation must be very large as is true for many nonfarm industries. In some of the large farm types there appear to be significant economic advantages in marketing both through vertical and horizontal integration. This seems to be true especially for the lettuce industry of the Salinas and Imperial valleys. In the areas where irrigation is by pumping, cotton and barley production tend toward relatively large units as result of the heavy capital input involved in sinking and equipping a well.<sup>11</sup> In the rice industry large-scale operations are fostered by the scale of irrigation structures and techniques and by the advantages of using large-scale machinery. This is also true for considerable areas in the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta. For some of these functions a cooperative approach by small

<sup>10</sup> Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1939), pp. 266 and 267. (The actual figures are at present, number of farms, 1,718, 1.1 per cent of total; bearing acreage of tree fruits and vineyards, 21,700 or 1.5 per cent of the total. At the highest point, in 1935 the number of farms held was 2,642, involving an acreage of 531,000, about 1.75 per cent of the total acreage in farms for the state.)

<sup>11</sup> The sinking and equipping of such wells involves in most cases an investment ranging from \$4,000 to as high as \$10,000 or more. It would, of course, be possible for such investments to be made cooperatively, though for various reasons that arrangement has not been customary in the areas mentioned.

farmers is possible but not always easy to bring about. In fruits, dairying, poultry production, and many types of vegetable growing the small farm is more characteristic. It will thus be seen that subdivision is more feasible for some types of farming than for others.

Assuming the breakup of large holdings to be desirable, one of the most difficult problems is to find a suitable mechanism for bringing it about. A plan for purchase and resale in smaller units immediately suggests itself. Experience both in California and elsewhere has not been encouraging with respect to this method. Some capital is needed by the prospective settler, and the debt load may be too heavy for him. Often too he must learn a new type of farming, and it may even be that the most suitable type must be worked out by trial and error. It is possible that longer term holding of land title by the government and operation on a tenancy basis, at least in the early years, would be more workable than immediate purchase by the settler. Large holdings might, of course, be subjected to a progressive tax, but this in turn presents great difficulties in devising criteria of size and in avoiding the breakup of farm types in which there are real social advantages through fairly large-scale operation. One of the most practical procedures perhaps is that which has been used for some years in Denmark where large holdings, as they came on the market, were bought up, subdivided, and resold, apparently without excessive paternalism or subsidy. Here, of course, there were fairly clear advantages to the small farm. The larger holdings were in the main anachronistic survivals. This survival of previous patterns, as I have indicated, has something to do with the California large-farm situation, but other factors also play a considerable part.

Another possibility would be to provide legislation which would encourage owners of large holdings to break them up into moderate sized tenant units, thus substituting a landlord-tenant relationship for employer-employee relationship. With proper safeguards to the tenant this could be a constructive change. If wage-rates are increased materially, they are likely to provide an incentive in this direction, but should not be allowed to develop a cropper system.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Another proposal has been made seriously in some quarters (see, for example, *Report of the Governor's Commission on Re-employment* [Sacramento, California, 1939]) that delinquent tax lands be classified and made available for settlement. Certainly it is desirable that these lands be classified and brought under better administration than they now have in most states. It seems apparent, however, that "best-use" for most of these lands will be in connection with some of the publicly administered extensive land pro-

In considering this problem with respect to California's landless farm people it should be recognized that very few of them are displaced former operators of California farms. Reports indicate that mechanization and displacement are occurring on a considerable scale farther east. If then the small unit is desirable, might it not be easier and more logical to check consolidation where it is occurring than to attempt violent disruption of long-established large-scale units?

It must be evident to any thoughtful observer that the situation calls for some slowing of the rate of migration westward. The rate at which new migrants to any area can be absorbed is much more sharply limited than the capacity for assimilation of such workers over a period of time. Few areas, whether in California, New England, the South, or the Middle West, will welcome mass migrations of destitute job seekers. There seems little evidence of a real comparative advantage which would warrant such large-scale movements into this particular area at this time.

It is hard to suggest measures to accomplish such slowing down. The Farm Security Administration rehabilitation loans are designed in some measure to check displacements, but need to be supplemented by other programs. Some of these are discussed in a later section of this paper. The major displacements appear to be occurring in the Southern Plains area and in the Mississippi Delta. Here mechanization is displacing small operators extensively and potentially may reduce the numbers of farmers to 50 per cent or less of the numbers occupying land holdings in 1930.<sup>18</sup>

grams rather than in small farming. Good land is not usually allowed to pass into public control through tax delinquency, and one of the most apparent lessons from past experience in land settlement is that the land must be good if these ventures are to succeed. Certainly titles to the tax delinquent lands should be cleared and the lands brought under suitable administration. It is much to be doubted, however, that this will afford any large outlet for new small-scale farmers.

<sup>18</sup> In ten counties of the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta area, the total number of farm operators dropped from 80,072 in 1930 to 68,263 in 1935 although farm land harvested increased from 2,283,579 acres in 1930 to 2,459,313 acres in 1935. The decrease in numbers of farm operators was associated with a decrease in total farm population; but it is interesting to note that while the number of persons operating farms as share croppers and "other tenants" declined in the period 1930-1935, the number of persons engaged as full owners, part owners, and managers increased in that time. The rise in farm acreage was associated with a rapid increase in the use of tractors on farms. See E. L. Langsford and B. H. Thibodeaux, "Plantation Organization and Operation in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta Area," USDA Technical Bulletin 682 (May, 1939), pp. 52-54; 26-27.

Studies by Bonnen and Magee indicate that somewhat similar changes are occurring in the High Plains area of Texas.

Probably the most ambitious long-term program so far undertaken is that for federal aid in the purchase of farms by tenants. This program seems to me not primarily an approach to the farm labor problem. It is rather an attempt to stabilize the tenure situation of the man who is already an entrepreneur. That aim is an important one, we might almost say an essential goal, of a well-rounded farm program for the United States. Whether the procedure adopted is the best one seems to me open to question. Leaving aside a large number of tenancies, possibly half, which are family relationships or otherwise not undesirable, the fact remains that great numbers of farm tenants operate under terms which inhibit good farming, provide little stability of either work or residence, and contribute vastly to soil depletion and social inadequacies.

Farming as a business venture cannot be carried on effectively under an insecure and constantly changing tenure. However, if the government is to lend funds for purchase of such lands, vast outlays of funds will be required; and, even under an interest subsidy, the purchaser is likely to be burdened with a huge debt, often as much as the value of the farm. Such a program may not afford much permanence in solving the problem. Purchase and ownership status usually mean that the farm must go through some similar process at the close of the active period of work of the purchasing farmer, probably with new demands for federal financial aid. The debt burden, even at low rates of interest, is likely to be so heavy that the farmer will still be forced to work with inadequate equipment and possibly to carry on a destructive form of agriculture. Furthermore such a program is slow and, unless carried along on a huge scale, is likely to be undone in other segments of the farm economy about as fast as it is done in this realm.<sup>14</sup> Administrative machinery must be cumbersome and expensive. Furthermore many tenant farmers are at an age where the undertaking of long-term purchase plans would be inadvisable.

On the other hand, many of the objectives sought might be accomplished far more rapidly, on a larger scale, and with little input of funds, if suitable legislation could be secured in the various states which would provide security of tenure to the tenant, compensation for improvements made by him, and adequate incentives for good farming. I refer, of course, to the main features of the British tenancy legislation

<sup>14</sup> Note, for example, that the number of tenant farms increased by some 400,000 in the period 1924-1935. This, of course, was an abnormal period, but even if we reduce this figure by half, it still would require an enormous purchase program even to keep pace with it and hold tenancy at a stationary level.

of 1883 and thereafter, which are more or less familiar to all students of agricultural economics. I will not attempt to enlarge on them here. This body of legislation has introduced most of the provisions sought in the American tenancy legislation, probably on a more stable basis, and at far less expense. It has worked out rather well for more than half a century, and most British farmers apparently prefer it to combining the functions of land-ownership and land-operation in the same person. The incentive for speculation in land values, one of the greatest curses of American agriculture, is greatly reduced, and the tenants can use their limited funds for those types of investment which tend to be most productive of increased returns.

Certainly operation by owners is to be desired where finances are adequate for the undertaking and the risks it involves. However, no one who has studied closely the financing of farming over the years can fail to be impressed with the hardships which farmers have so often brought on themselves through the assumption of large mortgage debts. In recent years thousands of them have seen their meager margins wiped out by changes in land values and themselves reduced to very insecure, often an utterly discouraged status, possibly late in life when new starts are difficult or even impossible. Ready adjustments to varied capacities of operators are likewise difficult under an ownership program. In many situations an aggregation of tenancies, with adequate protection to the tenant, could provide an alternative to direct employment on large farms which would be both desirable and not too unattractive to the large-scale owner of farm lands.

As a solution of the farm labor problem neither approach to tenancy holds large promise. More farms can be created only by opening up more land or by subdivision of present holdings. The first alternative holds little promise at present. The second has only limited possibilities in comparison to the numbers needing to be stabilized, and in many cases may involve considerable losses in economic efficiency. The areas of extremely small farms present about as many problems as the landless groups themselves, except where work off the farm is available. Mere reshuffling of a limited number of entrepreneurs among those seeking such status is no answer to the problem.

The major programs which have been discussed above seem, both individually and *in toto*, to provide an inadequate approach to this problem. Possibly or probably there is no combination of programs which any one of us would consider fully adequate. At best we can



hope only for a significant improvement in the situation, not for a Utopian solution. Most of the measures discussed give little promise of quick absorption of large numbers of workers; and, aside from temporary measures, the principal emphasis is on improving or creating entrepreneurial status. As I have pointed out, transfer of a large portion of the unstabilized farm workers to entrepreneurial status implies widespread change in the organization of the nation's agriculture and is likely to be a retrogression so far as technical efficiency is concerned. At best it must be a slow and expensive process. It seems, too, only realistic to recognize that by no means all of these workers are suited to operating farms on that basis. The inadequacy of these plans should not prevent each being used under those conditions and on such scale as seem warranted by their capabilities.

It does seem, however, that serious study could well be given to another line of attack as yet little discussed in the United States. This would look to creating new industrial opportunities which could take workers off the agricultural labor markets in sizable numbers. I have in mind here a program similar to that which is being used extensively by the British Special Areas Commission. Here the problem had a number of similarities to our own. The heavy industry areas were suffering from a long period of depression; large numbers of workers were unemployed and on the dole. Into these localities there has been injected a new type of setup known as a "trading estate." The physical plant consists of small standardized factory units built with government capital and rented on a basis which must within five years come to include all cost. Along with this is a parallel program, provided through private capital, for financing new enterprises. Space will not permit extended description here of this setup. I hope to do that more fully in a later paper.

There are five such special areas. Of these three were visited by this writer during June of this year, those at Cardiff, Wales, at Glasgow, Scotland, and at Newcastle-on-Tyne in England. For brief illustration I will mention the one at Glasgow. Two years ago the site was open meadow. It now has about seventy small factories in operation and was employing in June about 6,000 workers. These plants were expected to be employing shortly about 10,000 workers, very few in war industries. The Rolls-Royce Company has, however, arranged with the Commission to double the capacity of the Glasgow estate and will take over this additional capacity for an airplane-engine factory which will em-

ploy an additional 10,000 people. If we take into account the families of the 6,000 to 10,000 workers not engaged in war work, this venture represents a very significant contribution to employment in an area where unemployment has been serious for years.

Such an approach naturally gives rise to many questions which I cannot discuss here. Many of them occurred to me at the time and were asked. Here again we have no Utopian answer to all the problems. It does seem, however, to have been a means of absorbing considerable numbers of workers quickly and with less economic disturbance than any program I have come across thus far. It could apparently be used to advantage in areas of heavy accumulation of surplus workers.

The most serious problem raised by those confronted with this idea is that of markets for the products. I can only say that this seems to be working out in Britain. Each "Estate" maintains a sales office in London which gives aid in this connection. It must be recognized, however, that the period since these estates were started has been one of increasing business activity. However, two older establishments of similar nature in southern England which have been in operation since the early twenties have proved profitable as private ventures.

Should the sales possibilities prove too difficult, however, we have here a mechanism which could be readily oriented to a so-called "production-for-use" basis, operating somewhat as a small independent economy more or less outside the regular economy. For this purpose it would need to be even more diversified than for commercial production, but such a group could produce and exchange much of what it needs, probably selling enough to make possible the purchase of raw materials. Such a device should not cause serious disturbance to established business since many of these people at the present time have little economic significance either as producers or consumers.

They may well be enabled to contribute to the satisfying of their own needs at as modest a cost to the public as possible consonant with providing a reasonable minimum of real income. This again is not a satisfactory permanent solution of the problem, but apparently could provide more bearable conditions for considerable numbers of people and could improve rather than atrophy their capabilities as workers. Such a system should, I think, be kept as flexible as possible to make possible transfers into and out of the more normal commercial universe, which seems best to satisfy the desires of the ordinary American who is able to get a reasonably good and stable job.

The aspects here discussed cover only a few of the many ramifications of this complex problem and are necessarily devoid of all detail. It is undeniably one of the major economic and social problems of the decades just ahead. Efforts to deal with it must be broad in vision, large in scale, and not too much hampered by attitudes and viewpoints which have grown out of our pioneer experience. The national economy is changing, and the measures taken to cope with its new problems must change with it.

# Acadian Animal Caste in Southwest Louisiana: Some Sociological Observations

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## ABSTRACT

This paper gives an insight into the economy and psychology of an important culture group in southwest Louisiana through observations of their treatment of the stock of farm animals that are vital to their existence. The caste system of the animals, of course, is that imposed upon the stock by man and is an expression of the types of treatment which he accords the individual animals.

The system reveals practices prompted by motives far more sociological and psychological in nature than economic and scientific. It also shows the culture heritage to be a powerful factor and that many folkways have extended well into the period in which we consider our agricultural system to be dominated by that great leveler, modern education.

We know that man imposes a caste system upon his own species which varies widely with the different races, nationalities, and religions; but it seldom occurs to us to think of the caste system which he places upon his domestic animals on which he depends to varying degrees for his livelihood. As we shall see below, such systems may be very complex, even to the extent of causing different treatment to be accorded to the different species of animals, to different animals of the same species, and even to the same individual animal as it lives through several stages of its life in the possession of a single owner. This paper proposes to differentiate these animals as to position in the society of animals of one hypothetical *petit habitant*<sup>1</sup> and to tell in descriptive and

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<sup>1</sup> As no particular *petit habitant* owns all of the types of animals representative of and possessed by the Acadians of Southwest Louisiana, a hypothetical case was formed for the sake of simplicity. Because the writer knows no one, either living or dead, by that particular name, this *petit habitant* shall be known as *Emile Le Beau*, his wife as *Madame Emile*, and his son as *Ti Mile* ("i" having the sound of "e"). Emile owns, or rents, about 30 acres of land in the Beau Basin of the old Attakapas Prairie near the Evangeline Country of Longfellow fame. He plants 12 acres of cotton as a cash crop and about an equal area in corn for feed and meal. The rest of his land is in pasture and crops such as sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, tomatoes, melons, vegetables, etc., none of which occupy very much

narrative style the treatment which he administers to that stock of animals which contribute in a vital way to his livelihood with meat, dairy products, eggs, transportation, and toward the tillage of the soil.

Such a study as this, it is admitted at the outset, may have its limitations in value as a sociological study; but it will give the reader, nevertheless, an insight into the cultural heritage of the people in question, a description of several philosophies of treatment of dumb animals, a partial basis for comparison of this group with other groups of people in their treatment of animals, as well as some encouragement to observe animal caste among other culture groups.

### HORSES AND MULES

Three horses take priority in treatment and care over all others in Emile's small drove. They are the stallion, the race horse, and 'Ti Mile's riding horse. Through good times and bad these three horses are fed corn and some sort of hay, grass, or fodder. In winter it is corn and hay; in summer grass and corn tops replace the hay; but the corn is fed as long as it holds out, and after that some sort of commercial feed is bought and fed so these horses never feel the pangs of hunger. They

space. Except for the raising of cotton, most of Emile's economy may be said to be of the subsistence type.

He is a descendant of the Acadians who settled in the Evangeline Country in 1765, and he still speaks the Acadian-French dialect. He sometimes calls himself a "Creole," but usually refers to himself as an "Acadian." He does not feel especially complimented when referred to as a "Cajin," but at times he is proud of the title, and occasionally he jokes about being called "*un Cajin*."

Emile and his people probably still make more use of the horse and buggy than any other group of Americans. He has been slow in accepting the automobile, partly because of cost and partly because of the satisfactory way in which the horse and buggy can still serve him in his rather thickly settled community. Nor should the outsider look askance at the dozens of horses and buggies at the hitching racks still to be seen before the churches when early mass is being held. Rather one should recall the statement of a geographer who observed in another section of the country: "The automobile has broken down the isolation of the remote farmer, but in so doing, it made it impossible for the isolated farmer to keep the car and make a living."

The time period the writer had in mind was that immediately preceding the World War and also that immediately preceding instruction in agriculture by educational institutions, several of which have made great changes. Yet the writer has seen application of all points referred to in this paper within a decade of the present time.

No reflection upon the people is intended; nor is any attempt made at proving that the Acadians were either kinder or more cruel to their animals than were the Spaniards, Mexicans, cowboys, Arabs, or Puritans. Comparable detail about the heavy riding bits, big sharp rowels on spurs, heavy saddles, head yokes, sharp pointed goads, and branding irons might justly go far toward dramatizing treatment of animals by other groups; but this paper merely attempts to classify the animals on the basis of the treatment accorded them and to describe the treatment each animal received as he took his position in the society of animals on Emile's farm.

are always "*en bonne ordre*"; and in addition to the special feed, these horses enjoy the best stalls—if indeed Emile has any stalls—and they are not left in the hot sun as are the other horses but are tied "under the chinaberry trees" during the heat of the day, where they are in full view to the passers-by on the public road.

Of these three animals probably the stallion receives the best year-round care, as it is imperative that he be kept in first-class condition in order to attract the attention of the neighbors. The care that he gets has a cumulative effect: the better the care he gets, the nicer his appearance, and the nicer his appearance, the more pride the owner takes in him—all of which cause him to receive special attention, such as being held on a rope while he munches the choice grass on the headland in the cotton patch, and of course he gets extra brushings and currysings.

The race horse, which of course may be a stallion, necessarily gets special care because he must win his races to remain in the game. He must remain tied up as a part of his training and also to conserve energy for the races. As much as possible, both the race horse and the stallion are kept away from other horses; and they are quite closely guarded against that common enemy of theirs, the barbed wire fence.

'Ti Mile's horse is in a favored position for more reasons than one. In the first place, he belongs to 'Ti Mile and not to Emile; and since 'Ti Mile is not the one that is "making the crop," his horse is not worked. Second, part of 'Ti Mile's wages for working his father's crop is paid in feed for the horse, and Emile does not always know just how much 'Ti Mile feeds him. And third, the horse has to make a favorable impression upon the girl friend at whose house the horse may be seen on Sunday afternoons "tied under the chinaberry tree." The importance of this situation is easily seen when it is recalled that every one in the neighborhood knows the rider, the horse, and the girl. "A sack of bones" in that favored spot might cause a jealous swain to sing: "Whose horse is that tied to the tree where my horse ought to be?"

In his first year of courting 'Ti Mile traveled on horseback, using his new saddle. Although he was proud of the saddle, he had a feeling of inferiority as compared with the young bucks who had buggies. The difference between the saddle and buggy is perhaps comparable to the difference between using the street car and the automobile on a date to the high school formal. And with the acquisition of the buggy, the demands placed upon the horse were increased. There were more places to go, so the week-ends gave the horse more work. Otherwise, this

horse has an easy time of it, being fed, curried, and tied under the chinaberry tree as regularly as the days pass.

The route by which horses fall into this elite class is perhaps more frequently by superior care in raising than by purchase, the reason being that the subjective value placed on such horses by their owners is usually so much higher than any prospective buyer sees fit to pay that these horses are seldom sold. They enjoy their best years in the possession of the persons who raised them and later, with the loss of spirit, looks, and condition, pass to subordinate positions on the same farms. "If the horse loses this race on Sunday, he goes to the plow on Monday."

Next in order comes the family buggy horse. He is an older horse and one that is thoroughly dependable and easily managed. He is ridden by the boys to pen up the work mules and the milk cows in the morning. He is driven to town hitched to the buggy, or he may be ridden on different errands. If a small special job calls for the drawing of a sled to haul corn tops or dirt for use around the barn this horse may be used. He is fed; he is well cared for; he is not abused; but he never receives the special care of the stallion, race horse, or the courting horse. He is merely taken for granted and may be the buggy horse for many years. This horse holds a more stable place in the hearts of the members of the family than any of the other three because of his longer ownership and the attachment the children have for him. The buggy horse was perhaps a stallion, a race horse, or a courting horse, but now he is older, and he has lost much of his former spirit. He is more dependable and he has settled down to a quieter type of existence. He may have to make several trips per day hitched to the buggy, especially during time of sickness, the learning of the catechism, or special occasions. Occasionally he is drafted for field work but only when work is very pressing or when the work horses and mules have been used up. His position offers greater social security than that of any other farm animal, and he holds it until a younger family buggy horse replaces him. Then he may go into the category of work horse and thus spend his declining years pulling the plow instead of the buggy, but if economically possible this horse may be retired without falling into drudgery. It is by this horse that the neighbors recognize Emile's buggy on the public road. They recognize the horse the instant he is seen, and he is traditionally associated with the family. This horse is never put up for sale. "He is the old lady's horse."

Lowliest of all of Emile's horses are his work horses, but even they

get a shade better deal than do his work mules. In winter they are fed only sufficiently to make them serviceable as work animals for the winter and spring plowing. Then day after day when the plowing season is on, they work long hours pulling the plow, harrow, and planter. There is little sentiment attached to their feeding; and regardless of condition of shoulders, backs, and sides they must go on. Backbands wear through the skin on their backs, and trace chains wear through on their sides and hind legs, but still they must go on. The crop has to be made. As time goes on their mouths toughen from the jerking of the plow line, and they become immune to Emile's shouts. As the supply of corn dwindles and becomes weevil-eaten, the teams continue to drop off in weight until one almost expects them to crawl through their collars. As the spring grass improves, some years Emile feeds them only twice a day; and finally toward the end of the cultivating period their ration is reduced to one feeding of corn per day. This keeps them until they are turned out to recuperate in the pasture. They go through this routine each spring until finally disease or old age releases them from the pains of this world. "A fifty-cent whip is worth more than a dollar barrel of corn, but one should not use a willow whip on a horse. It makes him get poor."

Brood mares fall in a somewhat different position from other animals, and yet may belong to any of the other classes. The courting animal or the race mare might be used for raising colts, after which she is apt to fall from the upper rung to that of buggy horse or work horse. The buggy animal might raise a colt, and so may the work mares, in which case the colts have to come one at a time after the field work is done. Even with the added care that the brood mare gets, it is, of course, difficult for her to keep up appearances; and she falls lower and lower in the standards of treatment accorded her. An important point in her favor is that, if left in the sun when the colt is young, the colt may get sunstroke or blind staggers; hence she profits by having the colt.

#### CATTLE

Out of the old industry of raising long-horned cattle for beef came some of the present ways of tending cattle. Those cattle were raised half wild, and they shifted for themselves during all seasons, grazing on the open range and getting water in the bayous, *coulées*, and in the many ponds which dotted the Prairies. Nature provided grass and water and Emile's ancestors found little physical labor necessary in tak-



ing care of such cattle. The ponds eliminated the necessity of digging many wells and putting up windmills as was done in the plains of the Middle West, so Emile merely learned to make "digs" into which water ran and from which his cows drank. There was no cultural heritage which told him that cows must have plenty of clean water, or that the drinking of muddy water was bad for the cows other than that "their livers are not good to eat if they drink muddy water." During a long dry spell one summer Emile complained loudly that he had to "pump water for the cattle. *C'est terrible.*" A terrible hardship after cattle had been drinking from the ponds for a century and a half!

The main hardships which Emile's cows have to endure arise from the meager grass of the winter, the scorched grass of the summer drought, the cold of winter, and the heat of summer. Mosquitoes bother them in mid-summer, and the flies in late summer. With these concerns, it is small wonder that the milch cows give but a small quantity of poor milk and the beef cattle little more than make the required minimum weight of 250 pounds in the *boucherie de compagne*, or country butchery. Corn-fed beef, or even beef of high quality, is quite unknown to Emile, and good efficient dairy cows are mighty scarce.

### Hogs

The razorback hog, when penned up and fed little, is not a beautiful animal, but such are Emile's hogs in the summer time. He keeps a couple of brood sows which give him pigs that are destined to this hard life all summer; for if they were allowed to roam, they would ruin his neighbors' crops as well as his own. And even though he may increase the size of the pig pen, there is never any grass in it because the hogs eat it down at its first appearance in the spring. Through the summer, dish water, a little corn, and perhaps some weeds gathered from a turn-row are about all that keep them alive until the fall harvest and especially after All Saint's Day, when they can be turned loose. Then they have a chance to glean the corn and potato patches for whatever was missed in the harvest, and they gain in weight. Their fate is the reverse of that of the cattle, which fare better in summer than in winter. But should the pigs get too near the mattress of sugarcane, or the vegetable garden, 'Ti Mile sets the dogs after them with such fury that they seem fortunate to escape alive. And if the neighbors' pigs come near the place, they are always chased with dogs and sticks until they are well nigh exhausted.

The hog fattened for the year's supply of lard is an interesting case. He is stuffed with all of the corn he will eat for a month or so, during which time he is kept in a small elevated pen exposed to the cold winter wind and rain. If he had more room in which to exercise, his lot would not be so bad; but he suffers from the cold as do the other pigs which may finally be put in small muddy pens for the rest of the winter, a condition quite as miserable as that in summer when they were confined with insufficient shade.

#### CHICKENS

"I brought some eggs to trade. These are all right to sell but not to eat or set." This was 'Ti Mile at his neighbor's trading off some fertile and also spoiled eggs with at least two points in mind. First, he really *wanted* some good eggs to set; and second, Madame Emile liked to have many different colors of chickens, and one way to get them was to trade eggs with the neighbors.

Madame Emile had complete control over her *basse cour*, or flock, even to the spending of the proceeds she derived through barter at the store. Each spring she set a dozen or so hens and usually a few more hatched out some chickens in the weeds or under the barn. She fed them a little cracked corn, and the older chickens she fed shelled corn, often throwing the corn out of the back door of the house, a habit which attracted them all the more to the house during the day. Usually, however, she did not feed them enough to make very much difference in that way. They shifted for themselves picking up insects and grass. Occasionally they risked their lives scratching in the corn patch, the penalty being that of having the dogs set upon them.

For a roosting place the chickens usually use either a chinaberry tree or a fig tree, but in either case they are exposed to much winter cold. In summer during the heat of the day, they find refuge under the house or barn and under the trees; and, also, there they find dust in which to smother their vermin. When it is time for Madame to catch a chicken for eating, Fido is again called upon and set upon the desired chicken. Madame Emile still does not know whether or not this exercise prior to wringing the bird's neck makes any difference in the quality of the meat.

The keeping of a *coq gaime*, or fighting rooster, is not Madame Emile's idea, but rather that of 'Ti Mile. He occasionally gets the idea of keeping several fighting chickens, but their keeping has little to do with the flock; fighting chickens have to be kept up, as their business is that of killing other chickens until they themselves are killed. While

training, the *coq* gets a slim ration, but just before entering the arena he gets a slug of cheap whiskey.

### Dogs

Emile keeps a couple of rather mean, nondescript dogs which he uses in several ways, *whether to his own economic advantage or not*. They help him in hunting rabbits; they are watchdogs; they do his every bidding when it comes to chasing the neighbors' cows and pigs away down the road or away from his own place; but Emile also uses his dogs to chase his own milk cows if they turn the wrong way or are slow in doing as he wants them to do. And the more vicious the dogs are in chasing the cows, the more he admires them. As long as there is combat or conflict which *he* inspires between his dog and some other animal, even though the animal is his own, he sides with the dog and praises him, especially a mean cattle dog. This is very true in fights between dogs and cats, and the dog always receives great praise for treeing a cat. But when the dog is idle, he is considered useless; then he gets little care and is kicked around. A wandering dog must be shot on sight, and sometimes the neighbors' dogs are purposely shot. When the automobile came in, it was great fun to kill dogs by running over them, especially if they barked at the new-fangled machine.

### CATS

To Emile the cat ranks lowest of all of the domestic animals. It never has any particular moments of intimacy with Emile or any of his children. It cannot be milked; it cannot be worked; and in a fight with a dog, it always runs away. Besides, the cat multiplies too fast and, when killed, brings years of bad luck. Hence, the best way to dispose of kittens is to put them in a sack and drop them somewhere along the public road. When the traveler sees the little kittens in the road and hears their pleading meows, he should not think for a moment that these kittens have strayed away and are lost. It is far better for 'Ti Mile to lose them in the road than to kill them and bring upon himself so many years of bad luck.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Even in this economy which developed from a pastoral scene, there is no such attachment to animals as that of the westerner for his horse, upon which his life depended. The excellent care given the stallion, the race horse, and the courting horse is largely for show purposes, and

it passes with the change in quality and status of the animal in question. The poorer he gets, the more apt he is to be encouraged by the fifty-cent buggy whip rather than by the dollar barrel of corn. It may be stated here that Emile would be the last to shoot a horse, even if it broke a leg; he has never eaten horse flesh as have his ancestors of France; and he never even skins a dead horse.

The cow which came to Emile as a longhorn rates well below the horse, is killed and skinned, and makes an important item of diet. The cow is fed much more largely as a preventive measure (to keep it from dying) than as a constructive measure.

Pigs are kept for pork and lard; chickens are kept for meat and eggs, the latter being useful to trade for sugar, coffee, and tobacco. Otherwise, they are somewhat of a nuisance and should have the dogs set upon them, especially if they try to scratch in a newly-planted corn patch.

Dogs are good because they are good fighters and can chase all other animals; they sometimes catch rabbits; and it is wonderful to have a bulldog that can lick all of the other dogs in the neighborhood.

Of all these animals, horses, mules, cows, and dogs have special individual names. Pigs, chickens, and cats are not held in sufficient esteem to warrant names.

The caste system is not based upon service rendered. A great deal of it is based upon outward appearance and show, and the horse is the best animal with which to make a favorable impression.

It might be added that changes, of course, have been taking place in Beau Basin in late years, largely through the high school work, extension educational service, demonstration agents, and the agricultural short courses. Treatment of the animals has improved vastly; breeds have improved; the dipping of stock has eliminated tick fever, and new breeds have been introduced. One sees pacing horses drawing buggies and can learn from brief inquiry that the pacer is a son or a grandson of some famous racer. One sees Jersey cattle and a very considerable number of grade stock everywhere. White Leghorn chickens are in evidence, and so are the improved breeds of hogs. But even with these changes, Beau Basin is one of the sections of the country still most in need of improved methods and care of stock. More uniform treatment of the animals is coming, and perhaps in time there will be a breakdown of the Acadian animal caste system.

# Social Organization in Arizona's Irrigated Areas

*E. D. Tetreau\**

## ABSTRACT

In Arizona's irrigated areas the value of land for agriculture depends primarily upon water rights. Here the irrigation enterprise is a basic institution.

Probably the most potent regulator of human relationships in the irrigated areas is the family. This study includes all operators' and laborers' households as agricultural households and all persons in these households as agricultural population, whether residing on farms or in rural towns. More than 10 agricultural households were found per square mile of irrigated farm land.

Since more than two-thirds of all agricultural households were laborers', and since commercialized agriculture bids fair to continue a severe competition with family farming and possibly further increase the proportions of laborers, it seems timely to advance tentatively a principle of balance between family and commercial farming. This principle may be stated as a proportioned relation between family and commercial farming by which are locally retained sufficient numbers of farm owners' families to maintain local government and public education at accepted standards and to carry resident laborers' families normally through the year without public or private assistance.

Population origins, compositions, and characteristics in Arizona's irrigated areas were briefly discussed in a previous paper.<sup>1</sup> The present paper is intended to direct attention to certain elementary phases of rural social organization in the same areas.

## ARIZONA'S PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

An imaginary line extending across Arizona in a northwesterly direction from the eastern boundary, where it is intersected by the Gila River, to Boulder Dam roughly divides the state into two parts, according to its principal natural features. That part lying to the north and east of this imaginary line is largely mountain and table land. It receives the greater amount of precipitation and contains the greater part of Arizona's forest areas. The lower lands descend to the south and west and contain Arizona's principal irrigated valleys. Back from the valleys extend vast areas of desert land, cut generally to the north

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<sup>1</sup> Tetreau, "The People of Arizona Irrigated Areas," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, III (June, 1938), 177-187.

and south by low mountain ranges. A few southern Arizona mountain peaks such as Mount Lemon and Mount Graham attain heights of 9,000 and 10,000 feet.

*Altitude, Temperature, and Precipitation.* While Arizona's north and south axis is about 280 miles in length, altitude as well as latitude is important in the determination of temperature and precipitation. Thatcher in the upper Gila, and Yuma in the Yuma valley differ in latitude to a very small extent but a difference of 10° F. in mean annual temperature is due to a difference of more than 1,600 feet in elevation.<sup>2</sup>

Altitude and precipitation are also closely related. While mountain and upland stations register a mean annual precipitation of 16, 18, and 24 inches, stations in the lower valleys record from 3 to 10 inches, only. The dependence of the arid and semiarid valleys upon the comparatively well-watered mountain areas is one of the outstanding physical factors in the organization of Arizona's agriculture.

*Climate and Health.* Low humidity, a very high percentage of possible sunshine, low wind velocities, and other conditions<sup>3</sup> make Arizona's climate favorable to health seekers and attract winter visitors, especially from the industrial areas of northeastern United States. Even Californians come to Arizona to escape the chill of their winter fogs. Many health seekers are to be found among Arizona's farm laborers, and some are among those who operate farms and other rural enterprises.

*Climate and Agriculture.* Without doubt, climatic conditions most definitely affect the rural social order by way of their influence upon the agriculture of Arizona's irrigated areas. Cotton and such special crops as lettuce and cantaloupes require much hand labor. Citrus and date orchards lend a distinctive character to certain areas, especially in the Salt River and Yuma valleys. Cattle and sheep from the ranges thrive on the winter pastures afforded by wheat and alfalfa fields. Dairy and poultry production lend a Middle Western touch to many an irrigated farm. Special commodities such as sugar-beet seed yield a substantial return to Salt River valley farmers, while flax is the most recently added crop in the Yuma valley. On the whole, favorable climatic conditions make possible the production of a wide range of

<sup>2</sup> R. J. Martin and W. A. Mattice, *Climatic Summary of the United States, Section 26, Southern Arizona*, 1930, USDA (Washington, 1930), pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> H. V. Smith, *The Climate of Arizona*, Arizona AESB 130 (Tucson, April, 1930), pp. 399-411.

commodities. This offers a substantial basis for the support of a town and country population equal in density to the population of Boone County, Iowa, or Madison County, Ohio.

*Physiography and Soils.* Where irrigated farms occur in valleys, they occupy different levels. In some places they occupy bottom lands; in other places they occupy benches or pediments; and in still others they are found on delta lands. The irrigated farms of the Upper Gila valley are on the bottom lands, as they are in the Yuma valley. Likewise, the irrigated farms south of Tucson are on bottom lands, while to the north and west they occur largely on the benches. Salt River valley farms are largely on pediments, whereas farms of the Casa Grande valley are chiefly located on the delta of the Santa Cruz river, deposited in its uncertain course toward the Gila river.<sup>4</sup>

Both the natural surface features and the character and origin of the underlying valley fill bear a definite relation to underground water supplies.<sup>5</sup> The location, storage, and availability of underground water have a definite bearing upon the degree of success with which farming may be carried on, since more or less pumping is regularly done in all of the major irrigated areas, and since underground water affords an emergency supply during periods when the surface reservoirs are low.

Valley soils, on the whole, are fertile. Having been subject to light or medium precipitation, their chemical contents have not been depleted by leaching. Generally the bottom lands are the more desirable for agriculture, their alluvial content being greater than is to be found in the bench lands. But local soil conditions differ a great deal, as witness the failure of citrus fruits on the Wellton mesa and their success on the Yuma mesa due to the excessive soluble salt content of the soil and of the water used for irrigation in the first named area.<sup>6</sup>

*Physical Characteristics and Social Organization.* One of the outstanding factors in the social organization of Arizona's irrigated areas is the dependence of agriculture upon water. The value of farm lands depends as much upon the nature of their water rights as upon the nature of the soil. Thus, side by side, two farms otherwise alike will afford very different bases for family living because of a difference in water rights. Another factor is the climatic base for the production of special com-

<sup>4</sup> G. E. P. Smith, *The Physiography of Arizona Valleys and the Occurrence of Ground-water, Arizona* AES Technical Bulletin 77 (Tucson, June, 1938), pp. 50-71.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> H. V. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

modities. This condition rather favors two lines of development that appear to run in opposite directions: (1) the production of many special crops requiring much hand labor and hence putting on the land a humble population living close to a subsistence level; and (2) the development of citrus and date orchards as a setting for country dwellings and estates of the middle and upper level income groups. Another factor concerns the location of human habitation on the different levels of valley land. Unless adequately protected by dikes and other structures, great danger lies in bottom land location of farm dwellings and other buildings. Generally to be preferred are locations on the valley benches, and many dwellings and other buildings in Arizona's irrigated areas should be relocated.

Still another factor is the climatic base for a year-round agriculture. This permits the development of general agriculture highly adaptable to changing market conditions and yet suitable for more extensive practice of subsistence farming than is usually to be found.

On the whole, the physical characteristics of Arizona's irrigated areas favor a highly organized and culturally varied rural life.

#### ARIZONA'S IRRIGATION ENTERPRISES

Nowhere are the weakness of the individual and the strength of the organized group more dramatically contrasted than in the reclamation of desert lands for agriculture. Here and there a lone pump house may mark the location of a solitary well and a strip of green field may testify to the success of the farm operator, but reclamation in terms of reservoirs, measured water flow, and a continuous agriculture for communities cannot thus be brought to pass.

*Irrigation Districts.* Arizona's irrigated lands are to a large extent organized as irrigation districts under legislative provisions of the state.<sup>7</sup> These districts are formed by the action of a majority of resident holders of land that is susceptible to irrigation by the same general system of works. They are municipal corporations for all purposes affecting or relating to the irrigation of farm lands. They are designated by name, have definite boundaries, and are political subdivisions of the state in most respects. They call elections under the usual requirements for public elections and may vote bond issues. Each irrigation district is governed by a board of directors, members of which are elected for

<sup>7</sup> F. C. Truckmeyer, *Revised Code of Arizona, 1928* (Manufacturing Stationers, Inc., Phoenix, Arizona), chap. lxxxi, art. 2.



two years. They may cause surveys to be made, plans and specifications to be prepared, contracts to be let, and dams and other structures to be built. Irrigation districts may impose charges or tolls for services, including the delivery of water, and may make assessments which are collected by the county treasurer either at the same time as state and county taxes are paid or by separate payment. State and county taxes may not be paid unless at the same time or prior thereto the district taxes and assessments are paid.<sup>8</sup>

District boards of directors have power to enter into agreements with the United States, or with an association or district operating a United States reclamation project, for the construction of storage and irrigation works.<sup>9</sup> Thus the San Carlos Irrigation and Drainage District, organized under the Arizona Act, has contracted for a half interest in the San Carlos project which was built and is operated by the United States Government, a half interest being held for the Pima Indians.<sup>10</sup>

With the prolonged general depression, difficulties were encountered by many irrigation districts. Interest payments lagged. Bonds were in default.<sup>11</sup> Many districts succeeded in getting loans or assistance from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Public Works Administration and were able to adjust their affairs so as to continue operations. Twenty-five districts<sup>12</sup> were in operation at the end of December, 1938, ten being with the Salt River valley, four in the Yuma-Gila. The remaining districts were in the upper Gila, Santa Cruz, and other valleys.

*Mutual Associations.* Mutual associations are another form of irrigation enterprise. They are to be found in those localities in which valley bottom lands may be watered by building diversion canals and appropriating part or all of the stream flow. Each association or company is composed of a number of farm operators who are organized to share benefits and expenses along mutual lines. Structures for water control are mainly small dams, canals, and ditches. Operations, assessments, and collections are carried on by the associations direct. Of 55 mutual irrigation enterprises operating on November 1, 1937, 28, or more than

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ¶ 3339.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ¶ 3360.

<sup>10</sup> This project includes Coolidge Dam.

<sup>11</sup> G. E. P. Smith, *The Financial Rehabilitation of Irrigation and Drainage Districts*, Arizona AESB 144 (Tucson, April, 1933), p. 127.

<sup>12</sup> William A. Steinbergen, Specialist in Soils and Irrigation, Arizona Agricultural Extension Service.

one-half, were located in the upper valleys of the Gila River in Graham and Greenlee counties. Besides two in the San Pedro and four in the Salt River valley, the remainder of the mutual enterprises were located in the mountain and plateau region of Arizona, 13 being in the rather high valley lands of the Little Colorado River and its branches.<sup>18</sup>

Another enterprise, generally classed as a cooperative association, is the Yuma County Water Users' Association, which obtains its water from the Yuma Valley Project which was financed and built by the United States Bureau of Reclamation. This enterprise differs from the average mutual irrigation company in the extent of its acreage under irrigation and in its close dependence upon the Bureau of Reclamation, both as to capital investment and project supervision.

Without question, Arizona's outstanding enterprise in acreage, capital valuation, and achievement is the Salt River Valley Water Users' Association. Initiated as the Salt River Project of the United States Bureau of Reclamation, it rapidly gained in strength and ability to manage its affairs so that by 1918 it had taken over all obligations and was run as an independent association, subject, of course, to the advice and technical assistance of the Bureau of Reclamation. Since then it has floated several bond issues, has constructed dams, has increased the scope and efficiency of its water service and has built power plants and lines for the electrification of the Salt River Valley. Recently large blocks of the Association's outstanding bonds were called in, owing to the ability of the Association to secure loans from Federal agencies at lower rates of interest.

On the whole, the *mutual enterprises* represent an early form of organization to secure water for irrigation by group effort. They were operating groups that were indispensable to reclamation under pioneer settlement. To this day they are essentially forms of primary association depending more upon face-to-face contacts for the enforcement of the group will, than upon legislative acts and impersonal tax-collecting agencies. Irrigation districts, on the other hand, are more formally set up as municipal corporations and depend upon impersonal procedure to secure the enforcement of the group will as expressed by vote of the members and by the action of the board of directors. While some districts include a relatively small number of holders and service a very

<sup>18</sup> From data furnished by George W. Barr, Agricultural Economist, University of Arizona, and A. E. Anderson, Secretary of the Berkeley Bank of Cooperatives, Farm Credit Association, Berkeley, California, by letter dated July 26, 1938.

limited farm acreage, the form of organization is such that it will provide for the needs of larger and more cumbersome memberships and facilitate action in securing rather costly structures, dams, canals, etc., financed by means of long-term loans.

#### AGRICULTURAL POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

*Density.* Including as agricultural population all persons living in households whose heads were farm operators and farm laborers whether living on farms or in rural towns, there were found to be 48.8 persons per square mile of irrigated farm land in Arizona's principal irrigated areas. Laborers' households contained 35.1 persons, and operators' households accounted for 13.7 per square mile.<sup>14</sup>

Considering the agricultural population by households there were 10.8 households per square mile of irrigated land, 7.4 being laborers' and 3.4 operators' households. Thus it appeared that more than two-thirds of all agricultural households were laborers', only a little more than 30 per cent being operators' households.

All agricultural households decreased in numbers per square mile as one travelled westward across the state. Upper Gila valley irrigated lands average 26.0 agricultural households per square mile, as compared with 11.5 in the Salt River and 8.0 households in the Yuma valley. The explanation lay not in hired labor requirements, in wage differentials, or in the amount of competition from family labor. Hired labor requirements and wage rates increased westward, while competition from unpaid family labor decreased. It was rather the location of early Mexican settlers in the Upper Gila and the social attitudes of rural people in the middle and lower valleys toward incoming Mexican settlers that had to do with the present distribution of Mexican laborers' households. Not having the resident labor supply, agriculture's increased labor requirements westward necessitated a greater use of nonresident laborers.

*Location.* Farm operators as compared with farm laborers greatly favored farm residence. All but 3 per cent of their households were located on farms, while two-thirds of all farm laborers' households were so located. Taking operators' and laborers' households as a whole, three of every four agricultural households were located on farms.

<sup>14</sup> Agricultural households were largely normal families. More than 80 per cent of all laborers' households and 75 per cent of all operators' households were normal families; that is, they were composed of a man and woman or a man, woman, and children.

Town location was observed to be more important among farm laborers' households as they became proportionally more numerous among all agricultural households. Thus, as one passed from the Yuma valley to the Upper Gila, the percentage of laborers' households increased from 75 to 80 per cent of all agricultural households; and the proportion of laborers' households in towns increased from 42 to 56 per cent of laborers' households. Similar changes were observed in passing from the Salt River to the Casa Grande valley. This was because of the larger proportions of day laborers to be found in a relatively dense laborer population and because of the advantage of town residence to laborers, whose employment during a season was found on *many* farms.

*Clustered and Solitary Residence.* About 40 per cent of all agricultural households on farms in irrigated areas were found to be located in *clusters* of two or more households. This figure does not take account of the large camps for transient laborers but rather covers the location of resident laborers. Areas differed somewhat in this regard. Clustered households composed about 35 per cent of all farm dwelling households in the Yuma valley, about 47 per cent of those in the Upper Gila and 50 per cent of those in the Salt River valley.

Laborers' households on farms in the Upper Gila, Yuma, and Casa Grande valleys were about 50 per cent to be found in clusters, while in the Salt River valley two-thirds were thus grouped. Operators' households on farms were in clusters to the extent of about 30 per cent in the first-named valleys and about 40 per cent in the Salt River valley.

Combining the proportions of agricultural households to be found in town or clustered residence as contrasted with solitary location, 40 per cent of operators' households and 76 per cent of laborers' households were in rural towns or in farm clusters of households. Thus, while the greater numbers of operators' households were in solitary residence, less than one-fourth of all laborers' households were so located.

*Location Near Fields.* Laborers' households, on the whole, were located near the fields where the laborers were employed. Town dwelling laborers lived seven miles or less from the fields in which they worked in more than 90 per cent of all cases, this in terms of time being 15 minutes or less distant from the fields. Farm dwelling laborers' households were located in or near the fields in which the laborers were em-

ployed, generally near a public road, and not distant from a town. Only 13 per cent of all laborers' households on farms were located one-fourth mile or more from a public road.

### THE FAMILY AND FARM ECONOMY

While Arizona's irrigated areas contained many farms that were largely operated by unpaid family labor, hired labor on farms played a more important part in the total farm economy than the labor of the operator and his family.

*Unpaid Family Labor Less Important than Hired Labor.* Hired labor accounted for 63 per cent of all labor on farms during early January, 1935, in the counties that contained Arizona's principal irrigated areas.<sup>15</sup> During the greater part of the year the proportion of hired labor was higher, since labor employed during January amounted to but 67 per cent of that employed during an average month and was only 40 per cent of the hired labor used during any one of the peak months from September through October.

Large operating units and the production of special commodities largely accounted for the relatively large amounts of hired labor used on irrigated farms. Irrigated farms of 500 acres and over composed 2.4 per cent of all irrigated farms and 20 per cent of their acreage; while farms of from 100 to 499 acres accounted for 25 per cent of all irrigated farms and 49 per cent of their acreage. Obviously the labor of the operator and his family was but a small part of the labor required on these farms. Special commodities such as lettuce and cantaloupes and general crops such as cotton required a great deal of hand labor, labor that was practically all hired.

*Laborers' Families Important.* Much work on farms was done by members of laborers' households other than the heads, especially during peak seasons. Each 1,000 farm laborers' households contained 1,273 farm laborers, a considerable number being supplied in addition when requirements were great. Thus the family appeared as a much more important factor in farm economy than the sole consideration of operators' family labor would have led one to believe.

*Operators' Families Furnish Hired Laborers.* Many operators' families furnished hired laborers to other farms as was shown by the fact that

<sup>15</sup> Z. R. Pettet, *United States Census of Agriculture, 1935, Arizona, Second Series*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., County Table 4.

each 1,000 farm operators' families contained 231 laborers who were employed on other than the home farm but were considered as members of the home family. In this manner, also, the family played a larger part in the economy of irrigated farms than appeared on a surface comparison of family and hired labor.

*Normal Families Predominate.* Normal families predominated among agricultural households, more than three-fourths of them being composed of husband and wife or husband, wife, and children. All households whose heads were engaged in agriculture, whether living in rural towns or on farms, were included. Farm laborers' households exceeded farm operators' in this regard, 81 per cent of them being normal families as compared with 74 per cent of the operators' households. Other rural households contained relatively fewer normal families, so that taken as a whole, 75 per cent of all rural households were normal families, laborers' exceeding operators' and all other households.

*Family Farms Predominate.* Farms of less than 100 acres accounted for 73 per cent of all farms in Arizona's four principal irrigated areas. This was one indicator of the numerical strength of family farms.

Another indicator was obtained by taking account of the distribution and numbers of milk cows. It was found that milk cows were kept on 66 per cent of all farms in irrigated areas and that there were 5.9 cows per farm. Only in the Salt River valley were there a sufficient number of dairy farms having 40 cows or more to make an appreciable difference in the family farm picture, but this number of cows could be located on only about 30 irrigated farms. Of 3,917 farms keeping milk cows, there were only 706 that had 20 cows or more. The average farm having milk cows in the Salt River valley carried 7.5 cows, and 72 per cent of all irrigated farms had cows.

Averages per farm in the Upper Gila, Yuma, and Casa Grande valleys were 2.8, 3.0, and 3.5 cows, which were found on 80, 53, and 40 per cent of all irrigated farms, respectively.<sup>16</sup> Thus the outlines of the family farm picture were made a little clearer and it appeared certain that in all irrigated areas considerably more than half of the farms kept cows as part of a family farm economy rather than as a purely commercial enterprise.

Obviously the acreage farmed under a family economy was smaller as a percentage of the total than the number of farms.

<sup>16</sup> U. S. Census of Agriculture, Arizona; Second Series, County Table 5; and R. N. Davis, Professor of Dairy Husbandry, University of Arizona.

*Less Part-time Farming.* Farming with part time employment elsewhere than on the home farm was to be found less in Arizona's four principal irrigated areas than in other parts of the state. Thirty-nine per cent of all operators in these irrigated areas reported work away from the home farm, while 60 per cent of all operators in other farming areas of the state so reported. This was probably because of the greater opportunity for the intensive use of land and for year-round activity in agriculture under irrigation. Also, owner-operators in irrigated areas were much less likely to work away from the home farm than owners in other areas, the percentages of owners among part-time farmers being 65 in irrigated areas and 81 in other areas.<sup>17</sup>

*Fewer Long Settled Families.* Farm owner-operators' families in the four irrigated areas had lived 10 years or longer on the same farm as operator families to a lesser extent than obtained in the remainder of the state. The percentages of such families were 35 in the irrigated areas and 39 in the other areas. The proportions of these families in the irrigated areas ranged from 26 to 38 per cent, the higher percentage being in the Upper Gila valley in which, as one would expect, were found the earlier white settlements. Fewer tenant families in irrigated areas had been long on the same farm as compared with tenants in other areas of the state. Sixteen per cent of all tenants in the four irrigated areas had lived five years or longer on the same farm, while 23 per cent of tenants in the other areas had operated the same farm five years or longer.<sup>18</sup>

#### MEN, MACHINES, AND MARKETS

*Work Animals Decrease.* Mechanical power has been rapidly displacing horses and mules on Arizona's irrigated farms. The extent of this change was roughly indicated by the decrease in numbers of horses and mules on Arizona's farms and ranches during the 15 years from 1920 to 1935. In this period the percentage of farms and ranches reporting horses fell from 85 to 66, and those reporting mules decreased from 29 to 24. Average numbers of horses per farm reporting fell off from 16.0 to 6.2, and of mules, from 4.2 to 2.6.<sup>19</sup> More specifically, Arizona's largest irrigation enterprise—the Salt River Project—reduced its horses and mules on farms during 1934 through 1938 from 6,300

<sup>17</sup> Pettet, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Table 2.

to 3,800 horses and from 2,400 to 1,400 mules. These reductions amounted to 40 and 42 per cent in the brief space of five years.<sup>20</sup>

*Demand for Man Power Continues.* Without question the numbers of men required to prepare the soil for planting have been reduced by the use of heavy tractors and implements for plowing and levelling, and by the use of general purpose tractors and four-row planters and cultivators for seeding and tilling the crop. Further reductions have been made with the general use of trucks for hauling and of machinery for cleaning, grading, and packing special commodities such as citrus fruits. But the mechanization of certain operations such as harvesting fresh vegetables is definitely out of the picture at present. Moreover, much hand labor will continue to be used in tending special crops as long as land and water are costly and cheap labor is available.

*Commercialization Increases.* With mechanization has gone commercialization or farming primarily for the markets rather than for home consumption. This was evidenced by the increased use of fertilizers on Arizona farms, practically all on irrigated farms. During the years from 1919 through 1938, expenditures for fertilizers increased from \$40,900 to \$480,000. Increases in amounts of fertilizers purchased were considerably greater than expenditures would indicate, since prices per ton showed a substantial decrease during this time.<sup>21</sup> Commercialization was also indicated by the proportion of farms that employed 10 or more hired men.<sup>22</sup> No state reported as high a percentage of farms as Arizona. The figure for the United States was 0.2, for Arkansas 0.2, for Texas 0.3, for California 1.3, and for Arizona 2.4.

Markets and machines definitely threaten the family-size farm in Arizona's irrigated areas. Commercialized and mechanized farming experts and operators exploit land and water resources, using cheap money<sup>23</sup> and cheap labor to the exhaustion of soil fertility and often to the detriment of local institutions.

Nevertheless, it is generally held that light and mobile implements adapted to use on family farms may be profitably fitted into the family farm economy in irrigated areas. Heavy machinery is out of the question for the individual operator but may be hired, or employed cooperatively, on several family farms.

<sup>20</sup> Records Salt River Valley Water Users' Association.

<sup>21</sup> *United States Census, 1930, Agriculture*, II, iii, State Table 4; and George W. Barr and Lloyd B. Shinn, *Arizona Agricultural Situation* (Tucson, January, 1939), p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Pettet, *United States Census of Agriculture, 1935, General Report*, III, Table 2, 167.

<sup>23</sup> Some lettuce producers regularly operate on New York call money.



*Balance Between Family and Commercial Farms.* There may be found a point at which an optimum balance between family and commercial farms is attained. In a given area a balanced agriculture should support a sufficient proportion of farm owners' families to maintain local government and public education according to accepted standards. Any excessive reduction in the numbers of resident owner families will tend to weaken local initiative and deliberation without which popular government is but an empty shell. So with public education. Generalized and sustained interest is utterly basic to the continuance of popular education.

A second criterion of optimum balance between family and commercial farms is found in local agriculture's ability to carry its resident families through the year without private or public assistance. The crux of the matter lies in laborer employment through slack seasons. Since each 1,000 farm operators' households in Arizona's irrigated areas contain 230 laborers who work for wages on farms, and since it may be assumed that practically all of these laborers come from family-farms, it seems clear that a liberal proportion of family-farms in a commercial farming area affords a supply of laborers who can take care of themselves during slack seasons. On the other hand, much unemployment is found in areas that do not produce a diversity of commodities for the markets, even though they contain many family-farms. The most serious condition of unbalance is found in those areas that are over-commercialized in the production of a single commodity.<sup>24</sup>

#### SUMMARY

Arizona's irrigated areas are located in arid and semiarid valleys so that agriculture under irrigation must depend upon water supplies from relatively well-watered plateau and mountain areas. The value of land for agriculture depends primarily upon water rights. Thus the irrigation enterprise is a basic institution in irrigated areas since it carries out the procedures and furnishes the equipment by which water is stored, directed, and measured for the use of individual farm operators.

Probably the most potent regulator of human relationships in irrigated areas is the family. It is especially to be observed among farm laborers, 81 out of every 100 of their households being composed of

<sup>24</sup> Compare with George M. Peterson, *Diminishing Returns and Planned Economy* (New York, 1937), pp. 203-207.

husband and wife, or husband, wife, and children. It is also in great predominance among farm operators' households.

More than 10 agricultural households, including those in town and on farms, were found per square mile of irrigated farm land. The relative density of agricultural laborer population depended not so much upon commercial factors as upon such social factors as the incidence of early settlements and the social attitudes of the operator class. The general level of population density, however, depended upon a rather highly organized agriculture, producing special commodities as well as general crops, operating on a year-round basis and calling for large numbers of laborers.

Since more than two-thirds of all agricultural households were laborers', and since commercialized agriculture bids fair to continue a severe competition with family farming and possibly further increase the proportions of laborers, if not the numbers, it seems timely to advance tentatively a principle of balance between family and commercial farming: *This principle may be stated as a proportioned relation between family and commercial farming by which are locally retained sufficient numbers of farm owners' families to maintain local government and public education at accepted standards and to carry resident laborers' families normally through the year without public or private assistance.*

As a departure from the usual classification of rural population by rural-farm and rural-nonfarm this study includes all operators' and laborers' households as agricultural households and all persons in these households as agricultural population, whether residing on farms or in rural towns.

# Private and Public Costs of Isolated Settlement in the Cut-Over Area of Minnesota†

*John E. Mason\**

## ABSTRACT

Isolated settlement is one of the most pressing problems confronting the people in Koochiching County, Minnesota, as well as in many of the cut-over regions of the Lake States. Private costs of isolated settlement appear as inconveniences and hardships resulting from poor roads and poorly equipped homes, lack of social contacts, and direct money outlays for snow-plowing and transfer of products to or supplies from the markets. Distances to neighbors, grocery stores, doctors, churches, schools or school bus routes, shipping points, and to all-weather roads are translated into high costs both to the taxpayers forced to foot the bills for public services and to the individual settler who must bear the costs in the conduct of normal, everyday activities. Paramount in the public costs of isolated settlement are the expenditures for roads and schools. Other public costs, though difficult of measurement in dollars and cents, include extra costs incurred by the county nurse, county agent, and teachers of vocational agriculture when they must visit remote places in the performance of their duties; also election and assessment costs, rural mail delivery, administration of game and other laws, and forest fire protection costs are increased as a result of scattered, isolated settlement. The results of this study indicate that public costs are sufficiently excessive to justify relocation; and when all the disadvantages of isolated settlement are considered, a program of some sort seems not only necessary but imperative.

## THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

One of the most pressing problems recognized in a recent county planning study,<sup>1</sup> made by the farmers and local officials of Koochiching County, Minnesota, utilizing technical information assembled by state and federal research agencies, was that of high-cost, isolated settlement. When these people were classifying the land according to its best suited use, questions arose as to the policies which should be recommended for rural families living a great distance from all-weather

† This article is adapted from chapters i, iv, and v of a thesis by the writer entitled *Isolated Settlement in Koochiching County, Minnesota*, submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Minnesota in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Public Administration, August, 1939.

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<sup>1</sup> William F. Muebach and R. E. McMillen, Unpublished manuscript on file in the office of the County Agent, Koochiching County, International Falls, Minnesota.

roads, neighbors, markets, schools, and other essential public services. Since, of course, not all of the isolated families were causing undue expense for schools and roads, nor were all of them using the land contrary to public interest, the county land-use planning committee felt that additional information would be necessary before a sound decision in regard to the proper handling of each case of isolation could be made.

The University of Minnesota and the United States Department of Agriculture jointly provided the facilities for making a detailed study of isolation in the county, and information was obtained in order to (1) determine the public and private costs due to isolation, (2) set up a priority list of isolated settlers for relocation, and (3) determine possible savings and advantages to the county, state, and federal governments by relocating isolated settlers.

Koochiching is the central of the seven northern Minnesota counties which border on the Dominion of Canada. Measuring over 3,100 square miles and containing well over two million acres of land, the county is the second largest in the State, exceeded in size only by St. Louis County.

Although French traders and missionaries penetrated into what is now Koochiching County as early as the 17th century, no permanent settlement was made until the close of the last century. As late as 1900 the county was practically an unbroken forest wilderness. Between 1900 and 1920 a large part of the county was homesteaded, but such settlement was principally motivated by a desire to exploit the timber resources rather than to find permanent homes. One of the early settlers wrote recently as follows:

"Few of the settlers of that day had any idea of opening up a farm as they had filed on Government lands for the purpose of selling the timber and then return to their former homes with a 'stake.' The writer was included in this class."<sup>2</sup>

Consequently, the settlement pattern at first was largely determined by the location of timber and by accessibility to river transportation. Later such factors as the distribution of agricultural land along the rivers and the location of drainage ditches influenced settlers in their choice of homesteads. Isolated settlement was not considered a problem in the early development of the county because it was believed that all lands would soon be settled. When the rate of settlement tapered off after

<sup>2</sup> Frank S. Lang, *The Daily Journal* (International Falls, Minnesota, February 21, 1935).

the World War, and when it became apparent that drainage of muskeg swamp did not make productive agricultural land, many small clusters of settlement were left isolated from the population centers of the county.

During the period of original settlement no effort was made to concentrate families so that roads, schools, and other public services might be provided at reasonable cost. On the contrary, settlement plans were made with the expectation that future growth would provide the means to finance public services over practically the entire area and with the assumption that isolation was, therefore, a very temporary phenomenon. Because these dreams were not fulfilled, large public debts were incurred during a period in which the tax base failed to grow as anticipated. The tax base has actually declined, and the financial burden has become an almost unbearable load. Many of the settlers remained only long enough to establish their homesteads, while others stayed on a little longer, finally became discouraged, and abandoned their partly-developed holdings. Thus, the remaining few found themselves more and more isolated each time a neighboring settler moved.

An interesting fact, not generally known outside of the cut-over area, is that an unusually high percentage of the population in the sparsely settled sections is made up of bachelors, living alone. The proportion is so large, approximately 50 per cent of the cases in this study, that bachelor households and family households have been treated separately for certain phases of the analysis, which explains the numerous references to "bachelors" and "families."

#### DEFINITION AND METHOD OF PROCEDURE

Isolated settlement is a major land-use problem encountered in the cut-over region of the Lake States and in many areas of land-use maladjustment throughout the United States. The most serious manifestations of isolation are rural poverty, low levels of living, almost complete absence of community life, empty or near-empty government treasuries, and the need for relatively large amounts of money in the form of state aids for schools, roads, and other public services.

"Isolation" is a term whose absolute definition is difficult because of the wide variety of meanings it conveys to different people. The people of southern Minnesota visualize all of the cut-over area as isolated, since they consider northern Minnesota only as an extensive recreational

region for hunting, fishing, and camping. To persons living in New England, on the other hand, all of Minnesota, southern as well as northern, is a region of comparative isolation. Within northern Minnesota, however, and in Koochiching County in particular, the concept of isolation has a real meaning in terms of public and private costs due to the settlement pattern. In this study an attempt has been made to measure isolation through an examination of the cost of services that are ordinarily provided at public expense and through a determination of the relatively intangible private costs which the settler must bear because of his remote location.

Although it is possible to set up maxima for public costs which, if exceeded, would constitute isolation, such standards were considered too narrow and arbitrary. Instead, by using the classification prepared by the local people, all persons living in the nonagricultural areas were considered as isolated, as were, in addition, all those families in the agricultural areas for whom a mile or more of road is maintained primarily for their exclusive use.

While this study was originally intended to include only settlers in the areas classified by the local citizens as nonagricultural,<sup>3</sup> it was later broadened to include several settlers within the areas classified as agricultural. The latter were on the border of the agricultural district, and only those who were quite a distance from such community facilities as schools, churches, doctors, shipping points or markets, and for whom one mile or more of road was necessary per family were included.<sup>4</sup> To get an even better representation of isolated conditions and the problems involved, the study was further broadened to include data on the families who formerly lived in the Pine Island purchase area.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In the nonagricultural areas 22 families and 35 unmarried men having permanent domicile were located and interviewed. There are known to be 10 or 15 other single woodsmen, but these are definitely transient, and only those more or less permanently located were to be considered in this study of isolation. There are 2 lumber camps in each of which a married couple is living temporarily, pending dismantlement and removal of the property of the lumber companies. These 2 families are hired by the companies; and since their occupancy of the places is temporary, they have not been included. After it was too late to obtain the necessary data for inclusion in this study, another isolated case was located in the nonagricultural area. This was a man and wife who have recently occupied what is reported to be state land. It was impossible to get closer than four miles by automobile, and their exact location is not known.

<sup>4</sup> On the border of the nonagricultural area, but within the area classified by the local people as agricultural, were 15 families and 3 bachelors who were included as cases in this study.

<sup>5</sup> The Pine Island purchase area is a region of approximately 800,000 acres, located entirely within Koochiching County, in which the United States Department of Agriculture

## PRIVATE COSTS

In previous studies of isolated settlement the individual costs have not been adequately considered, so great was the emphasis on the "public" costs for essential services. Private costs appear as inconveniences and hardships resulting from poor roads and poorly-equipped homes, lack of social contacts, and direct money outlays for snow-plowing and transfer of products to or supplies from the markets. Since the cash income of isolated settlers is low, expenditures for ordinary conveniences are out of the question; and, where such conveniences depend upon electric power, they cannot be used. Isolation in itself excluded the possibility of rural electrification even were the families able to use and pay for such service at prevailing rates. Telephone service is enjoyed by only a very few isolated settlers, principally because of the cost of erecting lines and maintaining service during the severe winters. Breaks in the lines occur so frequently during the winter that few families can be sure of dependable service. A majority of the isolated families get their mail three times a week on regular rural delivery routes; but, since their tracts are located back of these routes, they must travel an average distance of three miles to their boxes, while a few must go as far as nine miles. Some families get mail but once a week, while others must call at the post office whenever convenient. One family terminated its subscription to the New York Times, since during the long winters it was impossible to call at the post office more than once or twice a month, thus causing an accumulation of papers which was cumbersome to carry home on snow-shoes.

Distance from neighbors, grocery stores, doctors, churches, schools or school bus routes, shipping points, and—most important—from all-weather roads is an important measure of the cost of isolation. Great distances are translated into high costs both to the taxpayers forced to foot bills for public services and to the individual settler who must bear the costs in the conduct of normal, everyday activities.

The 37 families lived an average of 1.5 miles from an all-weather road, and the 38 unmarried men had an average of 2.9 miles to travel

is buying lands occupied by isolated settlers and relocating the people on better farms in more densely settled communities. In the area, 175 scattered holdings have been bought or are now in the process of transfer to the United States Department of Agriculture. Only about two-thirds of these tracts were occupied, but fairly complete data on the farms and families were obtained prior to purchase and relocation. Consequently, these data on 94 families have been conveniently utilized in this study, although for many items only 55 schedules were satisfactory.

TABLE 1

AVERAGE DISTANCE IN MILES FROM HOMES OF ISOLATED SETTLERS IN  
KOOCHICHING COUNTY, MINNESOTA, TO SPECIFIED COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Group	All-weather Road	Nearest Neighbor	Grocery Store	Doctor	Church	Shipping Point	Grade School	High School	School Bus Route
37 isolated families . . . . .	1.5	2.6	9.9	23.8	11.7	15.7	9.0	13.4	3.0
38 isolated single men . . . . .	2.9	2.8	11.5	27.3	14.6	19.7	14.0	18.1	7.0
55 scattered families moved from Pine Island area . . . . .	4.6	1.2	11.5	23.7	11.4	15.9	5.7	14.0	No data
Average all groups . . . . .	3.2	2.1	10.9	24.7	12.4	16.8	8.8	14.9	4.9



to year-round passable roads. Only 12 of the 75 settlers were on an all-weather road. The extreme distances from an all-weather road are 10.5 miles for two of the single men and 7 miles for one of the families. Eight per cent of the families and 15 per cent of the bachelors live five miles or more from an all-weather road; but fortunately, at least for the settlers, 60 per cent of the families and 30 per cent of the bachelors live within one mile of a road which is open throughout the year.

Before being relocated, one family in the Pine Island purchase area was 20 miles from an all-weather road; several others were 15 miles. Table I gives the average distance from several community facilities for this group as well as for the 75 settlers being studied. In 1934, when data were obtained for the settlers to be moved from the Pine

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION SHOWING SEVERITY OF ISOLATION AS MEASURED BY DISTANCE FROM THE NEAREST NEIGHBOR AND AN ALL-WEATHER ROAD FOR 37 FAMILIES, 38 BACHELORS, AND 55 PINE ISLAND SETTLERS (NOW RELOCATED), KOOCHICHING COUNTY, MINNESOTA

<i>Isolated by Distance of</i>	<i>Percentage of Settlers Living at Indicated Distance from:</i>					
	<i>Nearest Neighbor</i>			<i>All-weather Road</i>		
	<i>37 Families</i>	<i>38 Bachelors</i>	<i>55 Pine Island Settlers</i>	<i>37 Families</i>	<i>38 Bachelors</i>	<i>55 Pine Island Settlers</i>
1 mile or less.....	35	18	66	60	30	49
1.1 to 2 miles.....	32	43	16	24	25	2
2.1 to 3 miles.....	14	9	6	8	18	7
3.1 to 4 miles.....	0	18	6	0	3	5
4.1 to 5 miles.....	5	0	4	0	9	2
5.1 miles and over.	14	12	2	8	15	35

Island area, only 49 per cent were within one mile of an all-weather road, while 35 per cent were more than five miles from a road open throughout the year. No doubt, roads have been improved during this five-year interval; statements of the settlers interviewed and ordinary observation would indicate that the 37 families and the 38 single men were as bad or worse off for roads 5 years ago as were the scattered families who have already been resettled.

From the individual settler's standpoint distances are a serious handicap in many ways. Very few of the women are satisfied with their isolated location and lack of contacts. Neighbors are too far away, averaging 2.6 miles for the 37 families and 2.8 miles for the 38 single men. Visiting with friends and neighbors, doing things in groups, and

seeing new people and new things are all natural wants of gregarious humans who are not satisfied in isolated areas. Wehrwein and Baker state that one of the worst features of the lack of contact with others is the absence of incentives to maintain high standards of living and conduct. The public welfare demands decent standards of living, health, and morality; but when no one sees the house and the individual's conduct, little stimulus exists to remain "respectable."<sup>6</sup> One declared, "I wouldn't know how to act if I moved out where I could see other people every day." Her long isolation might make adjustment to normal society somewhat difficult.

Sixty-five per cent of the families and 82 per cent of the bachelors live more than one mile from the nearest neighbor; 14 per cent of the families and 12 per cent of the bachelors live more than five miles from the nearest neighbor (Table 2).

Most of the bachelors contacted, who were principally old lumberjacks, were dissatisfied. Their main objection to living in isolation was that they get very lonesome. Some may have enjoyed being alone when they were younger and able to get about with ease. Typical, however, was the statement of one old fellow who said, "It got so lonesome up there I couldn't stand it any longer."

Some families have difficulty getting out to the grocery store in the winter time, the average distance being 9.9 miles for the families and 11.5 miles for the single men. Including 55 former settlers in the Pine Island area with these 75 cases, the average distance to a grocery store is 10.9 miles, although some of the families live as far as 30 miles (Table 1). The problem here, of course, is not so much one of distance as it is probably the type of road.

The services of a doctor to isolated families are quite expensive. Distance is measured in dollars instead of in miles. One man replied to the question, "How far is it to a doctor?" by answering, "Thirty dollars." The usual fee for a doctor is \$1 per mile, and the average isolated family is 24 miles from a doctor, while the single men average 27 miles. The average distance from a doctor for the 37 families, 38 single men, and 55 former settlers in the Pine Island area is 25 miles (Table 1). Fifty-two per cent of the 37 families, 58 per cent of the 38 single men, and 40 per cent of the cases in the Pine Island area are more than 25 miles from a doctor (Table 3).

<sup>6</sup> George S. Wehrwein and J. A. Baker, "The Cost of Isolated Settlement in Northern Wisconsin," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, II (September, 1937), 258.

TABLE 3

SEVERITY OF ISOLATION AS MEASURED BY DISTANCE FROM SEVERAL COMMUNITY FACILITIES, FOR SPECIFIED GROUPS, KOOCHICHING COUNTY  
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

<i>Facility and Distance</i>	<i>37 Families</i>	<i>38 Bachelors</i>	<i>55 Pine Island Settlers</i>
<b>Grocery store</b>			
5 miles or less	32	27	28
5 1 to 10 miles	30	22	35
10 1 to 15 miles	19	27	11
15 1 to 20 miles	11	9	4
20 1 to 25 miles	3	9	4
25 1 miles and over	5	6	18
<b>Doctor</b>			
5 miles or less	8	0	2
5 1 to 10 miles	5	3	0
10 1 to 15 miles	19	21	22
15 1 to 20 miles	8	9	11
20 1 to 25 miles	8	9	25
25 1 miles and over	52	58	40
<b>Church</b>			
5 miles or less	22	16	39
5 1 to 10 miles	35	24	20
10 1 to 15 miles	22	24	16
15 1 to 20 miles	10	12	4
20 1 to 25 miles	3	6	5
25 1 miles and over	8	18	16
<b>Shipping Point</b>			
5 miles or less	19	18	27
5 1 to 10 miles	22	18	11
10 1 to 15 miles	14	12	16
15 1 to 20 miles	23	9	4
20 1 to 25 miles	3	6	11
25 1 miles and over	19	37	31
<b>Grade School</b>			
5 miles or less	30	3	58
5 1 to 10 miles	32	19	30
10 1 to 15 miles	27	41	6
15 1 to 20 miles	8	19	0
20 1 to 25 miles	3	9	4
25 1 miles and over	0	9	2
<b>High School</b>			
5 miles or less	19	3	25
5 1 to 10 miles	24	16	18
10 1 to 15 miles	24	31	18
15 1 to 20 miles	19	19	10
20 1 to 25 miles	3	3	6
25 1 miles and over	11	28	23
<b>School Bus Route</b>			
5 miles or less	83	50	
5 1 to 10 miles	11	25	
10 1 to 15 miles	3	16	No data
15 1 to 20 miles	3	6	
20 1 to 25 miles	0	3	
25 1 miles and over	0	0	

Isolation means inadequate marketing facilities. Why keep several milk cows if the milk or cream cannot be sold? Why grow grain if it is impossible to have it threshed? Why grow crops if they cannot be marketed?

Here again distance is only one measure of the cost of isolation, since the type of road also determines accessibility. Many families in Koochi-ching County sell cream and make a profit, though they live as far as 20 to 30 miles from the market, but such families are on the main roads or in settled communities where it is possible and profitable for a truck to call regularly for their cans of cream. A few families near the railroad find it possible to ship their cream to St. Paul, approximately 300 miles away. On the other hand, many isolated families do not find it profitable or practical to sell cream even though they live less than 10 miles from the market or from the road traversed regularly by a truck which hauls cream. Such families, in addition to being isolated, are scattered and live back from the main roads where it is too expensive, or actually impossible due to poor roads, for trucks to call for one small can of cream. Likewise, it is either too costly or too difficult for the individual to deliver small quantities of cream to market. The average settler who sells cream must transport it a distance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles, where the cans are picked up by a truck. Isolated settlers cannot get a thresher to come to their farms for a small amount of grain or, if the roads are bad, even a relatively large amount; consequently, most of them do not produce any grain crops.

One isolated settler indicated that he could not sell very much wood because of the difficulty of getting it to market. Once last winter after selling a load he woke up the next morning to find the roads blocked with snow and delivery impossible. Several of the isolated settlers manage to sell some pulp, ties, or fence posts, but the market for these products is at an average distance of 29 miles.

Since all of the roads cannot be snow-plowed at public expense, some of the isolated settlers find it necessary to open their roads. One or two examples will show the expense and futility of living on isolated roads. One farmer, using a caterpillar tractor left over from logging operations, spent several hours and expended \$15 to open his road last winter in order to visit the county seat; another family spent more than two days shoveling out  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles of road so that the mother could be taken to the doctor.

Farmers' organizations, 4-H clubs, churches, and other institutions

are either non-existent or neglected in the isolated areas. The 3 isolated farmers who belong to a farmers' organization seldom attend the meetings because of distance. One mother was anxious for her sons to take part in 4-H club activities, but because of the distance to the meetings they could attend but rarely. Since the church of their choice is at an average distance of 11.7 miles for the 37 families and 14.6 miles for the 38 single men, few, if any, of the isolated settlers ever attend religious services.

The children of some isolated settlers are boarded in homes near the school. While the outlay in dollars is a public cost financed largely through state aid, private costs are an important disadvantage to this arrangement. Since the children live in strangers' homes, and since the parents cannot have proper supervision over them, settlers dislike having to board their children, especially the younger ones. A few families favor the arrangement because it costs them very little to feed their children during the school year. Since the county pays the board only for the days the children are present in school, the parents must bear the board expense for the days when their children are absent for illness or other reasons, and for the many weekends when bringing the children home is impossible due to weather or road conditions.

The private costs and disadvantages must also be taken into consideration along with the public costs, if for no other reason than that they may contribute indirectly to public costs. This is certainly a possibility in the case of relief and health costs. If the low income of the isolated settler is due to his inability to market cream or crops or to get grain threshed, he may need relief. Undoubtedly, a majority of the families now on relief would need relief regardless of their location, but certainly some of the families would be self-supporting were it not for low income due to isolation. Low incomes may also make it impossible for the isolated families to maintain decent health standards, thus making necessary the expenditure of public funds for health purposes.

In general, the isolated families are intelligent, industrious, average citizens, who simply have been caught by unfavorable circumstances largely beyond their control. They suffer the consequences from lack of neighborly contacts, great distances from markets, doctors, churches, schools, and other institutions. These are costs and inconveniences incident to isolation which are borne directly by the individual and his family.

## PUBLIC COSTS

Isolated settlers as legal residents of the area are, of course, entitled to roads, schools, public health service, and, when necessary, to relief and old age assistance. Because of the high cost of these services, much of the burden must be borne by taxpayers other than the settlers themselves through the contributions of the county, state, and federal governments. While under a democratic society it is just that public services be equalized without regard to tax contributions, yet, when "deficit areas" incur costs obviously unreasonable and uneconomic, society must bring about some readjustment. This section of the study is concerned with a measurement of excessive costs due to isolated settlement and with a determination of the extent to which savings might be made by relocation.

*Roads.* The history of northern Minnesota indicates that as soon as a few settlers were located in an area, roads were demanded and often built for one or two families. Land companies often placed their first settlers in the remote parts of their holdings, thus contributing to isolated settlement and to the demand for more miles of roads and costly bridges. While many of the original settlers have moved, and some roads have been abandoned, there are many instances in which one or more families continue to live at the end of a costly road maintained principally for their exclusive use. The high cost of roads naturally is not borne entirely by those benefited; but, on the contrary, monies from outside sources are paid to the individuals living on these roads for maintenance. For example, 22 of the 75 isolated settlers received \$1,420 in 1938 largely for work on the roads used solely by them. Although their cash incomes were increased only by this amount, their total road expense was even greater.

Obviously, roads for isolated settlers are very expensive if built and maintained. On a mileage basis actually large amounts are not spent on the roads of isolated settlers, but even in such cases the per capita cost is excessive. In some areas, road expenditures have dropped because local officials are "going slow" where depopulation is proceeding normally or because of land purchase and exchange programs.

Eighteen of the 75 isolated settlers have 33½ miles of trail and logging road, while a few have no road at all. At least three must use a boat in order to reach their homes. Nine settlers have 24½ miles of road where the right-of-way has been cut, ditched, and perhaps graded;

yet most of these roads are impassable during half the year. Eight families are on state highways, and 40 settlers have  $54\frac{3}{4}$  miles of graveled or partly graveled roads. In 1938, 49 miles of the graveled or partly-graveled roads cost \$2,447<sup>7</sup> for maintenance and snow-plowing. These 49 miles of road were used almost exclusively by 35 isolated settlers for whom the "excessive" road costs averaged \$70. This cost is, of course, in addition to normal outlays for the county, state, and federal highways which were needed and used by the isolated settlers as well. Jesness and Nowell found that 13 isolated families in St. Louis County were responsible for excessive road costs averaging \$91 in 1932.<sup>8</sup>

No data are available, and it is impossible to obtain reliable estimates on the original cost of roads to isolated settlers. Many roads were built by the townships, and often much of the labor was donated by the settlers themselves, who worked for nominal wages in order to get the road constructed. According to the county engineer the original cost of roads should be amortized over a 30-year period, which is considerably shorter than the period used in other parts of the country where weather conditions permit less sturdy construction and require less maintenance. Assuming the roads were originally constructed for as little as \$300 a mile, the annual cost above maintenance would be \$550 for the 40 settlers having  $54\frac{3}{4}$  miles of road.

Since the monies spent cannot be recovered, the cost of old roads is of relatively little concern. However, where settlers are demanding new roads for their "exclusive use," there is need for concern. At present three of the 75 settlers studied are "putting on the pressure" for road construction, and in two cases the right-of-way has already been cleared. Measuring  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles, these roads will cost, according to estimates of the county engineer, \$11,500 to construct and \$300 annually to maintain. The 1938 levy on the three tracts was \$52.92 of which only \$23.47 has been paid on one tract. Curiously enough the sole income of the settler who paid the \$23.47 is from relief sources. The other two tracts are delinquent for 1936 and 1937, the total delinquency amounting to \$70.84. Construction of usable roads to the other 24 isolated settlers without good means of access would cost an estimated \$218,000.

<sup>7</sup> Data supplied by the county engineer.

<sup>8</sup> O. B. Jesness and R. I. Nowell, *A Program for Land Use in Northern Minnesota*, The University of Minnesota Press (Minneapolis, 1935), p. 141.

*Schools.* The state of Minnesota is bound by law to give every child within its borders an elementary education, and insists on fulfilling this obligation by enforcing compulsory attendance. In the southern part of the state the population is dense enough to supply a sufficient number of children per school, and the buildings can be located at walking distance for most of the children. Furthermore, the tax base is usually large enough so that the people who use the schools pay for their operation. In Koochiching County, however, the population is too sparse to justify a school within walking distance of every child. The isolated families live an average of 9 miles from a grade school, 13.4 miles from high school, and 3 miles from a school bus route (Table 1). Until 1932, an attempt was made to school children near their homes; and, consequently, many buildings were constructed with only a few pupils per teacher.

When the schools were consolidated, it became necessary to transport or board the children. Sparse settlement makes school transportation costs high in Koochiching County, but statistics show that by closing 18 rural schools and transporting the children to consolidated schools, expenses were reduced from \$142 per pupil enrolled in 1931 to \$95 in 1932.<sup>9</sup> The 1938 cost per pupil enrolled was \$94, only slightly higher than the state average.

The following quotation indicates the severity of the problem confronting school officials when children of school age live several miles from a school bus route:

Some time ago an article appeared in the Minneapolis Star stating that we were paying a family at Fairland \$450 per year to transport its children to a bus route so that they could be enrolled in one of our consolidated schools. . . .

The family to whom this transportation bill was paid, lives at Fairland, about 9 miles from the end of our bus route. The condition of the road between the regular end of our route and Mr. \_\_\_\_\_'s place is such that it would be impossible for us to send the bus up to his home. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ had 5 children who were of school age and we were confronted with the problem of providing school facilities for this isolated family. We either had to create a school for this family at Fairland, board them out, or pay the father for transporting them. . . .

Certainly, we could more economically pay the father for transporting his children out to the bus route than we could provide a building, maintain it, heat it, equip it, and employ a teacher for the education of this one family. If we had employed a teacher, the salary of the teacher alone would certainly

<sup>9</sup> These data do not include the schools of International Falls, Holler, Ray, and Ranier.



have been as much as the amount paid the father, to say nothing of the additional cost of desks, maintaining the building, providing the fuel, and providing the building itself.

. . . . We have several cases similar to this case, and it is either allow the father a sum of money that will pay for his transporting those children out to a regular route or to provide a school building for the family.<sup>10</sup>

Eleven of the 18 families in this survey with children of school age were so located that it was necessary to pay \$1,902, or \$173 per family, for special transportation or board aid in 1938-1939. Special transportation costs attributable to 28 isolated families in St. Louis County for the school year 1931-1932 averaged \$186 per family.<sup>11</sup> Although in earlier years, according to the County Superintendent of Schools, some families moved into isolated sections during the school year in order to get the board or transportation aid, the practice no longer exists, but attempts are made now and then, as evidenced by the following:

"A man living three miles from a school bus route came to me and asked what we would pay him for transporting his children to the bus line. I told him that the best we could do was \$20 per month. He replied, 'My gosh! I can't afford to live out there for that!'"<sup>12</sup>

If all of the isolated families of Koochiching County were to remain in their present locations, and if present policies and rates with respect to transportation and board aid continue, \$12,985 in special aids will be required to give the children an elementary education; and if all of the children are graduated from high school, an additional \$8,856 will be needed. These figures do not take into account possible changes in the number of children due to births or deaths, or to the possibility of voluntary movement of families out of the isolated areas or of new families moving into isolated locations.

*Other Costs.* Isolation also adds to the public expense when a county nurse must visit remote places to which driving is difficult or impossible. Not only are costs great for travel over long distances, but for time lost as well, especially when part of the distance must be covered by foot. The public cannot justly escape the cost of maintaining health standards, but it can and should encourage or regulate the distribution

<sup>10</sup> J. C. Kohlhasse, County Superintendent of Schools, Koochiching County. (Letter to the writer, July 15, 1939.)

<sup>11</sup> O. B. Jesness and R. I. Nowell, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> J. C. Kohlhasse, County Superintendent of Schools, Koochiching County. (From stenographic notes of land-use planning meeting, Koochiching County Court House, October 24, 1938.)

of population so as to facilitate the economical and adequate provision of these services.

Public costs for the county agricultural agents' services in isolated areas are similar to those for the county nurse. Often the isolated settler receives no benefit from the county agent, who seldom can find time to travel the long distances necessary to reach remote areas. Likewise, the cost of home economics extension, 4-H club, and vocational agricultural training is increased because of the distances and time involved. Election costs and costs of property assessment are higher in isolated areas.

Public costs are further increased by isolation as a result of the fire hazards created by settlers who clear land by burning. When fires get out of control, valuable private and public forest lands are destroyed; roads whose grades are constructed of inflammable peat are ruined; and the settlers themselves are often marooned. Much of the expensive forest fire patrol work could be eliminated were settlers relocated in less hazardous areas. Many other costs, difficult of measurement, arise because of the difficulty of maintaining rural mail delivery, and of enforcing game and other laws.

Public costs are sufficiently excessive in the isolated areas of Koochiching County to justify relocation even were there no private costs and hardships involved. However, when all the disadvantages of isolated settlement are carefully considered, a program of some sort seems not only necessary but imperative.

# Notes

## THE SEX RATIO AND MARRIAGE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEGRO MARRIAGE

As a factor affecting marriage the sex ratio, or the number of men to 100 women 15 years of age and over, is of primary importance. Professor Ogburn has shown that in cities where the sexes are unequal in number a sort of competition, akin to that of the "open market," develops. Usually communities like cities and rural counties do not have an equal number of marriageable men and women; but the excess of one sex over the other may affect differently the proportion of males or females who will be married. It may be shown that in cities "men are less dependent on the supply of women in marrying than women are on the supply of men."<sup>1</sup> For a given change in the sex ratio in cities the percentage of Negro females married varies about 13 times as much as the percentage of males married. But in rural communities the sex ratio does not seem to exert such an unequal influence upon the sexes; the marriage of both males and females appears to depend alike upon the availability of marriageable persons. It may be shown also that there is a significant increase in all persons married in cities as the sex ratio increases; but in rural counties, within limits, the percentage of persons married as the sex ratio increases seems to have either a decreasing or non-significant trend.

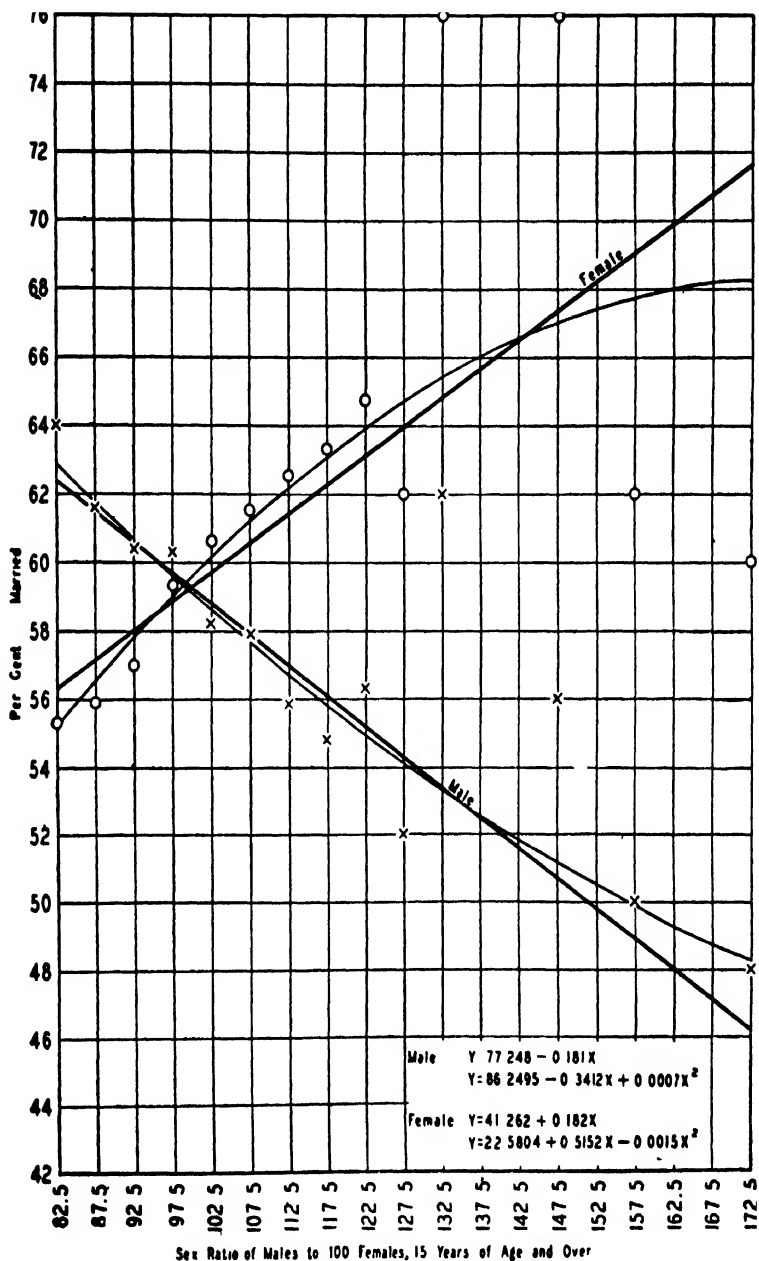
Chart I shows that the effect of variations in the sex ratio upon the marriage of Negro males and females, for 324 counties in which the Negro population was over 2,000 and 100 per cent rural, is about the same. For an increase of 10 in the sex ratio there is a decrease of 1.81 per cent of rural males married and an increase of 1.82 per cent of rural females married. The difference is negligible. There is some possibility of counties with extreme sex ratios unduly influencing the slope of the curves.<sup>2</sup> If we include only those counties which fall within the sex ratios, 85 to 124, however, the slopes are increased though the relationship remains as before. They are  $-0.21$  and  $+0.24$  for males and females respectively.

It may be interesting to know whether this similarity in reaction of percentages of males and females married to changes in the sex ratio is a peculiarity of Negro marriage. The results obtained for native whites in 321 of the 324 rural counties used for Negroes are practically the same. But the restriction of our study to southern rural counties may be satisfactory for a description of marital conditions among rural Negroes in the United States; while for native whites the data may not be characteristic. Thus, we have selected 327 rural counties in

<sup>1</sup> E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1928), pp. 197-99.

<sup>2</sup> This may be more clearly observed when there is a significant curvature in the data.

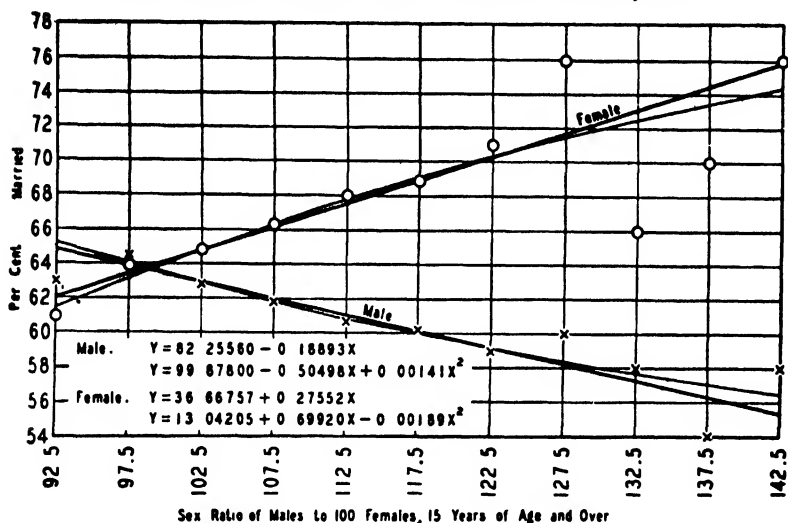
CHART I. THE SEX RATIO AND PERCENTAGE OF MALE AND FEMALE NEGROES MARRIED FOR 324 RURAL COUNTIES, 1930



which the population was over 95 per cent native white and over 5,000 in number. In this case the North, South, and West are represented.

Chart II shows the relationship for the sexes. The slope of the data for females exceeds that for males by only about 0.09. If we only use the 320 counties included between the sex ratios 95 to 124, thus limiting extremes, the slopes are increased, but the relationship narrows slightly. It seems safe to conclude that in rural counties the influence of the sex ratio upon the percentage of males and females married is more nearly alike than in cities. In the case of rural Negroes, there may be on the average no difference at all. The percentage of rural white females married, however, appears to be somewhat more dependent upon the sex ratio than that of males; yet the latter difference is not nearly so great as in cities.

CHART II. THE SEX RATIO AND PERCENTAGE OF MALE AND FEMALE NATIVE WHITE PERSONS MARRIED FOR 327 RURAL COUNTIES, 1930



It has been suggested that rural women are more significant factors in the economic support of the rural family.<sup>8</sup> But before we attempt a further explanation of urban-rural differences we shall consider means of eliminating some of the effects of migration.

Frequently among migrating groups, husband and wife do not change residence together. On the assumption that one community or another may have a special attraction for either men or women, a difference in sex ratio may mean also a difference in the excess of married men or women. Thus we may expect that married men will tend to migrate to places where all men, regardless of marital status, migrate, the same being true for women. And such is in fact the

<sup>8</sup> William F. Ogburn, "Recent Changes in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (November, 1935), pp. 294-295.

case. The correlation of the sex ratio and the marriage ratio<sup>4</sup> for Negroes in 145 cities of the South is +0.49; and for 315 rural counties it is +0.50.

One way of eliminating the probable effect of excess husbands upon the relationship of the sex ratio and marriage is to give each community the same excess of married men. This may be done by deriving partial correlations. Table 1 shows these together with their correlative simple correlations for 145 southern cities and 327 rural counties in the South.

TABLE 1

SIMPLE AND PARTIAL CORRELATION FOR THE SEX RATIO AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, MARRIED ( $r_{ms}$ ), WITH THE RATIO OF MARRIED MEN TO MARRIED WOMEN ( $o$ ) CONSTANT

Coefficients	Southern Cities			Rural Counties		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
$r_{ms}$	-0 21	+0 75	+0 52	-0 47	+0 46	-0.01
$r_{ms.o}$	-0.10	+0 86	+0 67	-0 58	+0.33	-0 19

The effects of giving cities and rural counties the same ratio of married men to married women are to increase the positive correlation of the sex ratio and percentage married for females and the total in southern cities, and to increase the negative relationship for males and the total in rural counties. Thus the difference between the urban and rural operation of the sex ratio is emphasized.

Another approach to the problem is to assume that monogamous marriage is the rule in the United States and, of course, that each married woman has a husband. By simply making the number of married men equal to the number of married women in every community, we may eliminate to some extent the effects of migration.<sup>5</sup> The relationships for the actual and adjusted data for Negroes in southern cities and rural counties and for rural whites are shown in Table 2.

Like the partial correlations, these adjusted coefficients, indicating average changes in percentage married for given changes in the sex ratio, tend to confirm conclusions reached for the actual data. The difference in slopes for Negro males and females in southern cities is widened; while the influence of the sex ratio upon rural marriage becomes slightly greater for Negro males than for fe-

<sup>4</sup> The marriage ratio represents the number of married men to 100 married women.

<sup>5</sup> The method here has been to equalize in each community married men and married women with married women as the norm. In 1930 there were enumerated for the United States 98.3 Negro married men to 100 married women. The deficiency of married men may be due to married men reporting themselves single, husbands living outside of the United States, under-enumeration of married men, or women in other marital classes reporting themselves married. The effect of equalizing husbands and wives, if the error is in unmarried women reporting themselves married, is to increase the sex ratio on the average less than 1.7 per cent.

males. In the case of native whites the relationship is narrowed for the sexes.\* We shall now attempt to reach some reason for this difference in the urban and rural influence of the sex ratio upon marriage.

As we have stated above, the probable explanation of the approximate identity of the influence of the sex ratio upon the percentage of males and females married in rural communities is that the economic status of the family is more nearly a joint responsibility in the country than in the city. Indeed, a wife to the Negro farmer may be the beginning of his economic well-being. Thus, farm women and even children may be considered economic assets. It is probable also that in the country standards of feminine attractiveness are not so exacting as in the city. Larger percentages of older women are married in the country.

TABLE 2

ACTUAL AND ADJUSTED SLOPE OF THE STRAIGHT LINE OF AVERAGE  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEX RATIO AND PERCENTAGE  
MARRIED FOR NEGROES AND NATIVE WHITE PERSONS

Data	NEGRO						NATIVE WHITE*		
	Southern cities			Rural counties			Rural counties		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Actual.....	-0.08	+0.44	+0.22	-0.18	+0.18	-0.01	-0.19	+0.28	+0.02
Adjusted.....	-0.09	+0.50	+0.25	-0.27	+0.25	-0.06	-0.24	+0.29	+0.01

\*The coefficients for native white persons refer to the 327 rural counties selected on the basis of 95 per cent native white and over 5,000 population.

In many southern rural counties farm tenancy is an important institution. Farm tenancy, especially among Negroes, is generally characterized by elementary agricultural methods and low standards of living; indeed, farm tenancy may be thought of as an index of ruralization. It can be shown that not only does total marriage among Negroes and native whites increase as the ratio of farm tenants to male population in rural counties increases, but also that the percentage of males married increases more than that of females. Thus we might say that the importance of marriage to men is enhanced with increasing ruralization. The correlation between the ratio of tenant farmers to male population and percentage married is +0.59 and +0.11 for males and females respectively (322 counties). If ruralization (represented by ratios of farm tenancy) is held constant, the resulting coefficient for the sex ratio and marriage may indicate to some extent the influence of the country. Table 3 shows the simple and the partial correlations.

These correlations indicate that rural economy, per se, may be determining the peculiar operation of the sex ratio. When each county is given the same index of ruralization, a slightly negative correlation for total percentage married is

\* The simple correlations of these adjusted data corroborate the urban-rural differences in the operation of the sex ratio indicated by the regression coefficients.

changed to  $+0.35$ . And where there was almost no difference between the reactions of male and female marriage to changes in the sex ratio, the correlation becomes rather higher for females.

The difference is still not so marked as in the case of cities, but there is no means at hand by which we may eliminate the total influence of the country. The somewhat greater response of the percentage of white females married to changes in the sex ratio than that of males may be due to the fact that rural whites, on the whole, are not so intensely rural as rural Negroes. In many southern counties Negro tenant farmers are highly concentrated, while white tenants, though larger in total number, are more dispersed.

TABLE 3

CORRELATION OF PERCENTAGE MARRIED AND THE SEX RATIO AMONG NEGROES FOR 322 RURAL COUNTIES ( $r_{ms}$ ), WITH THE RATIO OF TENANTS TO MALE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ( $t$ ) CONSTANT

<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
$r_{ms} \dots$	-0 47	+0.46	-0 01
$r_{mt} \dots$	-0 38	+0.53	+0.35

On plantations especially, the man with a family is preferable as a worker. Thus, besides the generally greater economic value of the farm woman, the tenant may find marriage immediately profitable. And, as it appears from the data, the availability of women may be as important to him in marriage as the availability of men is to the woman.

Yet such great variations in sex ratios as those under consideration, either in urban or rural communities, are obviously the result of migration. The sex, age, and marital status of persons migrating from rural county to rural county may be different from those of persons migrating from rural to urban centers. Thus, if younger and middle-aged adults migrate from the country, we should expect total marriage to increase faster in the cities than in rural counties as the sex ratio increases; for it is at this age that marriage occurs most frequently.

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### CONCEPTS OF THE OLD AND THE NEW PLANTATION SYSTEMS

From data drawn from personal experience within a plantation area and a small amount of material got from schedules, an observation has been noted that there exists two distinct plantation systems: the *old* and the *new*. It is believed that such differentiation is essential to the plantation system as it now exists.

*The Old Plantation.* The old plantation is simply the prewar plantation, which in many instances and in varying degrees has been preserved intact.

(1) The first characteristic is the lavish use of manpower. Not only are there



usually a relatively vast number of Negro sharecroppers and laborers, but also, there are hostlers, milkmen, truck drivers, and the actual manager of the plantation, the overseer. (2) Correspondingly, there has been a stubborn refusal to mechanize and adapt new methods of agriculture. Although economic competition has jerked the old plantation manager into the sweep of mechanization, he relinquishes first one and then the other feature very slowly. As a result, there is found a staggering number of mules and stocks, and wherever mechanization has been begun, it is partial and incomplete, the dependence resting on the stock as formerly. (3) In the daily routine of the old plantation operator and his relationship to his employees may be noted a third noteworthy characteristic of the old plantation system. The old family of the plantation is usually represented by the eldest son, the result of the plantation adaptation of the old English rule of primogeniture. He is, in every sense, the old plantation-produced Southern gentleman of the aristocratic order. As for the remainder of the family, they are usually far apart from the activities of the plantation and know little or nothing of the farm operations. (4) In the Negroes on the old plantation lies the greatest reflection of its life. Like the whites, they are steeped in tradition, which makes for little change. Nearly all of them were born on the plantation; many of them are descendants of former slaves of the owners. For generations these Negroes have intermarried, and few ever leave the plantation except by death. On the whole, the women and children still work in the fields almost to the same extent as the men, and there is little attention paid to matters of education or general improvement. (5) On the part of the owner-operator, there is also some manifestation of this loyalty, and his paternalistic interest in the Negroes is a bulwark to any economic competition among them to maintain their positions or "stay on the place," despite the fact that the plantation might be more efficiently or successfully operated with fewer hands.

All in all, the Negroes in the quarters and the people in the "big house" are in varying degrees much the same as those of the prewar era.

*The New Plantation.* Out of this old plantation system, however, has evolved the "new" plantation. Born of the old plantation and the changing social and economic forces of the twentieth century, the new plantation retains the appearance of the old plantation and a few of the basic principles, but is widely different from the parent unit. It is a farming unit on a plantation scale, employing the maximum degree of efficiency both in man and machine power.

Who are the new plantation operators? What is the position of the Negro on the new plantation?

(1) The new plantation is highly mechanized. At every new invention of labor-saving devices more machinery is added. The new plantation operator has few mules and, except for very minor tasks, uses the tractor almost entirely. (2) Again, it is in the "quarters" where the change is revealed most graphically. For the most part, except in cotton-picking time, only the Negro men work in the fields. Many of them are "tractor" men, skilled workmen drawing a salary comparable to others in this group. As the men advance, there is a tendency to work simply as day laborers with only a small proportion of land for gardens

and feed for private stock. (3) Often the new plantation operators are younger sons of old plantation families. Generally, the planter does not own the land he operates, but of tremendous significance is the fact that the planter is thoroughly absorbed in his business and is, first and foremost, a planter. Not only does he personally supervise all work carried on on the plantation, but he participates in every phase of activity himself. There is no hostler, no milkman. The planter rises at dawn and rings the plantation bell himself. In the busiest seasons he uses day and night shifts, and he superintends the work. (4) Because of the competition among planters for the better laborers, and because of the competition among Negroes for the better positions and plantations, there is a higher standard of living for the Negroes; and more intelligent, capable Negroes are attracted. The Negro woman increasingly is in the home; the child in the school; and the father drawing a sufficient wage to support them. The Negro on the new plantation has no firmly established roots on the plantation; instead, he must maintain a position on a highly mechanized, highly efficient farm unit; and, to do so, he must attain a degree of skill and shoulder more and more responsibility.

In general, there is a tendency for operator and labor to work together as a unit, mutually interdependent. Women, children, migrant workers, and the least capable laborers are gradually eliminated; but, nevertheless, the proportion of working men is little changed, and the average wage and consequent standard of living is higher.

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SUE LYLES

### MIGRATION OF MINNESOTA RURAL YOUTH†

In 1938 a survey was made of 881 rural youth living in nine selected townships in three counties of Minnesota.<sup>1</sup> It was found that these youth had 470 siblings who were not living at home and who were in the age group 15 to 29.

*Boy Migrants.* There were 189 young men between the ages of 15 and 29, brothers of youths in the survey, who had left home (Table I). Of the 178 for whom this information was available 70, or 39.3 per cent, moved to other open country localities; 54, or 30.3 per cent, were living in cities; 35, or 19.7 per cent, in towns; and 19, or 10.7 per cent, in villages. When these figures are compared with those for young women given in the section following, it is apparent that the young men tend to remain on the land in much larger proportions than do the young women. The sex ratio mentioned elsewhere is closely related to this tendency.

What occupations did these migrating brothers enter? Relatively few followed white-collar occupations. Large numbers went into semi-skilled and unskilled jobs; and a moderate number entered agriculture, chiefly as farm laborers. As would be expected, white collar migrants entered the cities. The urban areas

† Assistance in the preparation of these materials was furnished by the personnel of Work Projects Administration Official Project No. 65-1-71-140.

<sup>1</sup> Dodge, Douglas, and St. Louis.

attracted a large part of the laboring groups, although many remained in the open country. Of course, the agricultural groups were living chiefly in open country areas. The fact that one fourth of those engaged as farm labor were living in towns and cities probably is to be explained by the fact that the schedules were taken in the winter when many farm laborers move to the urban areas in search of partial employment to carry them through the winter.

TABLE 1

MINNESOTA MIGRANTS FROM FARM HOMES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO  
SEX, OCCUPATION, AND PRESENT RESIDENCE

Occupation	MALE*									
	Open Country		Village		Town		City		Total	
	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent
All white-collar	1	4 2	2	8 3	13	54 2	8	33 3	24	100
Skilled and Semi-skilled	7	28 0	2	8 0	4	16 0	12	48 0	25	100
Unskilled	20	32 8	6	9 8	10	16 4	25	41 0	61	100
Farm Operator	17	89 5	2	10 5					19	100
Farm Labor	17	54 8	6	19 4	7	22 6	1	3 2	31	100
Unemployed	2	40 0					3	60 0	5	100
Occupation Unknown	6	46 2	1	7 7	1	7 7	5	38 4	13	100
Total	70	39 3	19	10 7	35	19 7	54	30 3	178	100
Occupation	FEMALE†									
	Open Country		Village		Town		City		Total	
	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent
Professional	10	37 0			3	11 1	14	51 9	27	100
Commercial					4	30 8	9	69 2	13	100
Domestic	40	21 2	44	23 3	33	17 4	72	38 1	189	100
Other					12	41 4	17	58 6	29	100
Occupation Unknown	5	62 5			1	12 5	2	25 0	8	100
Total	55	20 7	44	16 5	53	19 9	114	42 9	266	100

\*Omits eleven for whom the residence information was not available 1 professional, 1 skilled, 2 semi-skilled, 3 unskilled, 1 farm laborer, 3 unknown

†Omits fifteen for whom the residence information was not available, the occupations being 2 professional, 8 domestic, 2 other, and 3 unknown

*Girl Migrants.* Of the 470 siblings who were not living at home at the time of the survey, 281 or 59.8 per cent were females. The majority of these (197) had entered "domestic" occupations of one form or another. The next largest group entered professional occupations. These are chiefly teachers. It is worthy of special note that 20 of the 29 young women entering professional occupations come from the townships of Alexandria and Duluth. A one-year normal training center for elementary teachers is located in the former, and a State Teachers College near the latter. The very accessibility of these institutions to the girls living in the adjacent rural areas probably decided for several of them the matter of vocation. Commercial occupations attracted relatively few of the young women. Lack of training apparently was a limiting factor here, since 10 of the

13 entering this field were from the area served by the Alexandria High School, where commercial courses are given. These data correspond with other migration data in that they show a disproportionate number of girls who had moved to the city (Table 1). While 43 per cent of the absent female siblings reside in cities, only 30 per cent of the males are located there. On the other hand, 39 per cent of the males who have left are now residing in other open country areas, contrasted with only 21 per cent of the females. It is apparent that the city still exercises greater pull on the girls than the boys.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, on the basis of our data, it would appear that the larger the center the greater its attraction for the women. Of 266<sup>3</sup> girls away from home, 114 were living in cities; 53 in towns; 44 in villages; and 55 in the open country. The contrast between the last and the first figures is all the more striking when it is realized the open-country group includes the wives of farmers.

There is no way of knowing from our present data to what extent the female migrants to the city eventually return to the country and become wives of farmers, but one would suppose the number to be relatively small. Once the migrant is established in the city, she is likely to remain there. With a sex ratio of 141 for the youth included in the survey, it is obvious that the deficiency of females is an important consideration. If the number of city migrants who return is not considerable, one wonders where farmers get their wives, because it is not likely that the number of urban-reared farmers' wives is very great. This is a problem which needs further investigation, and is one of considerable significance in some European countries.<sup>4</sup>

*The Post-Depression Trend.* In the recovery period from 1933 to 1937 it would appear from these data that the pattern of migration from farms to towns and cities has not changed. As has been shown in other studies, the urbanward migration tends to select a larger proportion of young females. As to the volume of this migration, which presumably had slowed down considerably during the early years of the depression, these data seem to suggest that it is swinging back towards normal. The population estimates of the Division of Farm population and Rural Welfare also indicate a pick-up in the volume of migration from the farm.<sup>5</sup> Of the 1,351 young people about whom we secured information, fully one third had left their parents' homes; and, as we have already seen, a large majority—both sexes considered—had gone to cities, towns, and villages.

These facts raise anew the question of rural and urban relationships. With

<sup>2</sup> For a full discussion of migration selectivity see P. A. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York: Holt, 1929), pp. 540-557. See also Carle C. Zimmerman, "The Migration to Towns and Cities," *American Journal Of Sociology*, XXXII (November, 1926), 450-455.

<sup>3</sup> Excludes 15 girls for whom this information was not available.

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion of papers in the section on "Farm Labour and Social Standards" by G. Stockmann in the *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Agricultural Economists*, pp. 239-240.

<sup>5</sup> *Farm Population Estimates*, USDA BAE (Washington, 1938). See also O. E. Baker, *The Outlook for Rural Youth*, USDA Extension Service Circular No. 223 (Washington, 1935), pp. 4-13.

such large numbers of young people leaving the country for the city, it would seem that an enlightened self-interest would suggest that no objection be raised on the part of the urban population to equalizing school opportunities, for example, through state equalization funds. In contributing to support of rural schools, the urban communities are in fact simply helping to educate children today who will inevitably make up a large portion of the adult city population of tomorrow. It is becoming more apparent all the while that we are one civilization—with rural and urban aspects to be sure—but with all phases interlocked and interdependent.

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LOWRY NELSON AND DON MITCHELL

### SOME PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL SETTING OF COMMUNITY LIFE IN MAINE AS TOLD BY COLLEGE STUDENTS\*

During the past school year I asked the students in a sociology class to each write a term paper under the general title "A Sociological Description of My Home Community," and among those received were papers covering about 25 different rural communities in Maine. Although sometimes stated obscurely or not always fully recognized, one can conclude from them that four important conditions or problems of many communities here are (1) unemployment and relief, (2) lack of any organized efforts for older youth, (3) inefficient slow-moving local town government, and (4) lack of adequate community organization for efficiently dealing with current welfare problems and business of the community, such as health, recreation, schools, and juvenile delinquency.

Taken together, these papers give a general but highly interesting and revealing socioeconomic picture of New England and what has happened here during the past century. The rise of great industrial cities in the new West and South; the expansion of agriculture into the great Middlewest and Pacific Coast regions; the loss of romantic shipping business to canals, railroads, and highways; the denuding of majestic timbered hills; and the slow withdrawal of paper, textile, and shoe industries—all these have been a few of the socioeconomic forces playing on the rockbound coast and hills of Northern New England since 1840.

Some impacts and results of these forces include severe depopulation of prime youth, a trend now generally thought to be somewhat retarded; dwindled leadership and self-responsibility for cooperatively attacking common problems; destitute churches and schools; changes in type of farming from the old self-sufficing "home-made" agriculture to specialized and commercial types; considerable farm land abandonment and about a 25 per cent decline in number of farmers, with in recent years a slight trend toward more people living on the land; and an increasingly less quaint and idealistic "town meeting" government as it grows more and more inefficient when greater leadership and executive control become

\* The author expresses sincere appreciation and gratitude to his students in Course Sy 1, 1938-39, for it was their interesting term papers that served as the inspiration and basis for this brief paper.

necessary to handle larger problems. All these economic and social forces are implied, however vaguely, in the student papers which cover communities in every part of Maine. Changes in the Coast communities have, of course, been different from those in interior communities; changes in the wooded marginal farming areas have been different in different localities; but change, struggle, and adjustment have been everywhere.

Relief for the unemployed and care of the aged, indigent, crippled, mentally deficient, and delinquent all take an increasing portion of local government budgets in an attempt to keep up with outside standards—standards either imposed or felt by comparison. According to the 1930 Census, 13 per cent of the population in Maine was over 60 years of age, greater than for any other state, and likely it will be about 14½ per cent by 1940. Relief for the unemployed and dependent in many towns takes from a third to a half of the total budgets and often exceeds the amount spent for support of schools. Community budgets are hard put to adequately meet new needs and new demands.

One would especially gather from these term papers that many communities fail to do very much for their older youth, there being only a few youth organizations, little participation of youth in organized community life that does exist, and no provision by many communities for adequate athletic fields, playgrounds, park facilities, and the like. It seems that the church fails to attract very many, especially from the country. In a majority of communities the Grange, the Farm Bureau, the 4-H Club, and similar organizations make little or no attempt to offer anything specifically for older rural youth, except in specific spots here and there where a "thriving" community may be found. Doubtless this is partly due to the high proportion in upper age groups of the population in many communities, and also to the fact that leadership is often lacking, or weak, or is traditionally held by older folk.

Local town government comes in for considerable criticism from thinking rural students. They are beginning to sense the fact that our small town governmental unit, serving its village and a few scattered farm people and operated from one annual town meeting by a few traditional officers not always highly suitable for the job, does not fit present conditions. Gradually it is being realized that the "town" no longer is the "community" but that a larger community has developed which crosses lines with local political zones of influence. Because town government was carried on from the beginning, and each town has always had its own village and government center, the rural neighborhood never became very strong in Maine. The town or community has always been the strong element in social structure. This situation made for strong, clear-cut communities, each bound together with its village and governmental interests. But, with the "larger" community rapidly taking shape, due to better transportation and other factors that make for wider interests, town government in many cases is now carried on in units too small to efficiently furnish required services of the present day. One step in the right direction is the school union idea, whereby a group of towns hire one school superintendent together. It is difficult for local government to grow along with the new larger social community, however, be-

cause the "county" figures so little and because the "town" idea is so strongly entrenched in New England culture.

Students also are aware of a lack of community organization or organized community-wide efforts to handle immediate problems and developments. It seems that in too many communities the "let George do it" attitude prevails. Sensing problems and common objectives, and working together toward their accomplishment seems all too frequently to be lacking, both in individuals and in organizations. The cooperative attitude, and organized efforts for some common end, do not seem to be very deep culture patterns except in a few communities. Probably "lack of responsible leadership" and Ross's term "folk depletion" express conditions in some communities and are contributing factors to them. Examples often sighted include such things as failure to fight for better school curricula, failure to provide a community park or park equipment, failure to put in street curbs or to insist on better roads and sidewalks, failure to provide good drinking water, or lack of responsibility in recognizing even a health quarantine. Such faults, of course, are not limited to Maine; one could find lack of leadership and responsibility everywhere.

One student author writes, "Industrial interests run this town—conformity is the hard rule; . . . this town and the world both move . . . but in opposite directions; . . . it is a hell of a place to live." Other students not quite so vitriolic or conscious of realities, or who come from more thriving communities, are captured by the beautiful scenery, the fine provisions their community has made, and the contented people. One student well expresses a problem of coast towns and other recreational localities, saying, "Above all, the people need to become reconciled to the fact that this is now a tourist and recreational community, where we are serving and rubbing shoulders with other people, instead of being the isolated town of days gone by."

Another student entitled her community paper "Now and Then" and summarizes as follows:

"THEN (1880)

Population was around 1000 and increasing  
 There was sufficient, honest work for all  
 Love of mutual gatherings flourished  
 Life had its hardships but happiness prevailed  
 Church life was important in the community  
 No one was a town pauper who was willing to work  
 There was a high degree of self-sufficiency  
 The government was simple and mostly fair and square  
 The town was financially sound."

"NOW (1940)

Population is only 800, and decreasing  
 All major industries have collapsed because of basic economic changes  
 There is not enough work for all who want work  
 The self-respecting, proud old Scotch and Yankee families  
     are on relief by sheer necessity  
 Much employment that does exist is unsatisfying  
 All who want to make something of themselves leave town

The fine, old houses are being torn down to give the summer  
tourist people a better view  
The grange and church are over-shadowed by the dance hall  
and beer parlor  
We have more comforts and conveniences than our ancestors  
but on the whole I believe are less contented  
Financially the town is on the rocks, the town government  
is inefficient and dishonest  
The community is uncentralized, without a purpose.  
What will happen to it?"

Every community has its "key" families, and a sort of "localism" seems to characterize communities and attitudes. "We-feeling" and "pride" are strong in Maine. On the other hand, however, in many communities there is not very much "readiness to take initiative." and there seems to be little "crusading" spirit and wholehearted work for civic things. Since "family" and "locality" are gradually becoming less influential or being replaced, it is highly important to consider how their virtues may be maintained in the organization of the new community. Also, it appears that we need to search for long-time answers to problems, instead of being so easily satisfied with short-time answers only. The grave dangers that inherently lie in apathy and complacency need also to be strongly realized.

Some would say that one factor which underlies the conditions and problems in Northern New England is resistance to inevitable change. It is easy to see how such resistance may have been developed, considering that the region lived comparatively alone for more than two and a half centuries in a world that was wide and apart. But with rapid development on so many fronts during the past half century, the nation and world around us suddenly became small and inter-dependent, and adjustments often needed to be made quickly. Doubtless this is one reason why it was difficult to make significant adjustments and meet sudden changes. Our problems are those of cultural lag, then, with the lag being relatively greater in Northern New England because of the long, slow past during the two and a half centuries from say 1640 to 1890. I believe, however, that many problems and conditions found in Maine briefly sketched in preceding pages cannot be wholly traced to "resistance to change." There has been much change and adjustment in New England during the past 100 years; there had to be.

A second underlying factor probably is the realistic economic inability to make the changes and do the things which were recognized as necessary. Maine does not have large amounts of varied natural resources of wealth, like rich farm lands, oil, forests, and minerals. Consequently, opportunities for increasing wealth production are restricted. In general, we have no exclusive wealth-producing advantages and assets; our wealth is produced under high competition with all other regions of the United States, as well as with other parts of the world. In other words, Maine communities have needed to get along with less. They do, and that is one reason why they are "conservative." It is difficult for them to fit into new higher standards, especially for those things that cost



much money, like better roads, schools, churches, recreational facilities, and other "frivolities." Probably another reason why conservatism prevails is that often we are "sold it by other interests," and unthinkingly believe.

A third factor, closely related to cultural lag and I believe a very important one, is that in the past we placed too much reliance upon individual efforts, too much value upon individual rights and property rights, and held too strongly the philosophy that "progress" is a by-product of the pursuit of wealth. When members of any society overweigh individual rights and reliance, a tendency is for their performances not to square with their privileges, nor their responsibilities with public welfare. Individual welfare is important in a democracy, but not at expense of the welfare of all. The fundamental point is that because of the philosophy that "success" means individually earned wealth, and because individual rights and the "Puritan mind" are still all so strong in New England culture, organized efforts and cooperative processes for handling common problems are delayed. Local citizenries fail to recognize that cooperative action would often bring greater satisfaction to them as individuals than their present isolated strivings.

There have been other factors than these three, of course. When describing Yankeeville in his book, "The Changing Community," Zimmerman points out that "familistic aristocracy" has been an important influence in shaping the attitudes and developments of that community, and that a peculiar combination of tradition, family, and psychology is what has made Yankeeville like it is. Doubtless this applies in a general way to many Maine communities. In discussing the future, Zimmerman concludes that, for Yankeeville at least, an economy based on small scale industry and small scale farming, along with the maintenance of traditional virtues, promises a lengthier and more sound future than an economy based too much on the temporary and fluctuating recreation business.<sup>1</sup>

When it is so difficult to lift standards because of limits in our basic economy, and when old patterns of satisfaction related to isolation and individual efforts are so deeply entrenched, one should not expect nor seek too fast change. For those factors and elements tending to prolong change lag and inhibit progress which are more susceptible to control, improvement waits only upon education, enlightenment, and dynamic action. All too often, however, these seem to be lacking or their sacrificial cost too dear.

"Can Maine come back?" is a query often heard. (1) By holding on to its traditional virtues of integrity, family, and love for home; (2) by giving up its strictest individualism and strengthening its cooperative attitude; (3) by putting some capital into its recreational asset, primarily in roads and public facilities, so that it may realize on this natural resource as well as provide better for its own people; (4) by better relating people to land, with less relative emphasis on highly commercial farming in competition with more advantageous regions, and greater emphasis on a "security" philosophy and a "security" type

<sup>1</sup> Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), chap. xix.

of living, which for a large number of people should mean some sort of a combination between part-time farming and industry or other non-farm enterprise; (5) by developing more leadership among its youth; and (6) by becoming more dynamically concerned with state and local government (for nothing is more dangerous to any society or culture than apathy and complacency)—with all these Maine *will do more than* "come back"; it will continue forward.

A wise leader in public life in this country once said, "Things don't just happen. Things are brought to pass." Certainly this is true of Maine, for if there is to be change, progress, and improvement in our communities and rural life, then the citizens of Maine will have to "bring it to pass." Things can be left to drift; or with our own individual and local efforts and our political power at the polls, we can "bring to pass" the desirable basic adjustments mentioned in the preceding paragraph by developing strong community organization, by insisting on a cooperative and guiding state government, and by adult education. Maine has before it a golden opportunity, an opportunity to show the rest of the nation where similar conditions exist what can be done in solving contemporary problems under conditions found here.

The fact is, what ought to be developing in American rural life throughout the country is already slowly underway in Maine. A more satisfactory land-people-industry relationship is slowly but surely developing here, and a simple philosophy of living which embodies self-reliance and certain desirable non-monetary standard-of-living elements has long been a part of rural life in Northern New England and tends to give it a certain, more relatively important, cultural distinctiveness than commonly characterizes rural life elsewhere, but which surely must in the future. All this will help to make community problem-solving easier here.

This paper gives a little background of Northern New England, with particular reference to Maine, the skeletal parts of which are based on brief stories by students about their home communities. Many things herein said are equally true of other states and regions. The problems and underlying factors mentioned may seem to present a dark picture, but this need not be. It is realistic recognition and some examples of problems, and this is different from the unconstructive pessimism and fault-finding which one all too often hears. Students are considerate in their criticism and moderate in their pride. They are less traditional in thinking than their parents. They are not pessimistic, but on the whole I believe are willing to recognize problems, which anywhere is the first essential toward their solution. They still believe Northern New England is a good place to live, our problems notwithstanding. The region is slowly shedding its traditionalism, individualism, and idyllic features and is taking on the contemporary color of confused economic philosophies and recognition of interdependence and broader problems. Yet, there is still much left here of such virtues as integrity, thrift, family, friendship, and love for home and security on the land. One student, able to balance sentiment with hard reality, closes as follows: "I am sorry for my town and its people. They need to be awakened—to be shown how much more they could be getting out of life. They need

new interests, new activities, new ideas, and above all new leadership and more leadership. I am not belittling the people nor criticizing my town—it is my home and I love it! That is why I want to see it become a better town—a live, purposeful, worthwhile and progressive community."

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### BETTER RURAL SANITATION IMPROVING NATION'S HEALTH

During the first three years of the Federal Works Program more than 17,000 fine new public buildings were constructed, adding materially to the physical wealth and appearance of states, counties, and municipalities. During that same period another type of building, small but sanitary toilets, 1,144,000 of them, was constructed in what has been perhaps the most effective onslaught yet made against certain prevalent and infectious diseases in rural areas.

Forces of the federal government discovered long ago that sanitary facilities were of vital importance to the Nation's health. And under the Work Projects Administration such sanitary facilities have been made available to a large part of the population, both in the urban and rural areas.

Because of the very nature of the subject, not as much is known of the Work Projects Administration sanitation program as could be desired; but thinking people, especially physicians, have applauded and encouraged the idea of safeguarding health through clean toilet facilities. They know how flies and other vermin infesting the old outhouses of country communities have carried typhoid, dysentery, malaria, and other communicable diseases in homes, frequently striking down entire families.

The Work Projects Administration has made other contributions, on construction projects, to national health; but of all its varied activities in the tremendous task of providing employment on worthwhile projects for millions of jobless Americans, probably no single program has contributed more to the health safeguards in many sections of the country than has the construction of these 1,144,000 sanitary toilets, and the improvement, over a three-year period, of 15,000 more.

Work Projects Administration activities in the interest of public health also included the laying of 6,100 miles of new water mains, aqueducts, and distribution lines; 8,900 miles of new and sanitary sewers; excavation of 8,700 miles of new ditches and improvement of 5,000 miles of ditches for mosquito control; and construction of 400 pumping stations, 300 sewage treatment plants, 80 water purification plants, 35 garbage incinerators, and 5,570 septic tanks. Data from recent employment figures of the Work Projects Administration showed that 72,017 relief workers still were engaged on sanitation and health projects.

But it is the lowly privy, or rather the 1,144,000 privies, that has provided the greatest health contribution. Already the program, especially in the South, has been noticeably effective in the elimination of much of the surface breeding of hookworm and has helped immeasurably in the fight against dysentery, typhoid, and enteritis.

The program is being carried on in cooperation with the United States Public Health Service, and, in most cases, state boards of health act as the sponsoring agencies. Farmers and others living outside the reach of sewer systems of various cities and towns may have a sanitary privy built for them at no cost to them selves save that for the actual materials. Labor is supplied and paid for by the Work Projects Administration, and the average over all cost of each toilet has been about \$30.

Lest anyone believe that only rural communities have been lacking in sanitary facilities, the case of San Antonio, Texas, might be cited—and San Antonio is by no means an exceptional instance. In that city long rows of newly constructed, white painted sanitary toilets contrast strangely with the dingy, gray walls of shacks in the poorer sections. In San Antonio's West End, where most of the large Latin American population is concentrated, it was estimated that until recently more than 10,000 residents were served by insanitary, open type toilets, while disease flourished. One shocking instance was discovered of an open type toilet adjacent to a tomato packing plant.

The need for and construction of sanitary toilets have been by no means confined to states regarded as rural in character. No fewer than 9,896 were built in New Jersey, 696 were constructed in, of all places, New York City!

This is how the program of sanitary toilet installations was divided among the various states

	NEW	IMPROVED
<i>United States</i>	<i>1,144,000</i>	<i>15,000</i>
Alabama	18,843	323
Arizona	11,928	327
Arkansas	40,079	2
California	14,511	240
Colorado	16,283	694
Connecticut	32	
Delaware	1,776	
Florida	4,102	
Georgia	23,069	306
Idaho	15,115	707
Illinois	32,113	1,118
Indiana	69,342	861
Iowa	7,578	987
Kansas	29,212	137
Kentucky	40,269	326
Louisiana	14,395	2
Maine		
Maryland	7,470	85
Massachusetts	138	12
Michigan	1,788	22
Minnesota	80	3
Mississippi	65,031	667
Missouri	837	111
Montana	10,195	10
Nebraska	9,840	665

Nevada	1,036	
New Hampshire	33	
New Jersey	9,896	
New Mexico	9,341	2
New York City	696	116
New York State	135	
North Carolina	69,437	109
North Dakota	20,585	3
Ohio	68,702	1,312
Oklahoma	62,027	442
Oregon	7,941	4
Pennsylvania	33,251	
Rhode Island	17	
South Carolina	40,779	285
South Dakota	11,873	31
Tennessee	101,467	2
Texas	19,871	12
Utah	17,670	6
Vermont	2	
Virginia	89,209	5,345
Washington	9,166	2
West Virginia	119,858	34
Wisconsin	13,115	17
Wyoming	3,671	2

The new type privies being built by the Work Projects Administration are more effective in reducing disease because they are constructed scientifically and are designed so that it is impossible for flies or other insects to enter below the privy. Instead of the old-fashioned board floor and seat, these are made of one section of concrete to which is fastened the wooden structure. Odors leave the building by way of vents in the back, which are screened several times along the way with fine mesh copper screens. The seat top is so constructed that it cannot leave the hole uncovered when not in use. The privy is ventilated at the top under wide eaves, and the openings are screened.

One of the most important arrangements is that of the pit. This is only four feet deep and is made with concrete sills. For the average family the pit will serve for five years, when the entire unit is moved and placed over a new pit.

Dr. P. B. Jenkins, superintendent of the South Dakota State Board of Health, summed up the value of the program with this observation, repeated in effect by many other health officials throughout the country:

"Not only will these privies provide protection against such fly-spread diseases as typhoid fever, dysentery, diarrhea, and enteritis, but they will serve as pioneer outposts in a rural sanitation and health program designed to raise general health standards throughout the State."

Work Projects Administration  
Washington, D. C.

A. W. VON STRUVE

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis, Editor*

## POPULATION

*The Rural Population Resources of Missouri*<sup>1</sup> have been depicted by graphical and written description based upon the summarization of available sources. Distribution, composition, and trends of population are related to incomes, planes of living, and geographical resources. Analysis of replacement requirements of gainful workers in agriculture is a special feature of the bulletin.

Since 1900 there has been a decline in Missouri's rural population. In 1930 the rural-farm population was producing 50 per cent more children than necessary to maintain a stationary farm population. The rural-nonfarm population was more than reproducing itself; but the urban population which constitutes 51.2 per cent of the state's total population, had more than a 25 per cent deficit. Both native white and negro fertility ratios (children under 5 years of age to women 20-44 years) were more than twice as high in rural farm as in the urban population.

Indications are that the Missouri farm population between 1930 and 1950 will produce nearly twice as many potential male and female gainful workers aged 20 years as can be employed in agriculture unless the need for man-power is expanded. In view of the fact that replacement of gainful workers lost through death or retirement requires a larger proportion of locally reared children on the good land areas than on the poor land areas, it was concluded that more emphasis should be placed upon non-agricultural training in poor land areas. The fact that emigration of youth from good land areas in the past has been relatively high may indicate that education there has excessively emphasized the non-agricultural pursuits.

*Virginia Faces its Population Future*<sup>2</sup> with little optimism according to a report containing population data and tabulations of a questionnaire concerning population policy filled out by leaders. The report states: "Under the assumption that half of the white rural population now has marginal standards, and the further assumption that the higher standard group averages 2 children per family over 3 generations and the marginal standard group averages 4 children per family for the same period, approximately nine-tenths of the white rural population would be descended from the present marginal standard group 100 years hence."

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *The Rural Population Resources of Missouri*, Missouri Agricultural Extension Service RB 306 (Columbia, November, 1939). 40 pp.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Garnett and Charles G. Burr, *Virginia Faces Its Population Future*, Virginia AES Mimeographed Report 10 (Blacksburg, October, 1939). Mimeographed, 31 pp.

About such things *Virginia Does Care*,<sup>3</sup> according to the Agricultural Experiment Station report of a Conference on Virginia Population Trends. However, the conference was reminded about "the high percentage of rural families with marginal standards estimated at from one-half to one-third of the whites and three-fourths of the Negroes."

A Bureau of Census publication<sup>4</sup> "outlines all of the tabulations which have been made of the information collected in the 1930 Census of Population and Unemployment and the 1931 Special Census of Unemployment, and covers, therefore, both the statistics which have been published in the 1930 Population and Unemployment census volumes and the tabulated population and unemployment data which are unpublished. . . . This volume has been designed to show, in particular, the smallest areas for which the data on each subject have been tabulated, and the greatest detail in which each classification has been made for any area. In the published reports, the tabulated data have been consolidated, first by combining the smaller areas into larger ones for the detailed classifications, and second by combining or condensing the classifications for the smaller areas. For example, illiteracy was tabulated for individual urban places and the remainder of each county (farm and nonfarm) by color-nativity, sex, and age, but was published in combination with all these classifications only for the United States, States, geographic divisions, and cities of 500,000; by color-nativity alone for counties; and with no cross classification at all for urban places under 10,000.

"The present index will therefore serve as an index of unpublished population data if used in connection with the volumes of the published reports—or with the Topical Index of Population Census Reports, 1900-1930. . . . Upon request, the Bureau of the Census will furnish an estimate of the cost, if any, of making available any particular unpublished statistics. Such requests should be addressed to the Director, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C."

*A Preliminary Report on Development of Economic Opportunities in Montana for Migratory and Stranded Families*<sup>5</sup> has been issued by the Montana State Planning Board. Using county planning board reports, a questionnaire survey conducted by Farm Security Administration county rehabilitation supervisors, and estimates of agricultural leaders, the Board estimated for each county the number of migratory and stranded families which needed resettlement, and indicated that the total for the state approximated 9,000, not including those who could be rehabilitated in place. For resettlement there are some 9,394 locations made available by action programs.

<sup>3</sup> *Virginia Does Care*, Committee Reports Conference on Virginia Population Trends, Roanoke, Virginia, October 24-25, 1939, Virginia AES Mimeographed Report 3 (Blacksburg, October, 1939). Mimeographed, 34 pp.

<sup>4</sup> Leon E. Truesdell, *Index of Data Tabulated from the 1930 Census of Population Including Unemployment*, U. S. Department of Commerce (Washington, 1940). 47 pp.

<sup>5</sup> *Preliminary Report on Development of Economic Opportunities in Montana for Migratory and Stranded Families*, Montana State Planning Board (Helena, October, 1939). 101 pp.

As a result of the inexperience of many homesteaders, who, because of high war prices and abnormally high yields at the time of settlement, were given false conceptions of the agricultural value of land; as a result of the breaking up of large holdings and the replacing of the rancher by the grain farmer; as a result of the low prices of the 1920's and the depression of 1929 and afterward, an extremely large number of Montana's people have been on the move since 1920. In fact, Montana was the only state in the union to show a decline in population during the decade of the twenties. This net migration out is placed at 60,694, or 11 per cent of the 1920 population. During this decade Montana also recorded more farm bankruptcies than any other state; in some counties one out of four farmers lost their possessions. Since 1930 migrants have come into Montana from other states, and migration to western Montana has been greater than migration out of eastern Montana. Since 1930 the in-migration has exceeded the out-migration by from 2,000 to 2,500 migrants.

From 1932 to 1939 some \$132,000,000 of federal, state, and county funds have been expended to create employment and for relief. The Board recommends that in the future more funds be expended for projects which will assist in locating families which should be resettled, in developing land resources, and in developing forestry on a sustained yield basis rather than a "cut-over and leave" basis

*Migration and Social Welfare*,<sup>6</sup> a Russell Sage Foundation publication, describes present and depression migration, placing special emphasis upon causes, types, volume, and origins as well as the interaction of migrants and the people and their institutions in the communities where they make their new homes. To decrease migration the development of a less specialized agriculture based upon a "live at home" economy—subsistence homesteads and cooperative activities in disadvantaged regions and the adjustment of migration by adequate dissemination of knowledge concerning comparative advantages and labor demands—is recommended.

#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The report, *Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities*,<sup>7</sup> not only lays down a "starting line" which may serve as a basis from which future changes in social participation may be measured but records some findings which the author claims will be useful in the administration and planning of rural community settlements. For instance, the analysis shows that families who had been relatively immobile and had more often participated in the formal social agencies of their old communities more frequently remained on the projects, thus giving some clues as to the type of family to select for such developments. Also, there was a definite carry-over in leadership from the old communities to the new. Settlers who held offices in the old communities came to

<sup>6</sup> Philip E. Ryan, *Migration and Social Welfare*, Russell Sage Foundation (New York, 1940). 114 pp.

<sup>7</sup> Charles P. Loomis, *Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities*, USDA SRR No. 18 (Washington, January, 1940). Processed, 82 pp.



be recognized as leaders in the new situations on the projects more frequently than those who previous to resettlement had not been leaders. In view of the fact that many projects suffer from lack of local leadership, the selecting of more families with experience in leadership rather than attempting to make leaders of people who had never manifested abilities in this direction is advocated by the author.

The informal social and economic relationships among families on the projects differed considerably from those to which they had been accustomed in the communities in which they had lived previously. For example, a larger proportion of the project families borrowed and exchanged work during the year of study than in communities of previous residence. This increased cooperativeness on the projects may be accounted for in part by the shorter distances between the homes of associating families. The project officials encouraged cooperation and, as is common in pioneer situations, the settlers who did not have much equipment or money with which to hire labor resorted to mutual aid.

These small informal groupings and chains of relationships are very important in the lives of the settlers and the administration. As 40 per cent of the families had moved away from one project between 1936 and 1938, a special study of this question of leaving as related to informal groups, was made. It was found that certain in-groups insisted upon exaggerating the disadvantages of living on the project, refused to listen to the counsel of groups of individuals who believed in the projects, and moved away to become sharecroppers and laborers again. Other groups seemed to discount false and exaggerated rumors about the disadvantages of the projects, the prices consumer-cooperatives were charging, and objectionable characteristics of leasing and property arrangements. In other words, the decisions of the settlers to move, like many decisions made in panics and gold rushes, were made in social settings in which these small groupings played important roles. Since such groups may determine to some extent the attitudes of the individual settler toward the project, they and their leaders should, according to the author, be considered in administration. Ways and means of spreading facts about the projects in such a way that the settlers do not feel they are being propagandized should be developed. Local forums and discussion groups have been suggested.

Analysis showed that these small cooperating and visiting groupings on the projects were less frequently tied together by such bonds as kinship than is true in communities of longer standing, but other factors made for social cohesion. That the groups do not lack the intimacy and familiarity common to rural groups is indicated by the extent to which the family as a whole enters the relationship. In about 7 out of 10 of the project families who visited, borrowed, or exchanged work with other project families, the children played together.

According to a report entitled *Development of Farmers' Cooperatives in Tennessee*,<sup>8</sup> "over 1,798 farmers' cooperatives are known to have been organized in

<sup>8</sup> Charles E. Allred and Benjamin D. Raskopf, *Development of Farmers' Cooperatives in Tennessee*, Tennessee AES Monograph 99 (Knoxville, December, 1939). Mimeographed, 48 pp.

the state during the period 1800-1939. Of these, 701 are reported active in 1939. Of 180 associations organized previous to 1915, for which records are available, about 60 have remained active. More associations appear to have been formed from 1920 to 1924 than during any other 5-year period." The report presents other facts such as the following: "The value of farm products sold or purchased cooperatively increased from \$740,941, in 1919 to \$1,763,993 in 1929."

The farmers' mutual fire insurance companies have represented one of the oldest and most successful types of cooperatives in Tennessee, but telephone cooperatives have developed more than any other type of farmer cooperative.

The Grange sponsored cooperatives from 1870 to 1885, and after 38 years of inactivity reappeared in Tennessee. From 1884 to 1893 the Farmers' Alliance, and from 1905 to 1927 the Farmers' Union actively supported farmers' cooperative activities. Since 1870 the Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, the State Farm Bureau, and State and Federal agencies have been responsible for the formation of many farmers' associations. After 1914 the Agricultural Extension Service was an important agency in organizing cooperatives.

The report is based upon available secondary sources and literature, and contains a list of cooperatives which were active in 1939.

*The Grange Movement in Oregon 1873-1900*<sup>9</sup> is described in a mimeographed University of Oregon master's thesis. Of the western states Oregon now has the most Granges in proportion to the state population, and after the first wave of enthusiasm in the middle western states during 1875 had receded, the Oregon Grange was the strongest in the country. In 1875 there were some 10,885 members in Oregon, but dissatisfaction following the failure of cooperative schemes and the increase in the price of wheat caused membership to drop to 7,101 in 1877 and further to 1,440 in 1881, after which membership gradually increased except for some fluctuation during the Farmers' Alliance movement in the early nineties. The Grange has found its place in the organization structure of the state after the huge financial and political schemes gave way to social, educational, and better planned economic and political activities.

*A History of the Consumer's Co-operatives in Oregon Prior to 1900*,<sup>10</sup> a mimeographed Oregon master's thesis, presents the following reasons for the failure of the many Grange cooperatives in the '70's. They are given in the order of their importance:

"Poor management

Lack of advertising

Dissension among the members

Attempts to carry on a credit business

Difficulty for the farmer to pay cash at all times

<sup>9</sup> Edna A. Scott, *The Grange Movement in Oregon 1873-1900*, University of Oregon Thesis Series No. 1 (Eugene, May, 1939). Mimeographed, 40 pp.

<sup>10</sup> Iver Willis Masterson, *A History of the Consumer's Co-operatives in Oregon Prior to 1900*, University of Oregon Thesis Series No. 8 (Eugene, October, 1939). Mimeographed, 50 pp.

Willingness of the farmer to accept the lure of a reduction in price—lack of loyalty

No accumulated reserves

The holding of conflicting views about stores by Grangers in different parts of the state

Distance from central stores."

*The Negro Church in Texas as an Educational Agency*<sup>11</sup> is the subject of the printed report of the Proceedings of the Tenth Educational Conference for Negroes in Texas. For approximately one half of 240 negro ministers and 150 negro laymen, the purpose and mission of the church was "saving souls." Most of the others reporting gave replies of a similar nature. Seventy-five per cent of the ministers were high school graduates; 62 per cent were college graduates; and almost half of them gave as previous occupations either farming or working as common laborers. The average salary paid was \$484, but salaries range from \$246 for single church or circuit having a membership below 100 to over \$2,000 for congregations or circuits of over 500. The average minister was 47 years of age, married, and had only one child.

*Community Forests*,<sup>12</sup> a United States Forest Service bulletin with a foreword by President Roosevelt, is written to inspire towns, cities, schools, and communities to develop their own forests. There are, according to the bulletin, now some 1,500 community forests in the United States on which more than 146 million trees have been planted. The forests range in size from a few to thousands of acres. Pictures and descriptions of community forests in this and foreign countries are included. Besides furnishing labor for farmers and others during slack seasons, serving as recreation grounds, and possessing other advantages, these forests may bring returns amounting to as much as \$9 per acre annually. They are a means of advancing the Forest Service's management principle of sustained yield and multiple use.

*The Rural Community*<sup>13</sup> is a syllabus prepared for the 1940 session of the American Country Life Association. It presents brief descriptions of three communities and a discussion of how to "know one's community" and consider its needs.

The Florida Agricultural Experiment Station has issued a series of bulletins concerning *Farmers' Cooperative Associations*. One bulletin<sup>14</sup> presented a clas-

<sup>11</sup> *The Negro Church in Texas as an Educational Agency*, Proceedings of the Tenth Educational Conference, Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College Bulletin 1, Vol. XXXI (Hempstead, Texas, November, 1939). 93 pp.

<sup>12</sup> *Community Forests*, USDA Forest Service (Washington, 1939). 36 pp.

<sup>13</sup> *The Rural Community*, Youth Section, ACLA, Central State Teachers College (Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, February, 1940). 30 pp.

<sup>14</sup> Marvin A. Brooker and H. G. Hamilton, *I. Status and Legal Phases*, Florida AESB 245 (Gainesville, April, 1932). 47 pp.

sified list of the active and inactive associations which had been organized prior to the marketing season of 1931-1932; another dealt with the economic status and organization and management policies of these associations;<sup>15</sup> a third dealt with a business analysis of a potato growers' association;<sup>16</sup> and a fourth dealt with *The Florida Citrus Exchange System*<sup>17</sup> which handles from 16 to 37 per cent of the total Florida citrus crop. A minimum of consideration was given to social and psychological aspects of cooperation.

A Washington State Planning Council has prepared a report entitled *Credit Unions in Washington*<sup>18</sup> which presents detailed descriptions of several unions. According to the report 149 state and federal credit unions were established in the state since the Credit Union Bill passed the State legislature in 1933. Of these unions only 11 were liquidated because of too little business, objections of employers, or other reasons. According to the report persons with money at interest in the unions should expect 6 per cent. It is stated that "individuals considering forming a union should, before organizing, determine (1) if their group has a common bond of association which unites them sufficiently; (2) if they really need a credit union; and, (3) if they have within their group the individuals who will supply the necessary leadership—if they are, in fact, good co-operators." The sociological implications of the statement; "It may be accurately concluded . . . that the open-charter credit union to which all residents of a relatively large neighborhood may belong will not work well in practice," should be obvious to the rural sociologist.

#### FAMILY LIVING

*Levels of Living in the Ilocos Region*<sup>19</sup> in the Philippines are described for 93 peasant families through analysis of data collected by means of a general questionnaire and accounts kept by field workers for periods varying from 40 to 60 days. The average family possessed property valued at \$540 which consisted of a one-half hectare of land, a house, a carabao, a plow, a harrow, and a small amount of other productive equipment, furniture, clothing, and a little cash. Total annual expenses for the average family of five amounted to \$128. The diet, which is totally lacking in fatty foods, milk, and dairy products, furnishes each adult only about 1,400 calories in one day as compared with 2,300 calories intake for students at the University of the Philippines or 2,600 for prisoners in government penitentiaries.

<sup>15</sup> Marvin A. Brooker and H. G. Hamilton, II. *Organizations and Management*, Florida AESB 263 (Gainesville, June, 1933). 100 pp.

<sup>16</sup> H. G. Hamilton and Marvin A. Brooker, III. *Business Analysis of the Hasting's Potato Growers' Association*, Florida AESB 276 (Gainesville, March, 1935). 63 pp.

<sup>17</sup> H. G. Hamilton and Marvin A. Brooker, IV. *The Florida Citrus Exchange System*, Florida AESB 339 (Gainesville, November, 1939). 80 pp.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas E. Graham, *Credit Unions in Washington*, Washington State Planning Council (Olympia, November, 1938). Mimeographed, 21 pp.

<sup>19</sup> Horacio Lava, *Levels of Living in the Ilocos Region*, University of the Philippines, Study No. 1 (Philippines, 1938). 94 pp.

"In spite of the low level of consumption, however, the Ilocano rural workers do not feel kinship with the city proletariat. This results from the fact that all of them own some property, and a large proportion own land. The ownership of real estate engenders a feeling of being persons of substance; hence, in spite of their low level of living, they usually have no sympathy for labor movements, for strikes, etc. With these peasants the psychology of property is carried to such an extent that they will enslave themselves merely to own land."

"The clothing expenditures made by 299 village and 551 farm families in Vermont<sup>20</sup> in 1935-36 account for 8 and 11 per cents respectively of their total monetary outlays for family living, being exceeded by those made for food and automobile and, in the case of the village families, for household operation and for housing as well. Clothing costs increased with rising levels of cash income and with increasing numbers in the family. The women spent but little more than did the men for clothing.

"About one-fifth of the average outlay was made for footwear, about one-sixth each for underwear and for coats and wraps, and about one-third for other outer garments. Relatively little was spent for headwear, accessories, or for other items."

A Kansas State College bulletin<sup>21</sup> presents a much needed discussion of problems confronting families proposing to build homes at a cost of from \$1,000 to \$3,000. This helpful discussion of problems involved includes the selection of a suitable site, the determination of size, the choice of mechanical conveniences, quality of materials, workmanship, the type of heating, the relative size and number of rooms, and the necessity for budgeting. In addition, there are twenty-eight designs suggesting possible methods of solving the low-cost housing problem.

In *The Consumer Spends His Income*<sup>22</sup> the National Resources Committee presents a summary of its two previous reports, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*<sup>23</sup> and *Consumer Expenditures in the United States*.<sup>24</sup> The Committee "has sought, through a study of the incomes people received in 1935-36 and of how they used these incomes, to throw light on the problem of the distribution of purchasing power in this country and on how this distribution affects the demand for such consumer goods as food, houses, and clothing, the amount absorbed in personal taxes and gifts, and the amount set aside as savings."

<sup>20</sup> Margaret E. Tiffany, *Clothing Consumption of 299 Village and 551 Farm Families in Vermont*, Vermont AESB 451 (Burlington, July, 1939). 48 pp.

<sup>21</sup> H. E. Wichers, *Low Cost Homes*, Kansas Engineering Experiment Station, Bulletin 38 (Manhattan, September, 1939). 50 pp.

<sup>22</sup> *The Consumer Spends His Income*, National Resources Committee (Washington, 1939). 47 pp.

<sup>23</sup> *Consumer Incomes in the United States—Their Distribution in 1935-36*, National Resources Committee (Washington, 1938). See review in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, III (December, 1938), 450.

<sup>24</sup> *Consumer Expenditures in the United States*, National Resources Committee (Washington, 1939).

"Detailed information on the expenditures and savings of approximately 60,000 of these families living in 51 cities, 140 villages, and 66 farm counties was obtained, and data from 42,000 of these families, supplemented by similar data, taken from a variety of sources, for single men and women, were used in preparing the national estimates of consumer expenditures. Data from an additional 8,500 families were used in making the estimates for direct personal taxes and gifts. As in the case of the income estimates, the data on expenditures included not only all money outlays but the estimated value of the use of owner-occupied homes, of home-produced food, and of certain other types of goods and services consumed without direct expenditure of money."

The average income reported was \$1,500.

Of \$50,000,000,000 spent for current consumption, approximate allocations were as follows: 34 per cent for food, 32 per cent for shelter and home maintenance, 10 per cent for clothing, 8 per cent for automobile expenses, 4 per cent for medical care, 3 per cent for recreation, 2 per cent for personal care, 1 per cent for reading, 1 per cent for education, 2 per cent for tobacco, and the remainder for transportation (other than automobile) and miscellaneous items.

*Urban and Rural Housing*<sup>25</sup> is the subject of a League of Nations report which presents descriptions of housing and public housing programs of Belgium, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United States of America, and Canada. For all the countries urban housing and for all except the United States and Canada rural housing are discussed. Examples of the findings for rural housing follow: In Scotland only 16 per cent of the dwellings were completely fit for habitation—33 per cent had water inside; 23 per cent had water closets; however, 29 per cent had no sanitary conveniences; 41 per cent were damp; and 28 per cent badly lighted. In Finland "over a third of the houses have one room and a kitchen. A quarter are single-room dwellings. . . . Almost a fifth were in a more or less dilapidated condition; 3 per cent were stated to be unfit for habitation. In about a quarter of the total, there were more than three persons per room, these houses accommodating a third of the population."

In Norway 25, 17, and 8 per cent, respectively, of the families lived in three-, two-, or one-room dwellings. One fifth of the people lived in dwellings with more than 2 persons per room.

In Sweden prevailing "overcrowding is made worse by the long-established practice, which is especially widespread in the country, of keeping a 'best room' which is not used as a bedroom. Actually, in 31 per cent of dwellings with one room and kitchen, only the kitchen is used as a bedroom. Of the population living in dwellings of at the most two rooms and kitchen, 29 per cent sleep in a room or kitchen in which there are at least four persons. These disadvantages are aggravated by lack of ventilation; the enquiry showed that in winter, in 38 per cent of the dwellings, the windows could not be opened."

<sup>25</sup> *Urban and Rural Housing*, League of Nations, Economic Intelligence Service (Geneva, 1939). 159 pp.

## FARM LABOR

Another treatment of the much-discussed problem of migratory labor is presented by Paul S. Taylor in a Public Affairs Pamphlet.<sup>26</sup> Following a presentation of the historical aspects of migratory labor in the United States is a discussion of the present much-publicized problem of agricultural conflicts in California and neighboring states where similar agricultural conditions prevail. Paul S. Taylor discusses five factors which distinguish these agricultural labor conflicts from ordinary farm labor disputes: (1) industrialized agriculture; (2) desire of employers for complete control of wages, as distinct from other costs; (3) perishability of crops; (4) lack of status of mobile workers in agriculture; (5) the interstate migration of native American farmers who have been driven from the land.

But "the problems relating to migratory labor in California should not be considered as local or isolated. In a sense, it may be that the situation in that state provides a 'preview' of what will occur in varying degrees and in modified forms on a national scale. For some other sections of agriculture now are facing the forces that in the past half-century have transformed whole sections of manufacturing from a small shop and the artisan to mechanical industry and the wage earner." A number of those sections of agriculture facing such changes are discussed.

*Seasonal Workers and Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain, Germany, and Austria, a Survey of Legal Provisions and Administrative Practice through 1938*<sup>27</sup> is a bulletin prepared by the Social Security Board<sup>28</sup> to assist in developing a program to cover a large group of agricultural and other seasonal workers now unprotected in the United States. The countries whose programs were studied have the largest compulsory unemployment systems in Europe, each having developed procedures whereby the social objective of compensating workers during periods of involuntary unemployment as well as the financial objective of safeguarding the unemployment insurance fund has been attained. All three countries have denied benefits to workers engaged for very brief periods in covered employment. Special attention is given to the matters of "determination of seasonal workers," "determination of 'off season'," "wholly seasonal and 'dovetailing' workers," and "payment of benefits during the off season."

<sup>26</sup> Paul S. Taylor, *Adrift on the Land*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 42 (New York, April, 1940). 31 pp.

<sup>27</sup> Franz Huber, *Seasonal Workers and Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain, Germany, and Austria*, Social Security Board, Bureau Report No. 4 (Washington, 1940). 167 pp.

<sup>28</sup> Other bulletins in this series are: *Tabular Summary of Statistics of Public Assistance*, Social Security Board, Bureau Report No. 1 (Washington, 1938). 52 pp.; *A Plan for a Case Census of Recipients of Public Assistance*, Social Security Board, Bureau Report No. 2 (Washington, March, 1938) (listed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV [(September, 1939)], 363); and *Unemployment and Health Insurance in Great Britain 1911-1937*, Social Security Board, Bureau Report No. 3 (Washington, 1938). 44 pp.

The attempt of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to reduce child labor on sugar beet farms has met with varying success in different sections of the country. By law, sugar beet growers who receive Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments sign contracts which prohibit them from permitting children (other than their own) under 14 to work at all and children from 14 to 16 to work more than eight hours daily in the beet fields. A Children's Bureau publication entitled *Welfare of Families of Sugar-Beet Laborers*<sup>29</sup> describes the early effects of this provision besides supplying the best available information concerning earnings, living, and working conditions, ethnic characteristics, and work and education of children of the families of these laborers. Data on which the publication is based were collected in 1935 from interviews with 946 representative beet laborers' families, each of which had at least one child under 16 years of age and lived in 10 areas in Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, Nebraska, and Montana. The two leading ethnic groups were the Mexicans and Spanish-Americans, who comprised 67 per cent, and the Russian-Germans, who made up 22 per cent of the sample. Although there had been a marked decrease in employment of children at the time of the study, 19 per cent of the children under 14 had worked in the fields. The comparable per cent for 1934, before the regulation was in effect, was 43. Despite the eight-hour maximum workday for 14- and 15-year-old children, more than half of the children were reported as working longer than eight hours. During thinning work one-fourth of the children worked 12 or more hours per day.

According to the report the median total annual income for the families was \$410 and the median size approximately six members. Sixty-three per cent of the families had received public relief, and "along with meager family incomes and the frequent need for assistance from relief agencies went poor living conditions involving inadequate diet, insufficient clothing, poor housing, and lack of needed medical service for most of the families. Their dwellings were frequently in poor repair. Forty-seven per cent of the families reporting on their dwellings during the beet season lived in houses of not more than two rooms. Nearly two-fifths were living with 3 or more persons to a room, and a few were living with 6 to 10 persons to a room." Besides these physical handicaps the families were disadvantaged socially. Their children were retarded in school; and the families, particularly the Mexicans and Spanish-Americans, were *personae non grata* in the communities in which they lived.

#### LAND TENURE

*The Farm Tenancy Situation* is the first publication of a series entitled *Land Tenure in Arkansas*.<sup>30</sup> Based primarily upon census data and previous studies, it describes the various tenure groups in the Delta Type, Coastal Plain, and Hilly

<sup>29</sup> E. S. Johnson, *Welfare of Families of Sugar-Beet Laborers*, U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication No. 247 (Washington, 1939). 100 pp.

<sup>30</sup> J. A. Baker and J. G. McNeely, *Land Tenure in Arkansas*, 1. *The Farm Tenancy Situation*, Arkansas AESB 384 (Fayetteville, January, 1940). 62 pp.



Upland areas. In each of these areas there is a definite lack of stability in occupancy by tenants, the percentages of families which had been on the farm they occupy five years or more in 1935 being 19, 23, and 16, respectively. Tenant farmers have lower incomes and participate to a lesser extent in the social and recreational activities of their communities than full owners. The bulletin also contains a brief discussion of European experience in adjusting farm leasing systems to improve landlord-tenant relationships and increase farm-home ownership.

*A Study of Farming in the Sandy Creek Soil Conservation Demonstration Area with Special Reference to Erosion Control* in Georgia<sup>81</sup> is based upon a 1933 survey of 195 farms and a 1937 survey of 117 of the same and 40 additional farms. The study indicated that tenant-operated farms ranked lower than owner-operated farms in the proportion of cropland planted to close-growing erosion resisting crops and quantity of erosion control practices being carried on. However, there was little difference in the two tenure groups so far as soil depleting crops were concerned.

Owner-operators who were burdened by heavy debts had a higher percentage of the farm land in crops and relatively more of the crop land in soil-depleting crops, and they ranked lower in the quantity and quality of conservation practices than owner-operators who were free from debt.

A historical treatment of the development of the various forms of tenure is included in a bulletin entitled *Some Legal Aspects of Landlord-Tenant Relationships in Ohio*.<sup>82</sup> The various prevailing types of freehold estates and other types of tenure with rights of the parties involved in each case are described.

A Public Affairs Pamphlet<sup>83</sup> based on several recent studies on farm tenancy and land tenure conditions presents the historical background of tenancy in the United States, its present status, and suggestions for improvement of conditions surrounding tenants and other underprivileged farm groups. "Behind the rural problem is rural poverty." Therefore, the solution cannot be merely to make owners out of tenants. "Glancing at the possibilities inherent in state action the [President's] Committee [on Farm Tenancy] sees them summed up in legislation needed (1) to improve the leasing contract and landlord-tenant relationships, (2) to modify the taxation of farm lands with a view to favoring farm ownership, and (3) to make better provisions for safeguarding the civil liberties of tenants on the land. In addition, there is the necessity for conformity, so that

<sup>81</sup> W. E. Hendrix, *A Study of Farming in the Sandy Creek Soil Conservation Demonstration Area with Special Reference to Erosion Control*, Georgia AESB 205 (Experiment, November, 1939). 42 pp.

<sup>82</sup> H. R. Moorg, *Some Legal Aspects of Landlord-Tenant Relationships in Ohio*, Ohio AESB 119 (Columbus, December, 1939). Mimeographed, 25 pp.

<sup>83</sup> *Farmers Without Land*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 12 (rev.) (New York, 1938). 32 pp.

certain states may not lag behind. The Federal Government can play an important role in aiding and encouraging state action along the most approved lines."

#### RELIEF AND DEPENDENCY

Families of *Dependent Children in South Dakota*<sup>34</sup> who have lost parents through death, divorce, or other causes are now assisted by Mothers' pensions and county relief from county funds, old age assistance, and aid to the needy blind from state and federal funds, Indian direct relief, Farm Security Grants, and Work Projects Administration, National Youth Administration, and Civilian Conservation Corps wages from federal funds. To determine whether or not present arrangements should be altered by state participation in the state-federal aid to Dependent Children of the Social Security Board, a study of all forms of assistance going to dependent children for the fiscal year of 1938, was made. The investigation, based upon cards filled out from relief records of families having dependent children, indicated that during the year 13,098 dependent children under 16 years of age, living in 5,772 households, had been assisted to the extent of \$1,049,460 (their families received \$1,668,077), 60.9 per cent of which had been contributed from federal, 36.8 per cent from state, and 2.3 per cent from county sources.

It was concluded that if the state were to co-operate with the Social Security Board, which in 1940 would furnish funds for aid to dependent children on a fifty-fifty basis, some \$115,800 might have been saved by the South Dakota county and state governments. This estimate is based upon the consideration that some of the assistance would have continued to come from federal works and farm relief. Also, families without dependent children would receive some of the benefits in the form of works program wages now going to broken homes.

Rural population of the state outnumbers the population of settlements by three to two, but received only one-fourth of the relief for dependent children. The authors conclude that "an aid to dependent children program would be of greatest benefit (1) in providing the stable and dependable income that makes for good family life, and (2) in returning mothers to the home."

In *Facts About Unemployment*,<sup>35</sup> the fourth is a series of Work Projects Administration pamphlets on *Social Problems*,<sup>36</sup> the results of a survey of unemployment in Birmingham, Toledo, and San Francisco are summarized. Among the conclusions are the following: Of the total labor supply between a fifth and a fourth is unemployed. Hardest hit by unemployment are the young worker and

<sup>34</sup> Richard L. Woolbert and Robert L. McNamara, *Dependent Children in South Dakota*, South Dakota AESB 332 (Brookings, January, 1940). 40 pp.

<sup>35</sup> John N. Webb and Joseph C. Bevis, *Facts About Unemployment*, WPA Social Problems No. 4 (Washington, 1940). 34 pp.

<sup>36</sup> David Cushman Coyle, *Rural Youth*, Social Problems No. 2, was listed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV (June, 1939), 249; David Cushman Coyle, *Depression Pioneers*, No. 1, and Rupert B. Vance, *Rural Relief and Recovery*, No. 3, were reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV (September, 1939), 352, 355.

the old worker. "Only about one-fourth of the unemployed have jobs on the Works Program; another fourth are temporarily inactive so far as the labor market is concerned; the remaining one-half are active job seekers." . . . "Almost half of all employed persons are working more than the 44-hour limit set by the Wage-Hour Act for industries covered by the law." Of all families about three-fifths have only one worker.

#### DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE ACTIVITIES

*Standard of Value for Program Planning and Building*<sup>87</sup> is the record of the proceedings of a school for workers in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics held in Washington, October, 1939. It reports a program of events comparable to that followed by 59 similar schools held in the states. Besides the summaries of discussion groups, the following 12 papers are included in the report:

- "Man as a Biological Phenomenon," Mark A. Graubard
- "Can Human Nature be Changed," Rupert B. Vance
- "There Ought to be a Law About It," E. G. Nourse
- "Individualism, Democracy and Social Control," Rupert B. Vance
- "Administration in a Democracy," Lloyd M. Short
- "Problems in Continuing a Program of Agricultural Adjustment," Joseph S. Davis
- "Culture and Agriculture," Horace Miner
- "Problems of Centralization and Decentralization in Government and Administration," Lloyd M. Short
- "A Desirable Foreign Trade Policy for American Agriculture," Joseph S. Davis
- "Culture Patterns and the Social Necessity of Adjustments," Mark A. Graubard
- "Democracy and Group Leadership," E. G. Nourse
- "The Relation of the Administrator to the Farmer and the Expert," Kimball Young

"History was made when the Secretary of Agriculture invited 50 women to come to Washington to talk about the relation of agricultural programs and the American home. It was made by the invitation and it was made by the conversation of the women—25 urban and 25 rural—who examined many controversial questions and difficult problems in a spirit of friendliness and tolerance."<sup>88</sup>

A digest of the discussions has been published by the Department of Agriculture. The questions presented for discussion were: What major problems do we

<sup>87</sup> *Standards of Value for Program Planning and Building*, Proceedings of School for Washington Staff of Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA (Washington, 1939). Mimeographed, 132 pp.

<sup>88</sup> *Digest of the Rural-Urban Women's Conversations Held on the Invitation of the Secretary of Agriculture*, Washington D. C., April 13-14, 1939, USDA AAA (Washington, 1940). 40 pp.

face in attempting to create a balanced abundance in America? What must we produce in America to attain abundant living in all our homes? What have the American people so far asked their Department of Agriculture to do to aid in attacking the problems of increased abundance in living? How can we use our facilities in America to insure continued and increasing abundance in production and in living? In the opinion of American homemakers how can agricultural policy best contribute to the attainment of more abundant living?

#### MISCELLANEOUS

*An Analysis of the Attitudes of Two Hundred High School Seniors Toward Adjustments in Family Living*,<sup>39</sup> as determined by a questionnaire allowing for five degrees of approval or disapproval of over 120 propositions, has been mimeographed as an Oregon State College master's thesis in Home Economics. The students, half of which were girls, attended high school in Salt Lake City, Utah. Examples of the conclusions drawn are the following:

(1) Most of them have highly favorable attitudes toward going to picture shows and taking part in outdoor sports. Comparatively few boys and girls enjoy art exhibits and concerts, but (2) "drinking, smoking, making vulgar remarks, sarcasm, and making fun of others are rated as the most unfavorable characteristics of a fiance or fiancee." (3) Ten per cent fewer girls like to make clothes for a child than to select ready-made clothes for a child. (4) Although boys and girls enjoy visits from their grandparents, 89 per cent of the girls and 81 per cent of the boys would prefer to have grandparents live in homes of their own.

*A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom*,<sup>40</sup> a Columbia University doctor's thesis, includes the analysis of the choices for seat neighbors of 2,286 children in three New York City schools in classes with from 5 to 95 per cent Negroes. Each child was requested to indicate his preference among classmates who would sit with him in the classroom. Later interviewers talked with the children about their choices. Statistical analysis of choices were made on the basis of color shades and percentage of Negroes in the respective classes. The self-preference ratio based upon choices in one's own color group as related to the possible choices in the classroom indicates increasing tendencies toward cleavage as children proceed from lower to higher classes. In the inter-sexual choices colored boys preferred white girls in the first two grades then shifted to light girls. Colored girls preferred light boys until grade four, then medium boys. Whites in all classes chose their own color relatively more frequently than did Negroes. The monograph contains a resume of literature on the subject of race cleavage.

<sup>39</sup> Priscilla Rowland, *An Analysis of the Attitudes of Two Hundred High School Seniors Toward Adjustments in Family Living*, Oregon State College Thesis Series No. 5 (Eugene, November, 1939). Mimeographed, 88 pp.

<sup>40</sup> Joan Henning Criswell, *A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom*, Doctor's Thesis, Columbia University (New York, January, 1939). 81 pp.

*Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals*<sup>41</sup> is the title of a most recent attempt to apply precise measurement in the study of human behavior. Laboratory techniques are employed, and group hierarchies described in terms of statistical curves based upon measurements made on an instrument invented by the author, who observed groups through a window in a laboratory.

*A Public Affairs Pamphlet*,<sup>42</sup> based on a southern regional study, which was sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, compares the Southeast with the other four sections of the United States—in natural resources, economy, population, and culture—and suggests the necessity for regional planning in its future development if the region is to recover from the effects of poverty and ignorance. The Tennessee Valley Authority is cited as a testing ground of regional-national planning.

A series of monographs prepared by the League of Nations Conference on Rural Life<sup>43</sup> include reports on the following countries: Finland, Belgium, Netherlands, Latvia, Lithuania, Denmark, Sweden, France, and Luxemburg. Publications include description of social organizations, including co-operatives, rural hygiene, education, other items of general interest, and pictures of rural life.

The following additional publications were received this quarter:

*A Report of the Job Hunt for Unemployed Out-of-School Youth*, NYA of Illinois (Chicago, 1939). Mimeographed, 63 pp.

*Author Index to Industrial Change and Employment Opportunity—A Selected Bibliography*, WPA National Research Project, Report G-5 (Philadelphia, February, 1940). 14 pp.

Wm. H. Dankers, *Some Legal Requirements of Cooperative Organizations*, Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service, Pamphlet 61 (St. Paul, ?). Mimeographed, 19 pp.

Ada F. Wyman, *A Study of Contemporary Unemployment and Basic Data for Planning a Self-Help Cooperative in Palo Alto 1935-1936*, WPA (San Francisco, California, September, 1936). Mimeographed, 47 pp.

R. H. Elsworth, *Statistics of Farmers' Marketing and Purchasing Co-operatives 1937-38 Marketing Season*, FCA Miscellaneous Report 18 (Washington February, 1939). 23 pp.

*Recreation Circular No. III, Musical Games and Folk Dances for Wyoming—Rural Groups*, Wyoming Cooperative Extension Work (Laramie, April, 1939). Mimeographed, 35 pp.

<sup>41</sup> Eliot D. Chapple, *Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals*, Journal Press (Provincetown, Massachusetts, 1940). 147 pp.

<sup>42</sup> *The South's Place in the Nation*, Public Affairs Pamphlet (New York, 1938). 31 pp.

<sup>43</sup> *League of Nations European Conference on Rural Life*, Publications Nos. 1-26, (Geneva, June, 1939).

- Cooperative Marketing of Forest Products*, A Bibliography, U. S. Forest Service (Washington, November, 1939). Mimeographed, 22 pp.
- Günther Franz, *Bücherkunde zur Geschichte des deutschen Bauerntums* (Verlag von J. Neumann-Neudamm und Berlin, 1938). 97 pp.
- The Problem of Alaskan Development*, U. S. Department of Interior (Washington, July, 1939). Mimeographed, 94 pp.
- Donald E. V. Henderson, *Opportunities for Statistical Workers*, Science Research Associates Monograph (Chicago, 1938). 56 pp.
- Earl L. Arnold, *Farm Refrigerated Storages*, Cornell AESB 724 (New York, September, 1939). 40 pp.
- Walter W. Wilcox and Norman V. Strand, *Differences in Iowa Farms and Their Significance in the Planning of Agricultural Programs*, Iowa AES RB 260 (Ames, June, 1939). 47 pp.
- Farm Placement and Procedures*, Kentucky State Employment Service Manual Unit VIII (Frankfort, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 72 pp.
- 1939 Report of Rural Electrification Administration*, REA (Washington, January, 1940). 354 pp.
- Progress Report, 1939*, National Resources Committee (Washington, June, 1939). 173 pp.
- Farm Labour in the Orange Free State*, South African Institute of Race Relations, Monograph Series No. 2 (Johannesburg, April, 1939). 46 pp.
- D. E. Lindstrom, *Indices of Human Welfare with Reference to Rural Areas*, Illinois AES RSM-9 (Urbana, December, 1939). 12 pp.
- C. G. Randell and L. B. Mann, *Livestock Auction Sales in the United States*, FCAB 35 (Washington, May, 1939). 116 pp.
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# Book Reviews

*Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor*

*The Sociology of Rural Life.* By T. Lynn Smith. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. xx, 595 pp. \$3.50.

There are already ten textbooks on rural sociology, but this is the first to use this approach to the subject. There are five parts to the book. Part I forms an introduction, the first chapter dealing with generalizations concerning science, the scientific method, sociology, and rural sociology; while the second describes the rural world, contrasting the life of city and country and giving the general characteristics of rural society, outlining aspects which are described in detail in later chapters.

Part II consists of seven chapters, or nearly one-third of the text, concerning rural population and covering the usual categories of number and distribution, composition, physical and mental characteristics, health, fertility, mortality, and migration. This is a traditional approach and is logically justified in that the first step in the analysis of rural society is naturally a description of the human units which compose it. Also probably as much or more research has been done on population as in any phase of the whole field. Population composition is analyzed by the usual categories of race and nativity, age, sex, marital condition, education, and religion. The chapter on fertility is particularly good and uses the most recent material, as is the one on migration, which is well illustrated. The author's own research on population adds much to these chapters on population.

Part III consists of ten chapters on rural social organization, or over two-fifths of the text. This concerns the social structure. The first four chapters consider the relation to the land, including form of settlement, land division, land tenure, and size of holdings. This is the most original part of the book and is the best account of this topic in the same space which is now available. The author includes much of his own fruitful research in this field and covers that of others very thoroughly.

Next come two chapters on "relations of persons to persons." The first, on social differentiation, discusses the nature of the social group, dealing mostly, and rather inadequately, with locality groups, but makes no reference to any of the miscellaneous groups of rural society, commonly known as special interest groups. The chapter, "Social Stratification, Social Classes and Castes," is excellent, giving special emphasis to conditions in the South, and introduces a factor which has been too much neglected in previous texts. The analysis of this topic tends to be largely in terms of economic status and does not give sufficient recognition to differences in social status, as, for instance, between membership in different churches or other social groups.



Then follow four chapters on rural institutions. Marriage and the family are treated historically, and no characteristics of rural marriage are mentioned. The author follows LePlay and Zimmerman in his analysis of family types, but rather skimps evidence on the differential characteristics of the rural family, and makes no distinction between the farm and village family. A good picture of the general situation of rural education is given, but no insight is given as to the sociology of the school as a group or institution. The discussion of the Agricultural Extension Service is brief and also omits any description of its group structure. The Rural Church is treated chiefly in terms of trends, with no discussion of the role of the church in the rural community or of its sociological structure. The chapter on rural political institutions and government is the best of those on institutions and gives a good picture of this "vast labyrinth," but lacks in functional analysis. There is no discussion of rural economic institutions or of the agricultural basis of rural life.

Part IV on the social processes in rural society is the distinctive part of the book so far as method of analysis is concerned, and in the prefatory note the author says rightly that "The study of social processes has not been given the attention due it in the field of rural sociology." These chapters deal with competition and conflict; cooperation; accommodation, assimilation, and acculturation; and social mobility. This is the only section which deals with the psychological factor in rural society. The discussion of these topics is mostly illustrative, showing how these categories affect the relations of different groups, classes, and institutions, and reveals the need for a more extensive use of these concepts in the study of rural social situations.

The chapter on cooperation gives a good description of the growth and trends of farmers' cooperative associations, but there is no consideration of the sociological nature of the cooperative group and its problems in relation to centralization of control. The section on accommodation is particularly good in its analysis of class and caste in the South, and in the treatment of accommodation of trade centers to each other, based largely on his own researches. The section on acculturation points out an area which needs more study and in which exploratory work of considerable significance is now being carried on. The chapter on social mobility deals almost wholly with vertical mobility—horizontal mobility having been treated under migration—which hardly brings out its full significance in relation to local institutions.

Part V consists of a final chapter, "Conclusion," which summarizes "Cultural Change in Rural Areas," but without any previous analysis of culture concepts as applied to rural society.

There is an excellent bibliography of approximately 600 titles, which will be very helpful. The book is well documented, is carefully edited and indexed, and has a pleasing format and a good binding. The exercises and readings for each chapter are based on a limited number of standard texts, which makes the book well adapted to institutions with limited library facilities. The author has deliberately eschewed tables and has substituted numerous graphs and maps, which

bring out the main facts of statistical analysis. The aerial photographs illustrating land settlement and division are excellent.

I have not attempted to check the factual material; but so far as I have observed, it is accurate and well selected. I would, however, question the author's statement on page 9 that rural sociology had little claim to scientific status and received a set back with the "motley array of projects" which resulted from the passage of the Purnell Act in 1926. The monograph of the Social Science Research Council on Rural Sociological Research in the United States, issued in 1927, rather definitely refutes this statement, for in reviewing it I find that out of 25 state experiment stations having research projects at that time, those of fully half of the states were certainly of first class scientific importance, and my judgment would be that there has been a steady growth with no "set back," but merely a renewed growth as the better-trained younger workers became available.

It would be a sad day for any field of knowledge if the perfect textbook should arrive; all have their limitations and their strengths. Although a reviewer is obligated to point out the limitations of a book, he should also make clear its merits. In my judgment this book is an excellent beginning in the development of a real sociology of rural life organizing its material in terms of sociology as a science rather than by the application of sociological knowledge to the technique of rural improvement. It is a scholarly piece of work and is notable as embodying new approaches to the sociology of rural life.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

*Community Schools in Action.* By Elsie Ripley Clapp. New York: The Viking Press, 1939. xviii, 429 pp. \$3.75.

*Manifesto on Rural Life.* Imprimatur: Aloisius J. Muench. Washington, D. C.: National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 1939. x + 222 pp. Cloth, \$1.50; Paper, \$1.00.

*Urban and Rural Housing.* A report of the League of Nations. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. xxxvi, 159 pp. \$.80.

*Rural America Reads.* By Marion Humble. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1938. ix, 101 pp. \$1.00.

Elsie Ripley Clapp's book is a case study of educational "modernization" in two rural communities: a "remote" rural area a few miles from Louisville, Kentucky; and Arthurdale, West Virginia, where the school system was built along with the development of a government resettlement project. The author, a student of John Dewey, went into these communities in the hope of creating a real community school. In Kentucky she and her staff "came to an understanding of the nature and functioning of a community school" and in West Virginia "built a community school and used it as an agency in community education." Planting a garden, preserving fruits and vegetables, producing plays portraying the history of the region, these and health examinations, school luncheons, a school county fair, a cooperative market, and the making of the school a center for community activities illustrate the experimental efforts put forth. Reading and writing were

conceived of as tools in the study of nature and society. Teachers were neighbors, and parents shared in the work of the school. As John Dewey points out in his preface to the book, "The report is a demonstration in practice of the place of education in building a democratic life." Here, then, is a practical demonstration of a school system becoming the center of group life for the community.

*Manifesto on Rural Life* was initiated and written by a group of leaders of the Catholic rural life movement. Committees prepared statements for a tentative draft. The final draft was made by a committee composed of the Most Reverend Aloisius J. Muench, Bishop of Fargo, the Very Reverend Dr. Vincent J. Ryan, and the Very Reverend Dr. William P. Mulloy, both of the city of Fargo. The revisions were reconsidered and approved by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference at Vincennes in September, 1938. The Manifesto makes significant statements on the farm family, ownership and tenancy, rural settlement, rural education, rural Catholic youth, Catholic culture, the rural community, the rural pastor, rural church expansion, rural health, rural social charity, the farm laborer, farmer cooperatives, rural credit, agriculture, the economic order, and rural taxation. All the statements are worthy of careful study. Of importance to public officials is the statement, "Healthy agrarianism is undoubtedly one of the chief assets, if not the chief asset, of the state." To the religious leader, urban as well as rural, the statement on the dependence of church growth upon growth and progress of the rural church is a real challenge. Rural sociologists will find the analysis of the rural community and its leadership particularly interesting. Among other things, the writers favor agrarianism as against commercial agriculture; re-establishing farmers on family-sized farms; retaining the more ambitious on the land; government aid in inducing young married people to settle on the land; close cooperation of the church and farm organizations, the agricultural extension service and similar agencies; and parity prices between agriculture and industry.

*Urban and Rural Housing* is a report of an inquiry by M. B. Helgar of the Swedish Social Board of the Assembly of the League of Nations concerning the types of problems involved in governmental efforts to improve housing conditions in western Europe and in North America. Migration from rural to urban areas and changes in age distribution of the populations have caused a shortage of housing. Cheap housing has failed to eliminate slums, because the cheaper buildings exist from which owners derive a return greater than that of a new construction. Hence, in many countries the conclusion has been reached that private enterprise for profit is incapable of clearing away blighted areas.

Housing standards in rural areas are definitely lower than in urban. Most rural dwellings are fairly old and too scattered to afford essential common services, although rural electrification helps. A number of measures have been adopted in various countries for improving the housing of farmers and rural laborers. The information is arranged in such a way as to permit the reader to compare housing problems in different countries. The report points in the direction of greater state concern for housing, both in rural and urban areas.

*Rural America Reads* is a delightful summary of the library resources and uses in rural America. The author has given a cursory, perhaps too sketchy, though valuable study to the problem of improving rural library service. She found that worth-while books often fail to reach readers in rural areas, not only because of inadequate library facilities, but also because of untrained rural librarians. The county library system, limited to California; the extension or "mail" systems; bookmobiles; Tennessee Valley Authority, National Youth Administration, and Work Projects Administration library services; the activities of discussion groups; the use of the radio; and the assistance women's book review, home economics, and other rural clubs give in extending and widening the scope of rural library service are described in some detail. The author feels the trend is toward more deliberate and more pronounced educational activity in the interest of extending rural library services.

University of Illinois

D. E. LINDSTROM

*Children of God*. By Vardis Fisher. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939. 769 pp. \$3.00.

*Heaven on Earth*. By William J. McNiff. Oxford, Ohio: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1940. viii, 262 pp. \$3.00.

Written in realistic, fascinating, and vivid style, *Children of God* is Fisher's interpretation of the Mormon movement from the time of its inception under Joseph Smith down to the period ending with the abolition of polygamy in the 1890's. This work, Harper's prize novel for 1939, is a "blending of authentic history and the imaginative insight" of the author and contains much which orthodox Mormons would see fit to challenge, as well as much they would agree with. However, for the sociologist, it affords an excellent opportunity for obtaining considerable information regarding social organization, social control, and such social processes as cooperation, competition, and accommodation as they existed and operated in the Mormon society.

Among the various factors responsible for the success of the Mormons in establishing themselves may be mentioned the following: (1) the strong faith exercised by the adherents of the movement that they were being led by divine revelation and were members of the true Church of Christ; (2) the church organization which gave tremendous power to its leaders and an activity to each of its members; (3) the solidarity of the group, which was given a special impetus by persecution from without; and (4) the nature of certain Mormon teachings themselves (e.g., such stabilizing influences as prayer, "patriarchal" blessings, and temple marriages; also such doctrines as the perfectibility of the individual, the sanctity of the home, etc.). An insight into the operation of many of these factors (though not all) is afforded by Fisher's work. In addition, the reader is given an "inside" view of many difficulties encountered both within and without the church over such problems as polygamy, intense persecution, and the conquering of a semi-desert region. Thus, *Children of God* is assuredly helpful in understanding the Mormon movement and in disclosing the way in which the Mormons coped with certain problems still prevalent in modern society.

McNiff, starting with the basic premise that "in its highest reaches Mormon theology desired to bring about a heaven on this earth" (p. vii), seeks to portray the efforts of Mormon leadership to bring about this Zion during the period beginning with the inauguration of the movement and ending with the death of Brigham Young. In successive chapters, Mormon economic cooperation, the function of intelligence, education, various group influences, the theatre, and music are discussed. The author contends that the inability of the Mormons to attain permanent isolation from the rest of the world was a chief factor in preventing them from achieving this "heaven on earth." This, however, was certainly not the only factor.

Careful readers will note one or two factual errors in the book; e.g., it is asserted on page 41 that delinquent church members are refused entrance to the Tabernacle. It is the Temple and not the Tabernacle to which entrance is refused. Otherwise, McNiff, maintaining a fine impartiality throughout, has made a distinct contribution in his analysis of the cultural achievements of the early Mormon movement.

Louisiana State University and Harvard University

REED H. BRADFORD

*Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850.* By David M. Ludlum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. 305 pp. \$3.50.

Many believe that Vermont represents a last outpost of the old order. Ludlum presents here a very interesting account of a period in which Vermont was famous for almost anything but conservatism. Between 1791 and 1850 almost every fad of social reform had an enthusiastic following there. It was the last of the New England states to be settled, its real formation taking place during the Revolutionary Period. Frontier conditions, then, compounded with a heterogeneous society of immigrants, many of them rebels against the old order in Massachusetts and Connecticut, created a new and radical society in which the new ideas germinating in the older sections were to have full sway.

Topographic factors, the accidents of settlement, and the influence of adjacent cultures have placed a distinctive stamp on four areas. The Southeast was settled by Connecticut Yankees, who simply moved up the river and maintained close cultural ties with their relatives and neighbors to the south. The Northeast was settled by much the same group, but lines of communication were too tenuous; so their early connections were closest with the New Hampshire and Maine ports. The Northwest, including the Champlain region, has had its closest ties with Lower Canada; while the Southwest has been most attached to New York state—Troy, Albany, and New York City. These sections long retained their industrial identities, and each had its characteristic reaction to the social movements which swept Vermont in such profusion during this sixty-year period. The Southwest in particular was a hotbed of every kind of religious, political, or philosophical radicalism of the times. Any movement could expect an enthusiastic response from someone in this section, but the warm response often grew cold just as quickly when some other enthusiasm came over the horizon.

The meat of the book is the account of Vermont's "radicalism" in many fields. Religious conversion and counterconversion, temperance, antimasonry, antislavery, and many others were fields of social reform which found enthusiastic following. The enthusiasm for "causes" often created schisms in churches, clubs, and even families. Antimasonry swept the state. Reform was followed by counterreform. Irreligion—that is, irreligion to the Puritans, who considered Universalism tantamount to deism and atheism—was followed by revival which swept on into an age of benevolence. But there soon followed a period in which the church was sundered anew because social reformers, who had over-reached themselves in their zeal, condemned the church for not plunging into the fray. Idealistic and religious social reformers then began fighting the church, which put them out; whereupon the reformers turned on the church and denounced it. And the cycle went on.

As Number 5 in the "Columbia Studies in American Culture," this volume represents an important contribution to the social history of rural America. It is an attempt to explain the factors associated with Vermont's early radicalism and the reason for its sudden decline after 1850. For sociologists it suffers from being too much a chronicle of events which have not been related to broader systems of social theory, but perhaps this is still preferable to facile generalizations which lack the balance wheel of careful fact finding.

Colgate University

WENDELL H. BASH

*Rural Roads to Security.* By Rt. Rev. Msgr. Luigi G. Ligutti and Rev. John C. Rawe, S.J. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Bruce Publishing Company, 1940. xi, 359 pp. \$2.75.

This convincing book reviews the depressing situation in American agriculture, pointing out that "What could easily have endure ' as a nation of secure, free, landowning people through an intelligent agriculture on our two billion acres, has become a nation of servile dependents on a mechanistic plutocracy, inefficient and exploitive." American farmers have become "merely soil chemists, not soil biologists, soil miners, not real husbandmen." It scores Proletarianism, which is identified with the absence of productive family holdings. The thesis is that homestead distribution of land on the family ownership and family operation basis was the system used to build up American democracy and is the structure to be retained in order to preserve American way of life.

The second part of the book is a logical defense and enthusiastic plea for the "small highly diversified bio-dynamic family unit farm." Self-sufficiency is made the prerequisite for production for exchange. The ideal set forth is the homestead. "A homestead is a home on a small holding of 'land in any modern country, where a family, preserving the natural bonds of integration and unity, lives and works; cares for the home gardens and orchards, cows, pigs, and chickens; cultivates and raises a variety of food for its own table, engaging in some carefully selected cash crop enterprise only when a considerable supply of year round home-grown food for the family and the livestock has been provided for."

(p. 121.) The authors show the advantages of part-time farming through an analysis of the Granger Homestead Project (Iowa), of which the senior author is sponsor. In the third section stress is placed upon the need of regarding "the cultivated field as a living organism, a living entity in the totality of its processes." Attention is called to the many groups organized to render attractive the productive home. The remedy against proletarianism is the cooperative movement. The central theme is never forgotten. "The real farm is the livelihood farm; it is the homestead which must rebuild the family, the oldest and most venerable institution on earth."

The ideals recorded are shown as they have been put into practice in many concrete cases. Informative and well ordered, it is serviceable as a textbook for a course in rural sociology, and as a stimulant to those who despair of a "way out."

Boston College

DAVID W. TWOMEY, S.J.

*The Mennonites in Iowa.* By Melvin Gingerich. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1939. 419 pp. \$3.00.

This work is an important contribution to the social history and description of American sects and their communities. The author traces briefly the European backgrounds of the Mennonites in America and their westward movement from the Pennsylvania strongholds of the various sects and communities, loosely described as "Pennsylvania Dutch." The history illustrates and documents the difficulty of maintaining a community life withdrawn from the "world," wherein the religious affiliation is no special-interest association but rather the focus of cumulative-group ties. The importance of peculiar dress, folkways, rituals, and especially the characteristic Anglicized German language in providing effective barriers to the intrusion of secular interests is well demonstrated by Gingerich.

The Mennonites of Iowa, like those of Pennsylvania, are prosperous farmers. The fact that the community life is oriented toward their religious interests does not mean that they are improvident visionaries or impervious ascetics. Cleanliness, orderliness, industry, and the enjoyment of the simpler fruits of industry are positive virtues. These facts raise certain problems in the maintenance of their separation from the secular world, since at least the market nexus must be maintained. Moreover, the emphasis upon simplicity does not uniformly coordinate perfectly with the approval of industry and efficient management, as in the case of the differences of opinion in regard to the use of tractors. Yet the success of these communities in holding their own in face of the increasing complexity and secularization of American life is not to be overlooked.

Although a considerable amount of space is devoted in this book to purely local history of various Mennonite churches and their leaders, the book as a whole merits the attention of rural sociologists interested in rural communities which are both prosperous and closely knit, and which are more concerned about the heresy of rubber tires on tractors and buggies than about crop reduction and the AAA.

Harvard University

WILBERT E. MOORE

*Tangier Island: A Study of an Isolated Group.* By S. Warren Hall, III. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939. x, 119 pp. \$1.50.

To the author Tangier Island, located in the middle of Chesapeake Bay, seemed to present a unique opportunity for a study of cultural isolation and social change. Although Tangier's culture had never been exclusively indigenous, "it was not until the summer of 1932 that these shore influences (those of modern American life) commenced to overwhelm the established Tangier way of life." The study took on a twofold purpose: first, against the background of its geographical location, to bring to light in its historical development and its institutional organization the sociological influences which cast Tangier culture in its distinctive mold; second, to trace the patterns of island-mainland interaction in order to reveal both the influences from "the shore" which contributed something to Tangier culture and those which, more recently, threaten its existence as a distinct way of life.

The study suffers from two rather serious shortcomings. In the first place, the author encountered the familiar difficulty in studies of small communities of a scarcity of data on both the historical development and the institutional aspects of Tangier life. His method of direct participation and observation, though often illuminating, only partially compensates for this lack of data. The result is an impressionistic and suggestive, rather than an exhaustive, treatment. In the second place, the imputation to Tangier Island of a distinct culture, "developed by the Tangiermen themselves," does not bear up under critical analysis. While in certain details life on Tangier is distinct and different from that on the mainland, the island has in general shared the same cultural vicissitudes as the coastal region of which it is a part. A more careful and thorough attempt should have been made to make a clear distinction between life on the island and life on "the shore." For this purpose the use of comparative data drawn from a fishing community on the shore, rather than from another island as the author has done, would have been more useful.

Dartmouth College

GEORGE F. THERIAULT

*Federal, State, and Local Administrative Relationships in Agriculture.* By Carleton R. Ball. Two volumes. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1938. x, 1,139 pp. \$10.00.

Do you want to know the governmental services rendered in the fields of climate, soils, agricultural chemistry, the animal industry, plant industries, agricultural education, or any of the related fields? If you do, turn to Carleton R. Ball's *Federal, State, and Local Administrative Relationships in Agriculture*. You will find there the most detailed accumulation of facts concerning government and agriculture that has ever been brought together within two volumes. It is encyclopedic. This is its essential importance. It is an invaluable source book for the economist, the political scientist, the historian, and the sociologist. Of all these groups the political scientist will find it the most disappointing, although he will find it useful. Mr. Ball has not been concerned with the whys and hows of the



many services. He does not explain why it has been necessary for government to assume these functions or why it will assume more. He does not show why the division of services between local, state, and federal is as it is or if it is sound administratively. And, he does not evaluate the social utility of any service by whatever level of government performed.

But there is no more impressive defense of the service of state and governmental activity than that found here. It is neither a plea for more services nor for less services. In the one chapter devoted to definition and comment the author observes, and in it implies a prediction, that "cooperation in effort marks the dawning of a new day. It connotes willingness to surrender some personal privileges for the good of society. . . . and ready assumption of the obligation to planned helpfulness." This is truer of the relationship of government and agriculture with which he is dealing than in other institutional relationships of society.

The author is to be congratulated for accumulating the materials of these volumes, and the University of California is to be commended for its publication. Now we can hope that Carleton Ball will find time to give us a third volume explaining the whys, hows, and consequences of the facts here set forth so admirably.

New York University

RAY F. HARVEY

*The Ruling Class.* By Gaetano Mosca. Edited and Revised, with an Introduction by Arthur Livingston. Translation by Hannah D. Kahn. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939. 514 pp. \$4.50.

Those who like their political theory based upon the writer's conception of what has been and what is, instead of what ought to be, will find *The Ruling Class* by the Sicilian Mosca stimulating with a realistic brilliance reminiscent of the maligned Machiavelli. Unlike Machiavelli, Mosca is more sociologically concerned "with determining the constant trends in human societies than with the arts by which an individual, or a class of individuals, might succeed in achieving supreme power." (p. 1.) His mind works with an amazing emancipation from the intellectual folklore. Unlike Pareto's *Sociologie Générale* which is often linked with this one by Mosca, *The Ruling Class* is essentially a theory of political functioning. Since the dawn of civilization two classes or groups have appeared, a class which rules and a class which is ruled. The idea that majorities rule is a myth, one of the illusions constructed by the ruling class to get and keep its power. "Human societies are organized around collective illusions." Such folklore of government is developed by the ruling class in justification of its power. Justifications are formulated out of the current coin of beliefs and sentiments. We have then government as it actually functions and is known to political realists and government as it is widely believed to function, which latter is in no small part an organization of collective illusions.

The type and level of a civilization varies as the group in power varies. Struggle, assumed as a basic factor in Mosca's system, is not for existence but for pre-

eminence. Collective illusions are used by those in power as social forces. A social force is defined as any activity which has social significance. The ruling group rules by controlling the greatest possible number of social forces. The number of social forces increases as civilization increases. A society is most stable and productive when social forces are most balanced. While ostensibly one might expect that Mosca, as is suggested in the first part of his book, lacks sympathy for the democratic process viewed as representative government, his final ripened conclusions, expressed in the latter six chapters written some decades (1923 edition) after the first part was formulated (1878-1880), presents a plea for a return to the representative form of government in Europe. In the latter less critical third of the book written in a much changed Europe he seems to wish for what might be called as much representative government as possible without illusions in the minds of those in authority.

The book is a brilliant appeal for realism in thinking about the process of government. It comes out of a political mill of decades of experience by one who has an incisive analytical mind. Mosca, from his experience in the Italian government, "knew his way around." However, he aimed at more than understanding the political scene in our culture; he aimed at generalizations about constant behavior in human society. As such, his work falls short. His system is for a competitive society which stresses vertical mobility. Social control in primitive societies and lesser cultures does not always emphasize the struggle for pre-eminence. Not all societies stress individual struggle for status and power. Some emphasize a common will for collective achievement. Thus, his work still leaves a wide avenue for the role of culture as a political factor.

Hunter College

LEE EMERSON DEETS

*Hunger and History.* By E. Parmalee Prentice. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939. xviii, 269 pp. \$3.00.

This book is concerned primarily with the interrelations of the progress of freedom, the character of the food supply, and the effect of want and abundance on the human mind. The author reviews 35 rare European documents, mostly of the three centuries ending with 1800, to write a history of famines, agriculture, and the growth of political freedom. The evolution from human labor to modern power in agriculture is traced. One chapter on the history of the milk industry and another on five centuries of poultry history are carefully done. The ineffectiveness of the horse as a draft animal, before the advent of the modern rigid shoulder-collar and iron shoes, is reviewed from two epochal studies by the French Commandant, Lefebvre des Noettes, published in 1924 and 1931.

An expanding agriculture and a rise of political freedom are traced by the author across eleven centuries from the Moors in Spain to the Lombards in the Po Valley of Italy, to Holland and Flanders in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, and to England in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. These advances were followed by a growth in population that in turn reduced the per capita consumption, increased the system of taxation and regulation, and thereby started

the downward spiral of decreasing political freedom, agriculture, and trade—leading finally to a decline in general intellectual achievement.

To show the relation of population and his subject, the author quotes Humphrey Mitchell, H. P. Fairchild, Warren S. Thompson, Frank Lorimer, and Frederick Osborn to restate Malthus in terms of modern economic technology and mechanical birth control. The author reveals no acquaintance with the work of F. Engels, F. LePlay, and Carle C. Zimmerman concerning the relations of individual consumption and governmental regulation. His synthesis of history is less objective and less dramatic than those of Edward Gibbon, Oswald Spengler, and H. E. Barnes. The documentation, index, illustrations, and format of the book are praiseworthy. Throughout the book the author weaves his political philosophy into the history, often in quite unexpected places, but never surreptitiously. However, he never presents any examples that would weaken his argument. He is a corporation lawyer and owner of Mount Hope Estate, a dairy breeding farm at Williamstown, Massachusetts.

University of Kentucky

MERTON OYLER

*Country Lawyer.* By Bellamy Partridge. New York: Whittlesey House, 1939. 317 pp. \$2.75.

This is as much the story of village life in America during the period "from Appomattox to Sarajevo" as it is the biography of Samuel S. Partridge. The elder Partridge, Bellamy's father, teacher, and law partner, began his practice in Phelps, New York, in the late 1860's and remained the village lawyer for the rest of his life—well into the twentieth century. His life story is the thread of the book, about which are woven a series of anecdotes that introduce many of the more or less familiar village personality "types," such as the inn-keeper, the drunk, the dandy, the firebug, the miser, the habitual litigant, and such situations as the drawing of a will on a deathbed, the battle among the relatives over the will (a frequent occurrence), the suits of slander, and (less common, but entertainingly told) the great suit for damages brought against the Methodist Church because its prayers for rain were too efficacious. The country lawyer's position was outstanding, the author tells us, because law and legal processes play so important a part in the life of rural people. "Law, in the city, is as distant from the individual as the stars," but in the country, "law is a real and living entity. Find me a countryman who has never seen a lawsuit and I will show you a blind man."

The author contends that the span of his father's life and practice in Phelps was the "golden age of village life in America"; it was the period when the village was still "a product of its own environment," was relatively isolated and self-sufficient. The invasion by the motorcar and the large-scale cityward migration of the young people of the village had not yet begun. In such an environment the country lawyer occupied a position of prestige and authority. Not only was he required to be accomplished in all branches of the law (drawing papers, giving legal advice, bringing and defending civil suits, and defending criminal cases), but he was also a sort of father-confessor, spiritual and ethical adviser,

confidant, and referee. There was no room in the village for the legal specialist any more than there was room for the medical specialist. There are such incidents, for example, as the time when the country lawyer acted as score-keeper and referee in a pancake-eating contest; the occasion when he averted a village scandal by arranging for the adoption by a childless couple of the husband's bastard; and the silent feud between the two partners of the grocery store, each of whom was systematically robbing the other because he believed that the other's dishonesty was the reason for the firm's losses.

*Country Lawyer* manages to communicate the flavor of rural life of a "bygone era" in a kindly yet realistic manner. The material is excellently selected (much of it being taken from a private notebook kept by Samuel Partridge of "Strange and Unusual Cases Encountered in My Practice of Law") and is treated in an easy, readable style. Its anecdotes are not all humorous; some are moving; and they all concern a living, breathing village people. The book makes no pretension to being a "sociological" treatise; yet it is a really valuable contribution to the understanding of the community.

University of Connecticut

HENRY W. RIECKEN

*Mothers of the South, Portraiture of the White Tenant Farm Woman.* By Margaret J. Hagood. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. vii, 252 pp. \$2.00.

The major contribution of this book lies in the skill with which the author has used the methods and techniques of the case study to present a clear and unemotional picture of the white tenant farm woman. The cases studied (117 Piedmont women and 124 Deep South women) were checked by various indices of mobility, education, age, age at marriage, number of years exposed to pregnancy, fertility, occupation, and level of living to show the extent to which they could be considered representative of the region from which they were selected. The life history of the white tenant farm woman, from her early childhood, is one of many duties in the house and the field, scanty education, no luxuries, and few social activities outside the family. Unrealized ambitions do not necessarily leave her embittered; they bear fruit in her desires for her children to have more opportunities in life than she had.

The major portion of the book, devoted to case analyses designed to clarify various aspects of the farm woman's life, achieves its object in all respects except to keep the magnitude of the problem faced by these people ever-present in the reader's mind. Nevertheless, the author succeeds in portraying the life of a rural class, similar in many respects to a peasant society, but confronted with the results of years of exploitation of the soil through a single cash crop economy and a severe economic depression. She does not seem to recognize, however, that through increasing secondary contacts with urban society and its standards of living these women may lose in nonmaterial values while gaining some advantages in physical well-being.

Ames, Iowa

MARGARET WARNKEN RYAN

*American Husbandry.* Edited by Harry J. Carman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. lxi, 582 pp. \$5.00.

This is a reprint of a work published in London in 1775 which, due to the Revolutionary War, has been largely unknown and ignored in America. Professor Henry J. Carman as editor and Columbia University Press as publisher have performed a distinct service to American rural life by making this book available to us, particularly considering the excellent annotation given in the footnotes by the editor. The original author of the work is unknown. It describes the eighteenth century agriculture and farm practices in Nova Scotia, eastern Canada, the American seaboard states, and the West Indies. Notes are given concerning the resources of the region between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. Concluding chapters discuss America in relation to British Colonial policy and the imminent struggle for independence from England.

In general, the work pictures America as peopled by European farmers who, due to the great land and timber resources, followed systems of agriculture which were wasteful, destructive, and, from the then current European point of view, very inefficient. Nevertheless, here was a great land of opportunity, of expansion, of hope, of democracy, and of the middle class. On account of the abundance of lands, labor was expensive. The rich could not live as well in America, but the poor lived much better than in Europe. The New England Yankees were already competing with English manufacturers, and the underlying leadership in the American Revolution had arisen out of this competition.

This is one of the most remarkable documents uncovered in our recent literary re-examination and rediscovery of America. It should be in every experiment station and college library and should be compulsory reading for the entire staff of the Farm Security Administration and the Soil Conservation Service. The struggle in America for a continental economy began many years ago. The present attempts of the United States Department of Agriculture to give us a social American agrarian policy have arisen in the face of an ingrained carelessness, no better described anywhere than in *American Husbandry*.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America.* By A. L. Kroeber. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1939. 242 pp. \$3.50.

This book is invaluable in the field of the origins of aboriginal American agriculture and its diffusion, along with other civilizing elements, over the New World. Kroeber also reviews all of the native culture areas of North America in terms of their environmental background. He subdivides and rearranges somewhat the cultural scheme of Wissler, and pays more detailed attention to the physiography and faunal and floristic background of the areas than did Wissler.

This first really intensive analysis in this field is accompanied by a series of maps of vegetational, cultural, and physiographic regions important to students of prehistory and of contemporary regional problems. Cultures die with greater ease than natural areas whose temporal tenacity often molds the institutions of

successive human intrusions. The same inexorable background forces still move behind twentieth century regional developments. Kroeber has not reverted, however, to the crude environmentalism of the earlier geographers. Cultures, he indicates, are no more produced *in toto* by their natural background "than a plant is produced or caused by the soil in which it is rooted." Yet the plant may find itself limited by the soil, or must change and evolve to meet other environments, and so with cultures.

Students of rural sociology will find that this work touches in places upon problems as vital to our lives today as yesterday. One race has replaced another; a new technology has introduced new problems; but the land remains; the forces remain—forces still powerful enough on occasion to roll millions of tons of dust out of the Midwest and to push thousands into restless migrations as purely "natural" as the first movements (to America and elsewhere) off the dying Asian grasslands. The book, though solidly grounded upon a mass of heretofore unassembled data, is, nevertheless, notably rich in that controlled and suggestive speculation that stimulates research. While some recent papers here and there escape attention, there are none, I think, which would greatly affect the essential nature of this work.

University of Kansas

LOREN C. EISELEY

*Major Social Institutions: An Introduction.* By Constantine Panunzio. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 609 pp. \$3.50.

Panunzio here departs widely from the conventional patterns of introductory texts. He defines institutions as "those systems of concepts, usages, associations, and instruments which, arising from the experiences of mankind, order and regulate the activities of human beings which are necessary to the satisfaction of basic needs." Following this analysis of institutional structure, the various types of factors contributing to the development of an institutional system are discussed. The third part gives detailed treatment of each of the "major institutions" in terms of their concepts, usages, etc. Part IV is devoted to the "institutional processes" of emergence, development, change, struggle, maladjustment, control, persistence, and teleology. Part V is a chapter devoted to "The Future of Western Civilization." The text proper is followed by an extensive glossary of terms common to sociological discourse, a surprising number of which are not used in the text itself.

It is the reviewer's belief that Panunzio has made a valuable, useful contribution, especially from the standpoint of the introductory teacher. Most of the reviewer's analysis is in reference to its use as an introductory sociology text, and not as an introduction to social institutions. Panunzio's idea of social institutions has one distinct advantage over many others: It is teachable to elementary students. A more serious problem than that related to definition is the imminent danger, throughout the book, of accepting the "major institutions" as empirically discrete entities. Granted the difficulties arising from this plan, it must be said that Panunzio's treatment of the separate institutions is exceptionally good and has an explicit contextual organization. The weakest portion of the book is unquestionably the treatment of the institutional processes. This is largely an analy-

sis of different aspects of "social change" and almost entirely neglects other processual patterns in institutional functioning. In spite of the virtual omission of such topics as human ecology, processes of interaction, personality development, and community organization, the book is a very creditable attempt to integrate many sociological data within a single conceptual framework.

Iowa State College

BRYCE RYAN

*Population and the Pattern of Unemployment, 1930-1937.* By Rupert B. Vance and Nadia Danilevski. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 1940. 43 pp.

*Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals.* By Eliot D. Chapple with the collaboration of Conrad M. Arensberg. Provincetown, Massachusetts: Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1940. Volume XXII. 147 pp.

*Communautés et Organizations.* By Etienne Dékány. Paris: F. Loviton & Co., for XIVeme Congrès International de Sociologie, 1940. 96 pp.

"Trade Follows the Flag." By Corrado Gini. Jena, Germany: Gustav Fischer for *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, 47 Band, Heft 2, 1938. 182-227 pp.

*Sovranità Politica E Correnti Commerciali.* By Corrado Gini. Rome: Estratto Dalla "Rivista De Politica Economica." Anno XXVIII-1938-XVII-Fascicolo XII. 65 pp.

*Il Ciclo Sessuale Delle Madri Delle Famiglie Numerose.* By Corrado Gini and Pia De Orchi. Rome: Comitato Italiano Per Lo Studio Dei Problemi Della Popolazione, Serie Quarta, Volume Primo, 1940. vii, 165 pp. L.35.

*Renaissance Demographique En Oceanie Francaise.* By Carlo Valenziani. Rome: Comitato Italiano Per Lo Studio Dei Problemi Della Popolazione, Serie III, Vol. III, 1940. 216 pp. L.70.

Vance and Danilevski differentiate between primary workers or family breadwinners and secondary workers or other members of the families. When the primary workers lose their jobs, as did 4,730,000 between 1930-1937, secondary workers increasingly enter the labor market, so that there was an increase of 8,580,000 unemployed between 1930-1937. But during this period the increased unemployed in 215,000 cases was due to natural growth of the population. For every 100 jobs lost between 1930-1937 there were 186 unemployed seeking jobs. The reverse of this process (decreasing secondary unemployment with increasing primary employment) depends upon whether the changes of habits and attitudes among the secondary workers is permanent or only temporary. The authors then point out that more rigid distinctions between primary and secondary unemployed in industry "might stimulate rising marriage and birth rates" and "more quickly reduce unemployment and thus reduce the need for public relief."

The monograph by Chapple with collaboration of Arensberg is methodological and results from the "influence of the works of Malinowski, Ogden, Richards, Korzybski, Bridgman, Pareto, and of our personal association with Dr. Lawrence

J. Henderson. . . .” It attempts to determine elementary units of human behavior and then to apply quantitative methods to measure functional interdependence. Illustrations from the public schools, from families, factories, and political organizations seek to find unit relations and then to deal with these unit relations as systems, subsystems, and tangent subsystems. The elements are reduced to symbols for algebraic analysis. To these quantitative analyses, qualitative considerations are taken up under the title, “context of situation.” However, as the senior author points out, the method emphasizes empirical positivism to a much greater extent than *meaning*. The reviewer thinks all social science methods using careful observation may reach worthy objectives if applied *thoughtfully*. It is a question as to how meticulous and “algebraic” a method can be and still not deaden the processes of acquiring new *Gestalts*.

Dékány, Hungary’s leading sociologist, presents here from his Budapest seminar the results of his attempt to collate into antithetical systems the group conceptions (communities and organizations, primary and secondary groups, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*) developed by various sociologists. He recognizes that the bipolarity of social facts (*faits sociaux*) is incontestable, but that the different names given to mechanical (Durkheim) social facts as opposed to organic (Durkheim) social facts make sociology seem chaotic. However, Dékány holds that this is only a seeming chaos. He takes the antithetical conceptions of groups used by Hegel, Schäffle, Tönnies, Otaka, Solms, Vierkandt, Sombart, Wiese, Carli, Maunier, Gurvitch, Duprat, Ross, Cooley, Giddings, Bogardus, Park and Burgess, Sapir, MacIver, Ginsburg, Sorokin, and others and shows their similarities and finally reduces them to a sort of dialectical system. In the opinion of the reviewer this excellent monograph and its most charming author deserve to be known better in America where the Hegelian and Kantian approaches to sociological analysis have been underestimated or approached only in an amateurish fashion most often by an isolated group of young Turks and others who sociologize largely in a vague dream world of unreality.

“Trade Follows the Flag,” by Gini, Italy’s leading social scientist, combines statistical methodology of the type emphasized by Chapple with the more conceptual analysis as used by Dékány. The empire-controlling nations, which—following Pareto’s typology—use the traits of the fox, deny that trade follows the flag; whereas the industrial nations with few or no colonies maintain that it does. Gini takes steps to adapt two new coefficients, one of which he calls an index of attraction (*Attraktionsindex*) and the other a correlation coefficient (*Ähnlichkeitsindex*) to the analysis of foreign trade. In this study, pursued over twenty years, he relates the foreign trade of 132 pairs of similar colonies (such as French-Morocco and Spanish-Morocco) to the trade of their respective ruling lands (in this case France and Spain) for 1913, 1926, 1932, and 1934. He finds that attraction between the trade of ruling country and colony (whether real colony, protectorate, or dominion) gives much higher correlation than that between physical resemblance of parents and children or between the economic and social conditions of husband and wife in marriage. The indices are very high “even when there is no judicial preference and the colony grants and receives the same



treatment from all countries. In any case one may rightly say, "Trade follows the flag." The dependence of international trade upon territorial sovereignty is becoming greater since the world-war, especially in the case of exports." In *Sovranita Politica E Correnti Commerciali* Gini extends and elaborates his findings and furnishes other statistical and historical proof.

The study of the sexual cycle of mothers of large families by Gini and De Orchi follows the thought that any future population in western society comes primarily from a minority of the people (30 per cent produce half of the future children and 60 per cent produce three-fourths). The authors analyze some thousands of families concerning whom they have demographic and anthropological data as well as altitude and latitude of their residences in Italy. Mothers of large families do not menstruate sooner than the average but do marry earlier and have later menapauses. Consequently, they have longer periods in marriage and in sexual activity than do the average. Further, the first child is born sooner after beginning of menstruation than in other families. Menstruation begins earlier in southern Italy and the sexual cycle is longer. Increase in altitude is particularly associated with earlier menstruation. Fruitful mothers are primarily in rural and agricultural pursuits and at the base of the social pyramid. Many other conclusions make this a very worthwhile investigation particularly needing duplication for *homo Americanus*, now that he is trying to become a continental folk instead of a colonial assemblage.

The study of the "Demographic Renaissance" in the French-owned islands in the Pacific north of Australia combines the pleasures of a travel book with considerable scientific investigation and artistic insight. One reads that possibly the mutiny on the *Bounty* did not occur so much because of Captain Bligh's mistreatment of his sailors but because of the pleasant memories of south sea islands which the men had from six months' visit in Tahiti! In the Marquisi Islands, the six most northern of French Oceania, Captain Cook reported about 50,000 people in 1774. In 1838, 20,000 were reported by D'Urville, and in 1867, 7,411 by Lawson. A census of 1890 found 4,820. From then until 1926 the drop was steady to 2,094, from which time an increase began until in 1937 2,449 were living. Similar increases began earlier in the other islands and have gained much more headway. However, the new Polynesian is not the old one but rather a new variety produced by an intermixture of the blood of ten European nations and Chinese (mostly Cantonese) with the natives. Miscegenation works well, contrary to our American Black-White experience; and the Mestizos (like the Eurasians in Siam and the Malay States) are accepted, even looked up to (as are the Straits-born Chinese). Possibly here we have a repetition of that general trait found in southeastern Asia in that the Brown-Malay-Polynesian women are not only attractive to males of what appear to be the more aggressive races (White and Yellow) but use this "power" to get husbands, who in a figurative sense bring home more bacon for the family pot. The reviewer is somewhat skeptical of Valenziani's "familistic" conclusions but, not having studied the island Browns very much at first hand, will not substantiate his doubts.

*Country Relics.* By H. J. Massingham; illustrations by Thomas Hennell. Cambridge: University Press, 1939. xv, 240 pp. \$4.75.

For those rural sociologists with an antiquarian interest, this volume will be a real treat. For those who see in large-scale, mechanized agriculture a threat to genuine rural culture, it will also prove of interest. The book as such is a description of skills and tools used when rural industries and agriculture and small freeholds were the warp and woof of English rural society. Thatching, stone-work, timber working, life in the fields, shepherding, straw and basket work, etc., are all described in minute detail. Excellent drawings illustrate the tools used in all these processes.

The thesis of the work is that rural industry withers away when cut off from agriculture, that this has been the unfortunate experience of England, but that a regeneration may come when the two will again be nourished as an organic whole. Such a happy solution will be possible only by "setting England anew with small tenancies and freeholds. . . ." (p. 229). The author hopes that if "Englishmen ever again have a stake in their own land—and that seems a good thing even if it is an old thing—a collection of 'bygones' may be of service to posterity in supplying ideas and models for future tools" (p. 231).

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

*The Church in Rural Life.* By David Edgar Lindstrom. Champaign, Illinois: The Garrard Press, 1939. 145 pp. \$.85.

This monograph was written especially for pastors who are serving rural people. It is an up-to-date, concise, and readable treatment of economic and social conditions affecting farm families—particularly those in mid-western states. Each of eight chapters is worked out with careful attention to citations, questions for discussion, and suggested readings.

Shortcomings in the way of omissions are to be expected, considering the size of the book. Nevertheless, pastors interested in dealing with the broader points of view may wonder why international conditions affecting the welfare of farm people were not mentioned. Ethical considerations are emphasized; but no plan is presented for cooperatively advancing some of the main church functions, such as worship, character education, and training leadership. Little attention is given to those more abstract spiritual elements which provide the dynamics for a major part of church work. In fact, the argument for insisting "that all institutions and particularly the church must work tirelessly toward economic and social security," which Dr. Lindstrom states as his major thesis, will be challenged as inadequate by ministers who have found that complacency or irrational speculation may be associated with economic income. However, readers will appreciate a social scientist's analysis of how they can better understand and relate themselves to social and economic factors in rural life.

Iowa State College

W. H. STACY

*Applied General Statistics.* By Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley Cowden. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. 944 pp. \$4.00.

This book, which replaces a highly successful text by the same authors, is intended to introduce the student to an understanding of statistical methods and their applications in the various fields, especially the social sciences. One of the major features is that the illustrative material has been drawn from a wide variety of fields, including economics, sociology, and business. The treatment emphasizes the proper function of statistical methods and the pitfalls encountered unless the application of these methods is accomplished by a broad knowledge of the relations of the data to the whole field from which they are abstracted. Considerable attention is given to the need for interpretation after the data have been prepared for that process.

The rural sociologist, concerned with a course in statistics as part of the training in rural sociology, will wish to have this volume as part of his reference library for the many suggestions and pedagogical aids—including discussions of computing and tabulating equipment as well as methods of reproduction—it offers. But for him the heterogeneity of the fields from which material is drawn and the scope of the volume will limit its usefulness as a classroom text. The emphasis required in such a course needs to be primarily on sociological and psychological data, whereas this text gives major attention to the materials drawn from economics and business. Moreover, the text he uses needs to give much more attention to the problems of sampling in field work and the techniques of collecting primary data than is encompassed in the course for which this text is designed.

United States Department of Agriculture

CONRAD TAEUBER

*Disadvantaged People in Rural Life.* Proceedings of the Twenty-First American Country Life Conference. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. 176 pp.

This includes the main addresses and some of the proceedings of the twenty-first annual conference of the American Country Life Association held in Lexington, Kentucky, November 2-4, 1938. Dwight Sanderson gave a presidential address on "Disadvantaged Classes in Rural Life," the theme of the conference. Following are sections on: "Rural Statesmanship in the South," by Frank L. McVey; "Programs of Rural Improvement in Appalachia," by William J. Hutchins; "The National Income and People on Low-Income Farms," by L. H. Bean; "Programs Affecting the Status of Low-Income Farm Families," by B. L. Hummel; "The National Situation" (people on poor lands), by C. E. Brehm; "Suggestions for Improvement" (people on poor lands), by Nat T. Frame; "The Farm Laborer," by Lowry Nelson; "The Conditions Among Tenants and Share-Croppers," by Rupert B. Vance; "How May the Conditions be Improved?" by Paul V. Maris; "Producer-Consumer Relations," by Murray D. Lincoln; and "Culture in Agriculture," by William van de Wall. The volume also gives a brief resumé of the discussions of The National Rural Home Conference on

"The Interdependence of Rural and Urban Women" with an address by Carl C. Taylor and a summary of the discussion of the Youth Sections of the conference. For the most part the papers lay great stress on "betterment" and report little objective information. Those which are factual offer information which is already well known to agrarians. However, the paper by Lowry Nelson on the farm laborer and that by Murray D. Lincoln on producer-consumer relations are both provocative and merit special consideration.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. SEWELL

*The Agrarian Revival.* By Russell Lord. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939. vii, 236 pp. \$1.50.

This title is misleading. The book traces agricultural extension work from its early beginning up to the present rather than a revival in agriculture. Bailey, Knapp, Spillman, Wilson, Wallace, and many others in, or closely related to, agricultural extension are most interestingly characterized. Lord minimizes federal dominance and illustrates his stand by citing differences in the way the work has developed in the North and South. In the South the emphasis has been put on farm and home demonstration. In the North and West, where the rural people earn more and have more schooling, it has been put on a more technical basis. "Farm to live—live at home—make a garden—get a pig—a sow—a hen" have been the slogans of the South's extension workers. There has, however, been of late a trend in programs towards economic and social action. Even the Southern Extension Director who scoffed at M. L. Wilson's "philosophy schools" has "Economic Schools" in his state for agents, schools bringing into play not only economics, but many of the other social sciences. The most recent trend in agricultural extension, Lord believes, is greater emphasis on the use of leisure and on personal and group culture. If such a trend exists, it is no doubt due to the home agent who from the first has had more to do with living than with making a living.

Mississippi State College

DOROTHY DICKINS

*New England Town Meeting.* By John Gould. Brattleboro, Vermont: Stephen Daye Press, 1940. 61 pp. \$1.00.

This beautifully illustrated work by a newspaper reporter of Brunswick, Maine, glorifies the New England town meeting. What it says is true. The work fails to recognize that the New England town meeting is merely an institutionalized example of a form of local government now developing rapidly in all American communities. Further, it has little to say about the seamy side of the New England town meeting, namely, the struggles over the control of the public purse and public affairs in which the old Yankee, the French-Canadian, the Irish, the Italian, the poll tax (only) payer, the unemployed, the factory worker, the real estate tax payer, the industrial corporation, the spender, the saver, and the sentimentalist fight without mercy and oftentimes to public detriment. Thus, it

sanctifies a form of organization without emphasizing the difficulties which it meets in actual practice.

C. C. Z.

*Training for the Job.* By Frank Ernest Hill. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1940. v, 160 pp. \$1.25.

This is the nineteenth in a series of studies prepared with the aid of funds from the Carnegie Corporation and issued by the American Association for Adult Education. Pictured clearly is the great confusion in adult education and also the wide contrast between the job that is being performed and the one that should be done. Community indifference is a major factor in the failure of school superintendents to seize their opportunities. Recommended is the formation of an educational council on adult problems to focus attention on problems of adult training, to collect and disseminate data, and to unite the nation's vocational leaders.

T. L. S.

*Civil Service in Public Welfare.* By Alice Campbell Klein. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. 444 pp. \$2.25.

Coming at approximately the time of the first civil service examination for rural sociologists, this volume will be of interest to some of the readers of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*. Part I, consisting of sixteen chapters, reviews the civil service system, describes the examinations, analyzes methods of evaluating and scoring graduates, and discusses bases for certification and promotion. Part II analyzes social work in its relation to civil service systems.

T. L. S.

Note.—Hiller not Miller

The Review Editor regrets that due to an error the book *Houseboats and River Bottoms People* was reviewed in the March, 1940, issue, pages 121-122, under the name of Miller instead of the name, Ernest Theodore Hiller. The error occurs in the table of contents, page 2; title of review, page 121; and body of review, page 122. Please correct the previous copy of your review.

# News Notes and Announcements

## RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The third annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society will be held at Chicago, Illinois, December 27-29, 1940 Headquarters will be at the Stevens or the Congress Hotel. The preliminary, tentative program is as follows

Friday, December 27

10:00 A.M.-12:00 A.M. General program, with round-table discussion  
Topic: *The Concept, Social Process. Its Meaning and Usefulness in the Study of Rural Society*

12:00 M Luncheon meeting

Saturday, December 28

10:00 A.M.-12:00 A.M. General program with round-table discussion  
Topic: *Rural Planning Its Social and Community Organization Aspects*

1:00 P.M.-3:00 P.M. Joint session with section on Educational Sociology

Sunday, December 29

10:00 A.M.-11:30 A.M. General program with round-table discussion  
Topic: *Public Welfare and Family Social Work in Rural Areas*

12:45 P.M. Luncheon meeting

President John H. Kolb has appointed as a nominating committee the following members. Raymond C. Smith, Chairman, W. A. Anderson, Gordon W. Blackwell, Randall C. Hill, and Marion B. Smith

## NEW MEMBERS AND FORMER MEMBERS REJOINING IN 1940

(Supplementing Membership List Published in December, 1939, Issue of  
*RURAL SOCIOLOGY* and List Published in March, 1940, Issue)

Amis, Otis C.	Western State Teachers College	Kalamazoo, Mich
Armstrong, Florence A.	311 Arlington Hotel	Washington, D C
Aull, G. H.	Clemson Agricultural College	Clemson, S C
Bash, Wendell H.		Hamilton, N Y
Bayne, E. Ashley	171 West 12th St.	New York, N Y
Bee, Lawrence S.	University of Oregon	Eugene, Ore
Beegle, J. Allan	Iowa State College	Ames, Iowa
Bertrand, J. R.		Claude, Tex
Burns, Sister Anne	College of St. Benedict	St. Joseph, Minn
Burrows, Charles N.	Simpson College	Indianola, Iowa
Champlin, Mildred Wilder	Hartwick College	Oneonta, N Y
Cranfill, S. E.	Mississippi College	Clinton, Miss
Daggett, Clay J.	Whitewater State Teachers College	Whitewater, Wis
*Demerath, Nicholas	Harvard University	Cambridge, Mass
Draper, C. R.	207 Center Building	Upper Darby, Pa
Galloway, Robert E.	304 Springton Road	Upper Darby, Pa.
Greiner, Harold L.	1129 7th St. North	Fargo, N D

Hanger, Michael R.	222 Mercantile Building	Berkeley, Calif.
Holley, William C.	4436 16th St. North	Arlington, Va.
Hsiang, Ching-Yuen	1707 Summit Ave.	Madison, Wis.
Kloepfer, Herman	Knoxville College	Knoxville, Tenn.
Longmore, T. Wilson	Bureau of Ag. Economics, U.S.D.A.	Washington, D. C.
*McVoy, Edgar C	University Farm	St Paul, Minn.
Oliver, J. A.	Princess Anne College	Princess Anne, Md.
Prickett, Glen I	University of Minnesota	Morris, Minn.
Root, Paul A.	Southern Methodist University	Dallas, Tex.
Sacay, Francisco M.	Agricultural College	Laguna, P.I.
Smith, Roscoe	...	Prentiss, Miss.
Standing, T. G.	Bureau of Ag. Economics, U.S.D.A.	Amarillo, Tex.
Stanford, William	State Department of Commerce and Industry	Baton Rouge, La
Timasheff, N. S.	Harvard University	Cambridge, Mass
Vogt, Paul L.	.....	Washington, D. C.
Wilson, Isabella C.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville, Ark.
Wofford, Kate V	State Teachers College	Buffalo, N.Y.
Young, Wade P.	University of Georgia	Athens, Ga.
Zigler, M. R	22 South State St.	Elgin, Ill.

\* Student member.

*Louisiana State University:*—Vernon J. Parenton has been appointed assistant in sociology. Since 1937 he has been at Harvard under fellowship award of the General Education Board.

Dr. Arthur Ramos, professor of anthropology and sociology at the University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, will offer two courses at Louisiana State University during the fall semester 1940-1941. The General Education Board is cooperating in bringing Dr. Ramos to the University.

*Population Association of America:*—The Population Association of America held its eighth annual meeting in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, May 1-2, with a program devoted to reports of current research in population. Officers elected for the ensuing year are: president, T. J. Woofter, Jr.; first vice-president, Raymond Pearl; second vice-president, Samuel A. Stouffer, treasurer, Frederick Osborn; secretary, Conrad Taeuber. The following were elected to the Board of Directors for the term ending in 1943: Clyde V. Kiser, C. E. Lively, Frank Lorimer, and J. J. Spengler.

*Southern Sociological Society:*—The fifth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society was held at Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5-6, and was attended by 206 persons. Thirteen of the original 25 persons organizing the society in 1935 were present.

Among the speakers were Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Conrad Taeuber, of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, who substituted for M. L. Wilson, Under Secretary, United States Department of Agriculture; and Robert E. Park, Fisk University.

The elective officers chosen for 1940-1941 are: president, B. O. Williams, Clemson College; first vice-president, Dorothy Dickins, Mississippi State Col-

lege; second vice-president, Roy M. Brown, University of North Carolina; secretary-treasurer, Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women; and members of the executive committee, William E. Cole, University of Tennessee, and Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute. Fred C. Frey of Louisiana State University is retiring president of the society.

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#### KEY TO FOOTNOTE ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Agricultural Adjustment Administration
ACLA	American Country Life Association
AES	Agricultural Experiment Station
AESB	Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin
AYC	American Youth Commission
BAE	Bureau of Agricultural Economics
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
FCA	Farm Credit Administration
FERA	Federal Emergency Relief Administration
FSA	Farm Security Administration
MB	Mimeographed Bulletin
MP	Miscellaneous Publication
NYA	National Youth Administration
RB	Research Bulletin
REA	Rural Electrification Administration
RM	Research Monograph
RRS	Rural Relief Service
RSM	Research Series Monograph
SCS	Soil Conservation Service
SRR	Social Research Report
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
WPA	Work Projects Administration





# RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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## CONTENTS

<i>A Sociological Approach to Farm Tenancy Research.</i> By Otis Durant Duncan	285
<i>Concepts of Marginality in Rural Population Studies.</i> By Robin M. Williams	292
<i>The Population of Soviet Russia.</i> By N. S. Timasheff	303
<i>Rural-Urban Aspects of Adult Probation in Wisconsin.</i> By John L. Gillin and Reuben L. Hill	314
<i>Jewish Agricultural Colonization in Palestine: A Sociological Experiment in Collectivism</i> By Joseph Wechsler Eaton	327
<i>Notes</i>	
<i>Proposals for Reorganization of the American Sociological Society.</i> By Dwight Sanderson	345
<i>Graduate Training in Rural Sociology in the Private Universities.</i> By Carle C. Zimmerman	346
<i>Transmission of Farming as an Occupation, II.</i> By W. A. Anderson	349
<i>Beginnings of Rural Sociology in Yugoslavia.</i> By Nicholas Mirkowich	351
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis	355
<i>Book Reviews.</i> Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman	372
McClaskey, <i>A Social and Economic Survey of Beadle County, South Dakota: A Study of Social Action in Boom and Depression Years in an Agricultural Community</i> ; Mangus, <i>Rural Regions of the United States</i> , by C. Arnold Anderson	372
Coon, <i>The Races of Europe</i> , by Corrado Gini	373
Melvin, <i>Youth—Millions Too Many: A Search for Youth's Place in America</i> , by Dwight Sanderson	375
International Research Series of the Institute of Pacific Relations, <i>Agrarian China: Selected Source Materials from Chinese Authors</i> , by Nicholas Mirkowich	376
Eaton, <i>Freedom of Thought in the Old South</i> , by Wilson Gee	377
Baker, <i>The County Agent</i> , by C. E. Lively	378
Shugg, <i>Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana</i> , by Wilbert E. Moore	379
Kolb and Brunner, <i>A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes</i> , by Newell L. Sims	380
Meyen, <i>Das Pennsylvaniendeutsche Bauernland</i> , by C. P. Loomis	381
Lange and Taylor, <i>An American Exodus</i> ; Taylor, <i>Adrift on the Land</i> , by Conrad Taeuber	382

Chen, <i>Emigrant Communities in South China</i> , by Edmund deS. Brunner	383
Thompson, <i>Body, Boots and Britches</i> , by Newell L. Sims	383
Odum, <i>American Social Problems: An Introduction to the Study of the People and Their Dilemmas</i> , by Dudley Kirk	384
Lundberg, <i>Foundations of Sociology</i> , by C. Arnold Anderson	385
Institute of Social Investigation of the Mexican National University, <i>Revista Mexicana de Sociologia</i> ; Leao, <i>Fundamentos de Sociologia</i> , by Carle C. Zimmerman	386
Williams, <i>Thralldom in Ancient Iceland: A Chapter in the History of Class Rule</i> , by Robin M. Williams	387
Berkson, <i>Preface to an Educational Philosophy</i> , by Maurice T. Price	388
Gilbert, <i>Forty Years a Country Preacher</i> ; Lewis, <i>Doc's Wife</i> , by Irene Barnes Taeuber	389
Kvitka, <i>Marusia</i> , by George F. Theriault	389
Wells, <i>American Local Government</i> , by Gordon T. Bowden	390
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i>	391



# A Sociological Approach to Farm Tenancy Research

Otis Durant Duncan<sup>\*</sup>

## ABSTRACT

The thesis of this paper is that farm tenancy is an attempted adaptation of land and other resources to human needs through definite socially sanctioned institutional channels. Thus far, however, sociological research in farm tenancy has been incidental for the most part. Hence there is a need for more specific research on tenancy as a purely sociological phenomenon or as a pattern of social adjustment. The principal task of the paper is, therefore, to set up definite general propositions or hypotheses to be tested by research. In all, fifteen propositions are posited which purport to cover, if not the entire sociology of farm tenancy, at least its major aspects.

Objective research in farm tenancy from a sociological point of view is of relatively recent origin. That is the reason why at the present time, when there is a piercing need for thoroughgoing and extensive information regarding farm tenancy as a sociological phenomenon, it is necessary for investigators to cast about almost despairingly in an effort to build up an adequate working fund of knowledge on it. The first thing of which an awareness is felt is a need for more study and more light upon the subject. There are, true enough, scores and perhaps hundreds of sociological studies of which farm tenancy is an incidental phase. Studies of standards of living, social participation, purposive rural organization, rural cultural change, rural community organization, and the like have frequently used tenure status as a method of dividing populations into more or less contrasting groups. Despite all this, a beginning has been made in a rather unorganized manner toward the formation of a body of knowledge on some of the more obvious social aspects of tenancy.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For helpful bibliographical material see Louise O. Bercaw, *Farm Tenancy In the United States 1918-1936: A Selected List of References*, USDA BAE, Bibliography No. 70; Edgar A. Schuler, "The Present Social Status of American Farm Tenants," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, III, No. 1 (March, 1938), 20-23; The President's Committee of the National Resources Committee, *Farm Tenancy* (Washington, 1937), pp. 106-107. A study of these references will verify the foregoing contentions adequately. This list could be extended almost indefinitely.

By and large, however, rural sociological research has failed to account adequately for the existence of tenancy as a social datum except in so far as it is believed to represent a pathological or a degenerate form of socioeconomic existence. There is danger, even now, that the current interest being manifested in problems which are axially related to tenancy grows out of a conviction that it is wholly a dangerous form of social deviation which is bound up in unethical, unjust, and mercenary systems of land occupancy, and that as such it should be got rid of in the quickest way possible, as if it were only a noxious scourge upon the human race. This appears to have been an implication in practically all attempts at studying the phenomenon of tenancy thus far. The time has come when it is necessary to do some pioneer thinking on the problem to the end that new angles may be discovered which may provide an access into its deepest hidden recesses. This can be scarcely achieved on the basis of prejudice or emotional dislike for a difficult and knotty problem.

The purpose of this paper is, therefore, to set forth as clearly as possible a few of the more salient sociological phases of farm tenancy which at the present time seem to require study and investigation. It is proposed to confine the paper to concepts, characteristics, and processes which are believed by the writer to be functionally associated with farm tenancy as it relates to the morphology or structural form of rural society in the United States. By this there is no intention to preempt for rural sociology any phase of farm tenancy to the exclusion of other social science disciplines. It is the assumption here, however, that those aspects of tenancy which relate to the organization of rural society in its human relations primarily, as distinguished from its economic and business activities, are in need of clarification and enlargement. This will only emphasize the need for a similar undertaking on the part of agricultural economists, soils and agronomic technicians, and other specialists who are concerned with tenancy as it relates to farm production, farm organization, and farm management. Obviously, such a task as is undertaken here will be entirely futile unless the thinking done can be utilized to clear the way for some serious factual researches in the sociological implications of farm tenancy. This paper does not attempt in the slightest way to constitute a factual analysis of farm tenancy<sup>1</sup> such as it anticipates for the future.

A sociological research program in farm tenancy must be predicated upon the general proposition that tenancy is a phase of land tenure

and that its limitations and advantages are to be expressed as relatives rather than as absolutes. To aid in the formulation of such a research program it is necessary to posit certain more or less specific hypotheses or propositions to be tested inductively by the accumulation of pertinent data in each case. Some sociological hypotheses which require verification include, among others, the following which are suggested without necessary reference to the order of their importance:

First, various forms of land tenure are derivatives of a cardinal institutional function in group life, i.e., land as property whether it is owned and controlled jointly, individually, publicly, or privately. In any case land occupiers are tenants in the last analysis, the differences between classes of tenants arising out of the form, nature, and time limitations of their terms of tenure and from the source of their authority—the community, an individual, a partnership of individuals, or a cooperative society, etc.—to occupy their land and to determine the uses to which it may be put.

Second, tenure in general, and tenancy in particular, is a process of creating initial attachments between land and individuals who lack property and capital, age, experience, or other qualifications necessary to enable them to purchase land of their own. In this respect it is a system of apprenticeship and a training period for ownership at such a time when and if the individual farmer becomes ready to assume the obligations of owning a farm.

Third, farm tenancy or occupancy conveys to and confers upon the individual certain rights and obligations which are contractual by nature and which are relative rather than absolute. The nature of these rights, their number and scope, depends upon (1) the equity in, and (2) the term of occupancy of the land in question. In all cases the community reserves for itself the right to tax, the right to police, and the right to condemn for public use any and all lands held under its jurisdiction. Therefore, the relationship of an individual to the land he occupies is a determinant of his social status within the group of which he is a part.

Fourth, farm tenancy is a method (1) of preserving family holdings and (2) of transferring property in land from one generation to the next. In other words, it is a process of joint ownership and inheritance. By this is meant that families or other groups may pool their possessions and preserve them intact as a guarantee of whatever security there may be in land ownership.

Fifth, farm tenancy provides a socially approved method—not the only method—for succoring the aged and infirm, for the care of the poor, and for the supervision of the inert and relatively incapable classes of the farm population without the necessity of their becoming wards of the community or of philanthropy.

Sixth, farm tenancy is and provides a method of (1) shifting risks and fixed costs from the shoulders of the cultivators, who prefer keeping their investments in capital form rather than in land, to those of the rentiers, who carry their



investments in lands, and (2) of adjusting land requirements to family need without jeopardizing the solvency of the farm operator by forcing upon him additional risks and fixed charges such as interest, taxes, and depreciation.

Seventh, tenure in general, and tenancy in particular, is an index of social status in the group, that is, in agricultural society and in human society generally. By social status is meant the totality of the rights, benefits, enfranchisements, liberties, obligations, duties, and disabilities which appertain to an individual or a group in relation to, or because of, the possession of a given trait or characteristic. The question is, therefore: What are the concessions extended to and the limitations imposed upon a given individual because of his contractual relationship to the land he occupies? Tenancy, being one phase of the land tenure pattern, is a determinant or social status of a population. It is therefore a factor in social differentiation and stratification, of social selection, and is a channel of social mobility. That the social strata may be either open and vaguely differentiated or that they may be abruptly and sharply defined and separated by impregnable barriers to social mobility does not nullify the hypothesis that social status is a function of land tenure.

Eighth, given forms of land occupancy such as ownership and tenancy are functionally related to standards of living, planes of living, social participation, community organization, and cultural advancement of a population. Differentials between farm owners and tenants in respect to these phenomena are doubtless of great significance.

Ninth, contractual relations of farmers to the land they occupy whether as tenants or as owners are factors in both social and geographic mobility of a population because they impel the individual to make both temporal and spatial adjustments to the land and to the community he inhabits.

Tenth, land tenure in general, and farm tenancy in particular, is related to the structure of a population and to vital processes. It is significantly associated with such population characteristics as age and sex composition, size of family, density of population, birth and death rates, survival ratios, forms of family organization, and the characteristics of the family life cycle.

Eleventh, systems of land tenure including various forms of farm tenancy are associated with the work habits and work organization of the farm family. Apparently tenants spend a larger part of their total working time actually in operations related to crop cultivation and harvesting than owners. This means that tenants may have more leisure, or idle time, than owner-operators, and that they are likely to exploit the land and community resources to a greater extent than owners on farms.

Twelfth, tenancy makes possible the phenomenon of absentee ownership of land, which is itself a system of exploitation primarily. Thus, from the viewpoint of the conservationist, the incidence of exploitation of land resources in a community becomes cumulative in areas where both absentee ownership and tenancy exist in relatively high proportions.

Thirteenth, farm tenancy is, under stated conditions, an index of various forms of socioeconomic degeneracy, disintegration, and deterioration. This may

occur when the increase in the proportion of farms, or of farm land, tended by tenants exceeds the turnover in farm occupancy arising from (1) the age maturation of the farm population and (2) the predictable migration balance during a specified time interval. These two factors alone must account for a definite increase in the proportion of farm tenancy in an area in which land is a limited factor. Oklahoma is a case in point where in a single generation the proportion of tenant-operated farms increased from a negligible quantity to well over three-fifths of all the farms. In other words, the proposition is that where there is an imbalance between the net growth of farm population and the proportion of tenant-operated farms there are strong probabilities that a condition of economic chaos exists. The problem is to find its causes.

Fourteenth, farm tenancy is a manifestation of a folk pattern in agricultural society, and as such it is an accepted and sanctioned response or adjustment to the socioeconomic process of collective existence. It involves no stigma upon the beginning farmer who in his youth has mainly his energy, health, and his ambition—one farmer tersely described himself as having only a strong back and a well cultivated appetite—as his main assets and his chief prospects for becoming a land owner. Yet tenancy definitely stigmatizes the "chronic" tenant in his old age for whom renting land has become only a rationalization for having followed the line of least resistance all his life. As such a manifestation of accommodation in various phases of the life cycle, tenancy may be said to reflect folkways, folk attitudes, and folk sanctions.

Fifteenth, farm tenure in general, and farm tenancy in particular, is an economic pattern by which an attempt is made to support the greatest possible number of people on a given amount of land. This is believed to apply especially in the case (1) of retiring farmers who retain full ownership of their lands and seek to live from their rents while the tenant lives from his contribution of labor and capital, and (2) of farm owners who occupy their farms jointly with their adult children who combine their farming enterprises with care for and protection of their failing parents. It is thus a process of division of labor in an effort to succor the largest possible number of people when both the land owner and the tenant would be unable to carry on independently.\*

The foregoing propositions have been set up as hypotheses to be tested by research on the sociological aspects of farm tenancy. Admittedly each of these propositions has an economic content and also bears many economic implications. This, in itself, is a reason why sociological and economic research in farm tenancy must be developed *pari passu* if a comprehensive understanding of the more fundamental aspects of the problems couched in it is to be gained. Therefore, these propositions should not be thought of as sociological dolmens which exist by,

\* I am indebted to Carl C. Taylor for criticisms and suggestions which led to the formulation of propositions 13-15 inclusive. However, I am mainly responsible for the forms in which these statements appear.

of, and for themselves, but they are only related parts of a composite whole which must be conceived in relation to the whole if they are to be significant.

Perhaps a pertinent basic question that should be raised at this juncture is: What are the sociological problems which would *not* arise in the total absence of some form of farm tenancy? Doubtless there are such problems, but it is apparent that there are many problems that are associated with tenancy which would exist if it were totally absent, but which are magnified in the presence of tenancy. On the other hand, What sociological problems would there be if there were no such thing as farm ownership? A corollary to the main question is, therefore: What part of all the problems in agriculture owe their genesis to tenancy and ownership in common; what problems arise from ownership only; and what problems are outgrowths of tenancy only? Also, What proportion of all the problems of ownership and tenancy actually exist only as relatives when one form of tenure is contrasted with another? If these questions can be resolved into their respective components, it may be possible to proceed with fruitful research into them. Until some method has been devised by which the putative evils which are alleged to beset farm tenancy can be shown to have a definite existence only when they are studied in relation to tenancy, and not when ownership is present in any sense at all, it will be impossible to determine whether a given situation has a direct reference to tenancy or to a general condition. Perhaps it may be said rightly that this necessary step is itself the nub of the problem of tenancy research.<sup>8</sup>

This paper does not propose to develop techniques for studying farm tenancy. It has set forth simply in problem form certain phases of farm tenancy which are believed to be of sociological import. It has attempted to lift out of all that is known about farm tenancy some definite hypotheses or propositions which, in the opinion of the writer, may be sociologically significant and which may not be impervious to

<sup>8</sup> In the light of this point of view, most of the studies of farm tenancy that have been made thus far are of little value except as starting points for future research. Even Schuler's study (SRR No. 4, BAE [Washington, April, 1938]) and the Report of the President's Committee, *Farm Tenancy* (Washington, February, 1937), ignore the principle set up here. The usual procedure in these and other studies has been to draw sweeping comparisons and to say that tenants exhibit a greater or a lesser incidence of a given trait than owners in the same locality. If we take the problem of illiteracy, for example, it is frequently said that tenancy is highly correlated with this phenomenon. Perhaps it is, but so are foreign bornness, poverty, age, and many other factors. All of these traits of a population must be held constant if a study of tenancy is to yield significant results.

the methods and techniques of sociological analysis. It is the thesis of the paper that farm tenancy is an attempted adaptation of land and other resources to human needs through definite socially sanctioned institutional channels. The writer believes that prejudice, misconception, and often propaganda with malicious intent have clouded the problems of farm tenancy with a dense pall of confusion, and that this mental rubbish must be cleared away before anyone will be able to peer into them beyond the most superficial depths of their outer surfaces. Undoubtedly, much of what has been written and said on this subject constitutes nothing more nor less than the defenses of vested interests on both sides of the question and the wishful thinking of zealous evangelistic reformers on the side of the farm tenant. Much of it has been also a blind defense of ownership in its existing form. Needless to say, the research worker must be deaf toward the overtures of partisan mutterings regardless of their sources or whom they favor.

Finally, let it be said that if tenancy is a problem in and of itself, an action program designed to cope with it must be based upon a painstaking diagnosis and prognosis. The tenancy system has existed too long in America to be susceptible of therapeutic applications to its superficial and external symptoms. If it is a form of socioeconomic degeneracy or a kind of disease in the social system, its etiology must be known before corrective measures can be undertaken. Otherwise, how can anyone be sure that supposed remedies which may be applied will not aggravate the basic trouble and cause it to spread throughout the whole system? What assurance is there that the palliatives offered the tenant farmer during the decade which has just closed will not lead toward universal tenancy? If the ownership of land is the untainted good it is believed by some to be, and if tenancy is the unmitigated diabolical evil it has been asserted to be, a premature action program designed to eradicate tenancy before research can discover its fundamental characteristics and variants may do immeasurable harm. Thus it is all the more important that research programs on farm tenancy seek to forsake the smoothly worn paths which have been followed for years and proceed to blaze trails in a wilderness through which researchers have traveled little thus far. This is the task to which the present paper has been addressed.

# Concepts of Marginality in Rural Population Studies†

*Robin M. Williams\**

## ABSTRACT

Current use of the concept of marginality with reference to farm populations raises certain problems of interpretation. Three types of marginality may be distinguished: social welfare, cultural, and economic. Welfare marginality refers to a level of "decent living" and therefore constitutes a value judgment defining a social problem. Cultural marginality arises at those points at which a population is confronted with instable, ambiguous, or conflicting norms for conduct. The economic margin may refer either to grades or to units of population, and is conditioned upon social definitions of standards of living. The distinction between margin returns and average per capita returns is essential for clarity.

The nature of the distribution of resources, rates of population growth, skills, and abilities affects per capita returns. Inequalities which raise returns in the short-run may have unanticipated long-time results. Social structures and their supporting sentiments exert a significant influence upon mobility in response to economic conditions. Because of this a social equilibrium is of a different order from, and does not necessarily correspond to, an economic equilibrium. Studies in rural sociology have made important contributions to the analysis of this problem; the outlook for further analytical research is promising.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years there have been many attempts to orient the concept of marginality to "problem" rural populations. Three main streams of thought have constituted the immediate source of this phenomenon. One is that which has been concerned with land-use problems and land-use planning. The second has derived from the fusion of economic theory and empirical population research. The third current has come from those whose direct interest has been in the amelioration of the conditions of life of the lower income groups. Efforts to apply the theory of margins to farm populations have led to theoretical complications which have their counterparts in policy and action. This paper purposes to do two things: (1) to illustrate the diversity of meanings which are attached to the concept of margin and (2) to indicate the social qualifications which must be added to the economic analysis of

† This is a modification of a paper entitled "Causes of 'Marginality' in Farm People," which was read before the Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology section, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Birmingham, February 7, 1940.

\* Instructor and Research Assistant in Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky.

marginality and certain related problems. Its chief aims, therefore, are in furthering the clarification of the issues involved and in suggesting additional lines of analysis.

## II. THREE CONCEPTS OF MARGIN

The concept "margin" is currently used in at least three different senses. In the first place there are the familiar meanings employed in conventional economic equilibrium analysis. Another usage is in connection with what may be called the "empirical" or "social welfare" margin, which is employed to mark off a "lower third" or some other such proportion of a given population. Thirdly, there is the concept of cultural margins as analyzed by sociological theory. The three concepts will be taken up in order, with cursory attention to empirical and cultural marginality and a more detailed consideration of problems related to the economic case.

## III. THE MARGIN OF "DECENT LIVING"

First of all, a word should be said concerning what is called here the "empirical" or "social welfare" margin. This is a level of returns below which it is felt a population cannot fall and still enjoy a "decent" content of living.<sup>1</sup> Depending upon the writer's inclinations, including his social sympathies, the income level chosen may mark off almost any conceivable proportion of the population. That the level selected must be a more-or-less arbitrary one does not necessarily detract from the social utility of such an approach.<sup>2</sup> Like the food budgets of the United States Bureau of Home Economics, certain "minimum" and "adequate" levels of living may provide useful social goals. In the sphere of social action, this procedure is a legitimate way of crystallizing value judgments.<sup>3</sup> However inapplicable as a tool of scientific analysis such a

<sup>1</sup> An example of this usage is to be found in W. E. Garnett, *Does Virginia Care? Some Significant Population Questions*, Virginia AES Mimeographed Report No. 3, Division of Rural Sociology (January, 1936), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In practice, the range of "arbitrariness" is limited by customary standards prevailing in the society at large. We may illustrate its working in this way: If we classify all families receiving less than \$600 in gross product value as reported by the census as "marginal," following the practice of Garnett, we find that 66 out of the 120 counties in Kentucky have 50 per cent or more of their farm families in this group, 26 counties have 75 per cent or more, and 7 counties have 85 per cent or more. Certainly these figures indicate low income levels. It would, however, be difficult to demonstrate that any such high proportions fall below the level of "decent living" as defined in their communities.

<sup>3</sup> As Willard Waller has indicated, the one thing which all social problems have in common is the fact that someone has made a value judgment about a situation. ("Social Problems and the Mores," *American Sociological Review*, I[1936], 922-933).

normative concept may be, the attempts to set up welfare standards are of considerable interest in themselves as data for analysis. Present emphasis upon welfare judgments of the rural level of living are in part derived from the complex of elements in the humanitarian mores and in the doctrine of progress, on the one hand, and from certain changes in "interests" and social structure on the other. A thorough analysis of the sources and functional significance of this pattern of values would be a major contribution to the understanding of present changes in rural America. It is not the task of this paper, however, to undertake such a treatment; for present purposes it is sufficient to indicate explicitly that there is an area of problems related to welfare marginality which might profitably be investigated.

#### IV. THE CULTURAL MARGIN

The concept of cultural marginality is employed in sociology and anthropology in the analysis of intercultural contacts. The marginal men of which sociology speaks are those who are caught in between two or more cultures with their conflicting definitions, goals, and values.<sup>4</sup> Individuals at a cultural margin have difficulty in gaining any stable conception of their social role. The tension and uncertainty of their precarious position results in high sensitivity and instability. They tend to show much tension, and their behavior appears erratic because of frequent shifts between extremes of contradictory behavior. They live "in between" social worlds, and their uncertainty as to ideals and values places them in a peculiarly difficult position. The race or ethnic hybrid is the type case, e.g., the Southern mulatto or the partially assimilated immigrant. Also marginal, however, are certain groups in the process of social ascent and descent. In still a third subcategory we have a large marginal farm population. Many of our more isolated groups have only recently come into contact with the values and practices of our dominant urban civilization. In many cases the result has been that the life of the population, under the impact of new values from "outside," ". . . ended its peasant culture phase and became

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (1928), 881-893; Everett V. Stonequist, "The Problem of the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (1935), 1-12; Kurt Lewin, "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 874-882. The concept as used by these writers is clearly a shorthand descriptive phase covering a complex of elements, i.e., it is a residual category. Further analysis of its components would be a valuable contribution to theoretical thinking on this problem.

characteristically no more than marginal existence."<sup>5</sup> Some of these groups have acquired new definitions of themselves and of what constitutes a desirable life, without completely relinquishing the elements of the original culture. Such a situation contains precisely the factors making for the type of intrapersonal conflict which has been taken to describe the marginal man.

## V. THE ECONOMIC MARGIN

1. *Introduction.* Two broad sets of problems are often discussed in relation to the concept of economic marginality. One is that of the factors involved in low marginal, economic returns in agriculture, as compared with other lines of production. The other concerns the problem of unequal returns among the various segments of the farm population itself. In view of the intensive discussion which of late has been directed toward the latter focus, it has seemed best here to concentrate mainly upon the first set of problems.

2. *Factors in Differentials Within a Given Farm Population.* The problems of why some farm groups receive more than others is, obviously, too complex for analysis here. Merely by way of illustrating an approach, the factors subsumed under "differences in ability" may be examined. "Ability" is always ability relative to a situation: the farmer may be incompetent, for example, because he is operating a farm too small for his type of managerial proclivities. Ability is no clear unitary thing but a shifting complex of manifold and varied skills and traits, some conditioned upon hereditary equipment, most, probably, upon social experience. "Lack of ability" in the lower income strata is compounded from lack of formal education, poor health, lack of technical and social experience, innate factors, and finally, attitudes and values inculcated as appropriate to a lower-class position. The last named factor accounts for much of the "lack of ambition," which is sometimes deplored. Incidentally, one may stir up some interesting thoughts about the social equilibrium by asking what would happen if high active ambitions were generally prevalent in all our low income groups under present conditions of opportunity.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> M. Taylor Matthews, *Experience Worlds of Mountain People* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> A stimulating analysis of some related problems is to be found in "Social Structure and Anomie," an article by Robert K. Merton, *American Sociological Review*, III (October, 1938), pp. 672-682.



3. *The Concept of the Economic Margin.* *The allocation of scarce means, having alternative uses, to given ends is the essential economic process.* When in production successive units of any factor or factors are applied, a point will eventually be reached at which the last unit added just "pays for itself." This is the marginal unit.<sup>7</sup> In this sense the marginal farm population is that population whose contribution to the economic process is just sufficient to keep it in production under existing conditions. In so far as the assumptions of classical theory are borne out in any concrete case, there will be an equilibration of resources among various lines of production so that marginal returns are equalized. Assuming other factors as fixed, population increments may be added up to the point at which one more person could not secure subsistence. The last individual who makes his own way is the "marginal man"; some variants of Malthusian theory argued that population increase would always tend to go to the margin of *physical* subsistence.

Nothing could be more obvious, however, than that population does not always increase to the physical margin. Instead, the position of the margin tends to be fixed by social definitions of material standards of living.<sup>8</sup> What is a submarginal return for a native farmer on a California vegetable farm may be well above the margin for a Japanese immigrant. The marginal man produces just enough to support himself, but the important point is that "support" gets its meaning not so much from physical necessities as from social requirements. Furthermore, that level of returns in a given industry which will be marginal is equilibrated with the productivity of other industries in so far as they compete for labor supply under conditions of free mobility and perfect competition. In the long run, and under these conditions, therefore, an industry "gets what it produces"; if its products are valued low by the society, it will not be able to bid high for labor.

4. *Marginal Returns and Average Per Capita Returns.* It is not al-

<sup>7</sup> For simplicity, we disregard alternative opportunity costs. There is, of course, a marginal *grade* of labor which will not be used at all for a given employment as well as a marginal *unit* within this grade.

<sup>8</sup> The influence of preceding levels of economic productivity need not be considered at the moment. The relations of standard of living and historical content of living are far more complex than appears at first glance. Furthermore, short-time and long-time relationships may be of different orders. See C. C. Zimmerman, *Consumption and Standards of Living* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1936), pp. 43-44, 302-305, 426-428, and 560; and Max Weber's treatment of active asceticism and the accumulation of wealth is also relevant: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, tr. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1930), pp. 117-121 and 170-182.

ways clear whether discussions of rural incomes and levels of living are concerned with *marginal* returns or *average per capita* returns. The relations involved are by no means simple. It is essential to remember that if any group in a given population multiplies to the physical margin, the *marginal* output is the same as though the whole society went to this point.<sup>9</sup> The *proportion* of the population at this level obviously affects the size of the total and per capita outputs. Raising the material standard of living<sup>10</sup> to some determined height above physical subsistence in those groups of the population having the lowest standards is the only way to make possible a higher *marginal* return. Increased productivity will otherwise simply result in a larger population on the same level of living.

In so far as the elements taken into account in classical economic theory are actually the effective factors in economic activity within a concrete social system, average per capita returns will be increased by the following conditions: (1) Assuming some positive limitation of population growth, a larger quantity of resources per capita will raise returns. (2) Likewise, greater efficiency of "labor" and "management," i.e., a larger output per unit of input of the other factors with which human effort is associated, will contribute in the same direction. (3) A larger proportion of the population with relatively high standards of living is a further condition implied in the above. (4) Concentration of the control of resources in the hands of the more capable labor and management, within certain limits, may raise per capita output. This is true both because of the lesser resources available to others, resulting in a smaller total population, and because of the differential productivity of those resources controlled by groups of high economic ability.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> John D. Black, "Agricultural Population in Relation to Agricultural Resources," *The Annals* (November, 1936), p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> In the sense of "a content of living insisted upon and actively sought." (This is the definition given in *Research in Farm Family Living*, SSRC Bulletin No. 11 [New York, April, 1933], p. 41.) Not every wish or fantasy qualifies under this definition. Operationally, "insisted upon and actively sought" is defined by the points at which people begin to do something to maintain or increase the content of living, e.g., work longer and harder, have fewer children, marry later, change occupations, revolt, commit suicide, migrate, put a mortgage on the farm. The standard of living is thus the normal, socially sanctioned expectation of a given group. (Cf. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937], p. 336.)

<sup>11</sup> This, of course, assumes a certain social framework which, in fact, may be changed as a result of the concentration of control of resources. It is hardly necessary to add that these propositions are theoretical constructs and not descriptions of any concrete situation. (See Black, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4, for a concise statement of the economic theory involved.)

It should be noted that, even though raising the managerial abilities of all who control resources will increase per capita returns (in so far as population increase is limited), the above proposition is independent of the *general* level of ability. Finally, if differences in ability are to contribute to higher per capita outputs, it is necessary that the more competent groups limit reproduction at a level above subsistence.

With respect to a concrete social system, as over against an abstract economic construct, it must be indicated that factors making for a "desirable" short-run economic situation may have important unanticipated ramifications for the system as a going concern. For example, in our present social structure, inequalities which tend indirectly to raise per capita returns may augment cultural marginality, as may also increases in other types of heterogeneity.<sup>12</sup> Reductions in birth rates influence class structure, vertical social mobility, and family structure, and reflect changes in social values which may eventuate in situations which could not be predicted on the basis of the first approximation which economic theory represents. In short, social organization and the "state of the arts" cannot be taken as independent variables unaffected by population growth and changes.<sup>13</sup>

Now, it is apparent that the concrete factors in a low average per capita return in agriculture are multitudinous.<sup>14</sup> It seems reasonable, for example, to expect on a priori grounds that per capita returns would be lowered to some extent because of the nature of the distribution of population increase within the farm as contrasted with the nonfarm population. Poorer agricultural areas, it is true, have relatively high fertility rates; and the richer areas show rates intermediate between poor and isolated regions and the great cities. But some studies have

<sup>12</sup> For an analysis of some consequences of this nature which result from action directed toward greater "efficiency" in production, see C. Horace Hamilton, "Social Effects of Mechanization of Agriculture," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV (1939), 3-19. Cultural marginality is favored by increased heterogeneity under conditions of high mobility, facile social contacts, high visibility of social differences, and the presence of cultural assumptions of universal opportunity for social ascent through individual merit.

<sup>13</sup> A reduction in fertility and the rate of population growth may have one set of implications when this occurs in a region or social class within a population which is expanding as a whole, and a quite different set when the decline affects a country or an entire area of civilization. Some interesting discussions of certain aspects of this problem are to be found in J. J. Spengler, *France Faces Depopulation*, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1938); the works of G. Myrdal and C. Gini may also be mentioned in this connection.

<sup>14</sup> There may be a question as to whether marginal returns in agriculture are lower than in other economic sectors. Certainly some urban population strata multiply to a point near the physical margin at which the negative checks begin to assume importance.

shown that within a given area, and above a certain moderate level of income, there appears to be little relationship between economic status and fertility.<sup>15</sup> In the cities, on the other hand, there is a very marked inverse relationship.<sup>16</sup> Data of the type necessary to test the above hypothesis are scanty and sometimes contradictory, and it is certain that differentials are changing rapidly. It is therefore impossible to make an adequate appraisal of the role of this factor.

A more basic factor in low agricultural returns is the fact of the small per capita resources available in production. It has been demonstrated that the level of returns to agriculture in various sections of the United States is closely associated with the supply of capital goods per worker. The facts thus support the proposition that "... the less land and capital goods labor has to work upon or with, the less its contribution and the lower its wage."<sup>17</sup>

Were the "factors of production" perfectly mobile, population and resources would shift from one area to another or from farming to other employments whenever returns fell below those to be obtained elsewhere. Under these conditions, if it could be assumed that "units" of population were completely interchangeable, a given grade of labor would receive the same wage in all employments. In actuality, there is considerable evidence which indicates that the shifts to better economic alternatives do not always occur; and when they do, they take place only slowly and against strong resistances. Economic action takes place within a social framework and is subject to certain social "ties." Because of these ties the factors of production, especially "labor," are not freely mobile. In part, as a result of this, there may be much population associated with little resources in one sector of an economy and relatively scanty population in relation to resources in another, e.g., the Southern states *vs.* New England. The net movement of population in the 1920-1930 period, for example, was greater from the less prosperous farm areas but was hardly sufficient to remove all the so-called "surplus" population.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn, *Dynamics of Population* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), p. 92.

<sup>16</sup> National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population* (Washington, May, 1938), pp. 136 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> For some of the detailed evidence on this point see C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, WPA RM XIX (Washington, 1937), especially chap. iv, "Migration and Selected Socio-Economic Factors." What would ordinarily be

## VI. SOCIAL FACTORS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC MARGINALITY AND ADJUSTIVE MOBILITY

The preceding discussion raises problems which call for a systematic theoretical treatment of the social factors in migration, comparable in rigor to the economic analysis, which may be taken as a useful point of departure.<sup>19</sup> Limitations of space restrict the following to illustrative suggestions for a general direction of approach.

In the first place, the use of the concept of economic margin to refer to farm populations leads to difficulties not apparent in its application to nonhuman factors of production. If labor were simply another commodity, the problem would be perfectly straightforward. For a given type of agricultural employment, there would be a grade of labor which could not be used, and eventually a grade which could not be utilized in any employment. On the absolute no-use margin, however, the crucial role of social factors becomes clear. Our moral values prescribe that the population which is not utilized in the existing productive structure nevertheless be supported by "subsidies," familial, private, or public. Thus, there may be a social gain from the utilization of such labor, even that which is of zero productivity in relation to cost of subsistence. Aside from the increment to the total volume of goods thus secured,<sup>20</sup> the use of such labor may serve to channelize activity away from "anti-social" pursuits and to reinforce sentiments of work in the general

regarded as extremely bad economic conditions may not be sufficient to induce mobility among certain groups. (See T. Lynn Smith and Martha Ray Fry, *The Population of a Selected "Cut-over" Area in Louisiana*, Louisiana AESB 268 [University, January, 1936], p. 29. Only 40 per cent of relief families were willing to move from the area even if they were to be assisted in disposing of their present holdings and in acquiring better farm lands or greater opportunities for work in some other locality.) Another case of the same type is reported by P. Starcs with respect to Latvia. (See "The Problem of Surplus Agricultural Population," *International Journal of Agrarian Affairs*, I [1939], 82 ff.)

<sup>19</sup> Recognition of some of these factors has become increasingly prevalent over the past decade. Cf. L. C. Gray, "The Social and Economic Implications of the National Land Program," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XVIII (1936), 267 ff.; Sherman E. Johnson, "Definitions of 'Efficient Farming,'" *Land Policy Review*, II (1939), 19-21; and Lively and Taeuber, *op. cit.* The suggestions advanced here are by no means new, but the time now seems ripe to systematize somewhat further the isolated observations which have been made. The pragmatic recognition of a phenomenon and its incorporation into a scientific framework are quite different things.

<sup>20</sup> The total product will be increased only to the extent that such labor does not utilize resources which would be of enough greater productivity in other hands to more than cover the cost of maintaining the population in question. That is, the opportunity cost of the resources associated with such labor is the limiting factor in relation to cost of subsistence of the low-grade labor.

population.<sup>21</sup> It is possible, of course, that this labor will not be utilized because of a felt necessity to maintain a given structure of economic roles or because of conflicts of values in other respects.

As a further illustration, the question may be raised as to what social factors should be considered in relation to the retardation of population mobility such as would equalize returns between farm and non-farm industries. The following may be mentioned as of importance: First, there are those social values and usages which may be characterized under the phase, "emotional attachment to home, family, and locality." The ties of a strong family system are not to be lightly dismissed as merely "non-rational"; they are still prime factors in much of the behavior of rural people. Second, there are the ties of stable and satisfying group relationships in a familiar neighborhood circle. The local band is still the most universal and permanent social organization beyond the basic family group.<sup>22</sup> Third, social status considerations play a part. An independent mountain farmer and an urban ditchdigger may have equivalent incomes in material goods, whereas the social valuations to which they are subject may be quite different under certain conditions. Men have been known to forego considerable amounts of material goods in favor of maintaining a status in a group. Fourth, there may be ignorance of alternative opportunities because of isolation,<sup>23</sup> lack of formal education, and the complexity of the modern social order. Fifth, error in appraising opportunities is a factor quite apart from simple lack of knowledge. A sixth factor is lack of skills and knowledges requisite for entrance into other occupations or for engaging in other types of farming. On the same level is a lack of acquaintance with the individuals and groups through which entrance to other lines of employment is mediated.<sup>24</sup> Seventh, there may be invest-

<sup>21</sup> This function is strictly comparable, sociologically, to that of ritual or the application of sanctions to violations of group norms, in so far as these serve to reinforce common sentiments. Cf. Emile Durkheim, *On the Division of Labor in Society*, tr. G. Simpson (New York: Macmillan, 1934). Similar ideas have been set forth by G. H. Mead and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.

<sup>22</sup> Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), pp. 209-230.

<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that Black found the disparity between farm wage rates in relation to resources and factory wage rates to be the greater the more isolated the territory. See his article, *loc. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Continued migration from an area results in the formation of such "contacts," e.g. the South-North Negro movement or migration from Appalachia to industrial centers.

ments in fixed capital which are not easily or quickly liquidated.<sup>25</sup> Eighth, mobility of farm populations sometimes has to occur against formal organizational barriers in the social structure. State and community policies of turning away "undesirable" migrants, corporation labor policies, trade union entrance requirements, and residence requirements for relief eligibility are typical examples. There are also certain group prejudices which may serve as checks to mobility. Ninth, the decision to move or not to move is affected by the evaluation (discount or overappraisal) to which the future in a relatively unknown as over against a familiar situation is subject. The lesser psychological "reality" of a remote versus a near opportunity is a part of this. Finally, many rural populations appear to be characterized by relative fixity of social values, beliefs, and habits growing out of some of the above factors as they operate in the rural setting.<sup>26</sup> Many other concrete factors of this type might be mentioned, but these may serve to suggest a general approach. The central point to be emphasized is that it is entirely possible to have a social equilibrium of population under conditions of economic disequilibrium. Thus a higher material return is only one factor in a complex situation. The lack of correspondence between a strictly economic analysis and the concrete facts is not due to error in the analysis, within the limits of its competence, but lies rather in taking a partial analytical scheme as a means of reaching a total explanation. Further progress in the analysis of marginality and migration does not lie in breaking down the lines between economic and sociological analysis but rather in cumulating their analytically separate results. As more variables are taken into account, theory—always developing in the closest touch with empirical research—may be expected to provide an increasingly realistic and systematic guide for policy. The need for continued analytical study of the range of problems touched upon here must be stressed. This is a field in which rural sociology has made substantial and unique contributions which are gradually being recognized. The possibilities for further research are most promising.

<sup>25</sup> Production may be carried on in established areas in cases in which such production would not be economically justifiable were the fixed investments not already made. See G. M. Peterson and J. K. Galbraith, "The Concept of Marginal Land," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XIV (1932), 303-304; 307-308.

<sup>26</sup> This is of less importance in the case of the younger age groups, characterized by greater psychological flexibility, in which most individual rural-urban migrations occur. A stem-family type of organization, in conjunction with a pattern of values which encourages the breaking-away of the young adult, also is functionally related to the pressures for cityward migration.

# The Population of Soviet Russia

N. S. Timasheff\*

## ABSTRACT

The publication of the preliminary results of the census of January 17, 1939, permits a study of the movements of the population in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the 22 years of its existence. During these years two major demographic catastrophes took place (in 1920-1922 and in 1932-1933), both caused by a speedy and reckless social transformation. Each time the catastrophe was followed by a rapid restoration of the demographic equilibrium due to a relative normalization of social relationships. In both cases the catastrophes were accompanied by an intense rural-urban migration of the population, the first time from cities to villages, the second time in the opposite direction. During the last few years the peasant population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics substantially declined, and the non-peasant rural population substantially increased.

On January 17, 1939, a census was taken in the Soviet Union. As early as in June some preliminary figures were published which showed that 170,467,186 persons were found living in the Union, 55.9 million (32.8%) forming the urban and 114.6 (67.2%) the rural population.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a good opportunity for the study of the movements of the population in the vast country subjected to an unprecedented social experiment.

The census of 1939 was preceded by another one taken on January 6, 1937. The findings of this census never were and never will be published; for in September, 1937, it was officially announced that the census had been disrupted by the activity of counter-revolutionary and Trotskyist wreckers.<sup>2</sup> A few important figures, however, were disclosed by Molotoff at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party in March, 1939. He gave to understand that, in 1937, the population of the Soviet Union was 164.2 million, of whom 49.7 million lived in towns.

The official rejection of the figures of the census of 1937 forces us to investigate the reliability of the data collected both in 1937 and 1939. The comparison of the instructions given to the census takers in 1937 and 1939 shows the elements in the findings of the first census which

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<sup>1</sup> *Izvestia*, June 2, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> *Izvestia*, September 26, 1937; cf. *Population Index*, IV, No. 1 (1938), 4-5.



were disappointing to the ruling group. First, in contrast to 1937, no question was asked in 1939 concerning the religious conviction of the population; this is, however, of no importance for the objects of this study. Second, in contradistinction to 1937, in 1939 not only the actual population but also those persons who usually resided at a certain place but were absent the day of the census were to be counted by the census takers. This points to an important element in the situation, namely, that it was assumed that by eliminating persons of the mentioned category the wreckers of 1937 succeeded in obtaining an incredibly low figure of population.<sup>3</sup> The disappointment of the rulers must indeed have been great: as early as in 1935, the population of the Soviet Union was estimated at about 168 million;<sup>4</sup> and, according to the tables attached to the Second Five-Year Plan, a population of 180.7 million was expected by December 31, 1937.<sup>5</sup>

The change in the methods of registration of facts did not result in a substantial change in findings: the difference between the figures of 1937 and 1939 can be explained by the actual increase of the population during the two years separating the censuses. It is noteworthy that the difference between the "permanent" and the "actual" population (these are the officially used terms) did not exceed 0.75%.<sup>6</sup> The ruling group could do nothing but recognize that the population was much smaller than had been estimated. Under such circumstances it is probable that the figures published in 1939 were not falsified, but represented actual findings.

Doubts can be expressed concerning the ability of the census takers to competently carry out their task. No definite answer can be given on the subject, but the following information may help one to judge of the situation. A decree of the Council of the People's Commissars of July 26, 1938,<sup>7</sup> ordered the appointment of enumerators, supervisors, and heads of special census boards to take place during the months of

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vlast Sovietov*, August, 1938, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Molotoff, *Pravda*, January 29, 1935.

<sup>5</sup> *The Second Five-Year Plan* (Moscow, 1934), I, 411. (In Russian.)

<sup>6</sup> Sautin, *Partiinoye Stroitelstvo*, 1939, No. 12. In 1897, when a census was taken in Imperial Russia, the discrepancy was about 4%; this testifies to a decreased horizontal mobility of the population in modern Russia as compared to the prerevolutionary situation.

<sup>7</sup> Published in *Izvestia*, July 27, 1938. Additional rules were decreed by the Central Statistical Board and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars; cf. *Vlast Sovietov*, August, 1938, pp. 10-12.

August and September. The personnel was to be trained till December 31, 1938. Enumerators, to be chosen from among teachers, students of higher educational institutions, bookkeepers, and the like, were to be trained for 16 workdays in urban areas and for 22 days in rural areas. The corresponding figures were 29 and 34 days for supervisors and 45 and 60 days for heads and assistant heads of the census offices. All census takers had to pass examinations supervised by representatives of the permanent statistical boards and of local authorities, and it was stated that no one would be permitted to participate in the census taking who had not shown a complete understanding of its technique. The number of census takers was about one million. The census was made the object of a "campaign." For a few weeks before the date of January 17, all Soviet papers published numerous articles on the subject, and it was frequently discussed at public meetings. The questions were not many<sup>8</sup> and were clearly put.

The figures for 1937 and 1939 having been found sufficiently reliable, their comparison with earlier figures can be undertaken. In order to help the reader to follow the argument, all the basic figures discussed later in this paper will be presented in the following table.

TABLE 1  
POPULATION IN MILLIONS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Type of Enumerator</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Per Cent Rural Population</i>
1897, February 8.....	Census	106.0	12.2	93.8	88.5
1914, January 1.....	Estimate	138.1	25.4	112.7	81.6
1917, January 1.....	Estimate	140.2	30.4	109.8	78.3
1920, August 26.....	Partial Census	134.2-134.5	19.7	114.5-114.8	85.3
1923, January 1.....	Estimate	135.9	21.7	114.2	84.0
1926, December 17.....	Census	147.0	26.3	120.7	82.6
1932, January 1.....	Estimate	163.2	35.6	127.6	78.2
1934, January 1.....	Estimate	159.0	No Data	No Data	No Data
1937, January 6.....	Census	164.2	49.7	114.5	69.8
1939, January 17.....	Census	170.5	55.9	114.6	67.2

The table shows that the last (and the only complete) census in Imperial Russia, which took place on February 8, 1897, showed a population of 106.0 million within the territory occupied by the Soviet

<sup>8</sup> 14 in 1937, 16 in 1939; the additional questions concerned the relation to the head of the family, permanent residence and the duration of the absence from it, if any.

Union on September 1, 1939;<sup>9</sup> 12.2 million (11.5%) lived in towns and 93.8 million (88.5%) in rural districts.<sup>10</sup>

Seventeen years later, on January 1, 1914, i.e., just before the World War, the estimated population was 138.1 million (18.4% urban and 81.6% rural). This meant a yearly (geometric) increase rate of 16 per thousand; for the last three years before the war this rate was 20.0, 18.9, and 18.3 per thousand, respectively.

War resulted in a substantial decline in the rate of increase. On January 1, 1917, the estimated population of Russia was only 1.5% greater than in 1914, or equal to 140.2 million. Had the trend of the previous years continued, a population of 145 million could have been expected. The difference of about 5 million can be only partly explained by the direct loss of lives at the front.<sup>11</sup> Another important demographic phenomenon was apparent: the percentage of the urban population suddenly rose to 21.7%, a figure which represented a peak for many years to come; the sudden accumulation of people in cities certainly played an important part in the outbreak and success of the revolution of 1917.

During the following years Russia was in the throes of a civil war and went through all the hardships of a speedy and reckless social transformation. A partial census, taken on August 28, 1920, in combination with estimates for those parts of the country where no census was taken, showed a population of 134.2–134.5 million, about six million less than in 1917. This was the demographic cost of the first three years of the revolution, leaving out of consideration the possibility of

<sup>9</sup> For the years from 1914 to 1926 see *Bulletin No. 80 of the Economic Cabinet of S. N. Prokopowicz* (Prague, 1931). Important additions and corrections can be found in V. P. Timoshenko, *Agricultural Russia and the Wheat Problem*, Stanford University, 1932, pp. 18 ff. Cf. also E. Z. Volkov, *The Dynamics of the Population of the USSR* (Moscow, 1930). (In Russian.)

<sup>10</sup> Here and later on the term "town" is used in the meaning established by the Central Statistical Board when publishing the results of the census of 1897. Included are areas officially so termed (in Russia, both Imperial and Soviet, the administrative organization of towns and villages differs, and therefore an official distribution of areas is necessary) and areas of well expressed urban character adhering to them. This has been in gross lines the procedure of Soviet statisticians also, with an exception concerning a special urban census of March 15, 1923, the results of which have therefore not been used in this paper. Under the Provisional and the Soviet governments numerous areas have been shifted from the rural to the urban class. This usually took place in recognition of the actual transformation of corresponding areas. A complete and illuminating study of the question may be found in Volkov, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-206 and 239-242.

<sup>11</sup> They are estimated by different authors at between 528 and 775 thousand. Cf. Volkov, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

an increase proved both by earlier and later facts. The census disclosed a reversed migration movement of the population: only 14.7% were found to be living in towns, a percentage substantially smaller than in 1914. It is obvious that during the acute revolutionary period many people hoped to find refuge in rural districts, where the Communist methods of administration were applied in a less drastic manner than in the cities.

The figures for 1920 did not coincide with the peak of the crisis engendered by the Communist experiment. As result of the decrease of sowing areas, crops, and cattle<sup>12</sup> a famine broke out in 1921 during which, according to official figures, about five million persons died from starvation and epidemics.<sup>13</sup> The famine, however, did not strike the whole area of Russia or even its greater part. In some sections of the country the situation greatly improved from March 15, 1921, when the First Communist experiment was abandoned in favor of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which created much more favorable conditions of life. The ascending trend was resumed in many parts of the country,<sup>14</sup> and this compensated for the losses mentioned above; the population of Russia, on January 1, 1923, may be soundly estimated as equal to 135.9 million.<sup>15</sup> However, the population would have been around 150 million, if the prewar rate of increase had been resumed about the end of the World War. The difference of about 14 million can be considered the approximate cost of the revolution.

The next few years were characterized by a very high rate of increase of the population; it was 19.4 per thousand in 1924, 20.4 in 1925, and 22.7 in 1926. The census of December 17, 1926, showed a population of 147,027,915, of whom 26,314,114 (17.4%) lived in towns and 120,713,801 (82.6%) in rural districts. This total substantially surpassed that of prerevolutionary years, but the process of urbanization lagged behind prerevolutionary progress; the percentage of the urban population did not reach that of 1914, not to mention that of the abnormal 1917 figure.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. N. S. Timasheff, "Structural Changes in Rural Russia," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, II (March, 1937), 15-16.

<sup>13</sup> *Bulletin of the Central Statistical Board* No. 72, p. 91. (In Russian.)

<sup>14</sup> The bulletin of Professor Prokopowicz (No. 80) gives an estimate of 131.7 million on January 1, 1922; this is certainly too low as compared with the well substantiated figure for January 1, 1923 (see below).

<sup>15</sup> This is a figure derived from that of the census of 1926, with due regard to the rate of increase during the years 1923-1926. According to a careful study by Volkov (*op. cit.*, p. 201), at that time the urban population formed about 16% of the total.

The extraordinary speed of increase can be explained as follows: First, the consecutive disturbances of the World War, the Civil War, and the famine created a large vacuum which permitted a rapid increase of the population, without providing for *new* means of existence. Second, during the years of the New Economic Policy,<sup>16</sup> the social structure of rural Russia was molded according to the pattern of the *mir*, or agrarian community,<sup>17</sup> which, other things being equal, encourages a fast increase of the rural population. According to the *mir* principle, land is periodically redistributed among the homesteads in proportion to the number of members of the family or of adult male workers, so that the increase in the size of the family engenders the expectation of obtaining more land at the next redistribution.<sup>18</sup>

The census of 1926 was taken a short time before the trend reversed. In 1927, the increase of the population was 21.7 per thousand and in 1928, 24.0; it dropped to 21.1 per thousand in 1929, 19.0 in 1930, and 17.1 in 1931.<sup>19</sup> The point of saturation seemed to have been reached. Moreover, at that time the New Economic Policy was abandoned and the Second Communist experiment was begun, one of the principal elements of which—the collectivization of farming—resulted in the decline of crops and of cattle similar to that of the later years of the First Communist experiment.<sup>20</sup>

The population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, calculated in accordance with the above quoted figures, was about 163.2 million on January 1, 1932. For the following years reliable data concerning the movement of the population are almost completely lacking. However, there is sufficient evidence to show that during the following two years a demographic catastrophe took place which was for a long time denied by official sources. In 1933 a number of foreign correspondents published reports on the famine which they could observe. The series was opened by the *Manchester Guardian* in March, 1933. In April, Gareth Jones described the famine in the *Daily Express*. In June, Mugge-

<sup>16</sup> As well as during the period of War Communism.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Timasheff, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> The *mir* structure which predominated in rural Russia up to 1906 (when the first of the Stolypin's agrarian laws was enacted) was partly responsible for the quick increase of the rural population out of proportion with the advance of agricultural production. The relative gradual decrease of agricultural production and of rural consumption per capita was one of the basic factors in the situation which led to the revolutions of 1905 and 1917.

<sup>19</sup> *USSR for 15 Years*, pp. 211-212. (In Russian.) Figures are at variance with those contained in *Population Index*, V, No. 1 (1939), 6.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Timasheff, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

ridge gave in the *Morning Post* his observations regarding the famine in the Ukraine and in the Northern Caucasus; he wrote that he had seen almost deserted villages, whose inhabitants had died from hunger. On September 15, Duranty informed the readers of the *New York Times* that the mortality in the Ukraine had at least trebled because of food shortage.<sup>21</sup> In October, 1933, Lang, correspondent of *Forward*,<sup>22</sup> testified that large sections of Russia visited by him had suffered from a terrible famine.<sup>23</sup>

The famine was at first denied by the Communist government, but on December 5, 1935, a significant article appeared in the *Pravda*. It concerned the Don and Kuban districts, which are numbered among the granaries of Russia, and contained the following sentence: "The wickedness of the class enemy reached such a point that many kulaks concealed thousands of puds<sup>24</sup> of grain and let themselves and their children die of starvation." The story itself is quite incredible but permits the inference that in 1933 there actually were famine and starvation in the richest parts of Russia. The same article, in addition, contains the following statement: "In the spring of 1933, active members of the collective farms had to carry on their own backs millions of puds of seed, as most of the horses and oxen had died and those who remained alive were unable to work." This certainly means that famine was not voluntarily self-imposed by kulaks but affected the entire population, which was unable to preserve its basic capital—cattle.

The actual number of hunger deaths in 1933 cannot be computed. However, the population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on January 1, 1934, can be estimated at about 159 million, this figure being derived from that of the census of 1937. The difference between the actual population in the beginning of 1934 and a figure of 167.8 million, which would have been reached if only the prewar rate of increase had governed the population movement, shows that the demographic price of the Second Communist experiment was about eight million human lives. Still larger was the discrepancy between the actual increase of the population and the expectations of the Second Five-Year Plan, which, up to 1937, were officially considered as having been attained.

<sup>21</sup> *New York Times*, September 16, 1933.

<sup>22</sup> Published in Yiddish in New York.

<sup>23</sup> Evidence concerning the famine of 1932-1933 has been collected by E. Ammende, *Muss Russland Hungern* (Wien, 1935).

<sup>24</sup> One pud is equal to 36.16 pounds avoirdupois.

When Communist methods began to be mitigated, the situation gradually improved, and the upward movement of the population was resumed. The following information may be used in order to establish the facts related to the movement of the population for the years 1934-1938.

Stalin, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, said that in 1937 the birth rate was 36 per thousand per year. He also said that the mortality was 40% lower in 1937 than before the War; this gives a mortality figure of 17.2 per thousand and an increase rate of population of 18.8 per thousand. Further, it was stated<sup>25</sup> that, after the decree of June 27, 1936, which prohibited abortion, the birth rate increased 33.7%; this establishes a yearly birth rate, before the decree, of 27.0 per thousand.<sup>26</sup> It is also known that in 1935, the mortality rate was 16.3 per thousand.<sup>27</sup> Assuming that the corresponding figures are correct for the years 1934-1936, we reach a natural increase rate of 10.9 per thousand, which is much smaller than that for the years 1924-1932. The process of recovery after the famine of 1932-1933 seems to have been much slower than that after the famine of 1921-1922.

In this way were obtained the population figures for the years 1937 and 1939 which were mentioned in the beginning of this paper. Unfortunately the data available do not permit the exact reconstruction of the dynamics of the rural and urban population. The following statements, however, may be made.<sup>28</sup>

One hundred and twenty and seven-tenths million persons lived in rural areas in 1926; only 114.6 million were registered there in 1939. However, the status of certain rural areas, inhabited in 1926 by 4 million, had been changed to that of urban, so that actually, in 1939, 114.6 million lived in the area in which 116.7 million were registered in 1926. To a large extent the decrease of the rural population must be explained by migration to urban districts. In 1939, 18.5 million were found in towns who, in 1926, had lived in rural districts. The decrease in rural population is only 4 million, if the years 1926 and 1939 are compared. However, the peak of the rural population was reached in the beginning of 1931, when 128.5 million lived outside of towns, and this despite the fact that during the years 1927-1930 5.1 million had

<sup>25</sup> *Izvestia*, June 27, 1939.

<sup>26</sup> The enactment of this decree can be explained by the fact that the government finally had become aware of the tremendous discrepancy between its demographic expectations and actuality.

<sup>27</sup> *Planovoye Khoziaistvo*, 1936, No. 12, p. 24.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Prokopovitz, *Bulletin No. 139* (Prague, 1937).

already migrated to towns or were added to the urban population because of administrative changes.<sup>29</sup>

During the years 1931-1936 the rural population decreased from 128.5 million to 114.5 million. The migration figures are available only for the first five years of the mentioned period; their sum total is 12.6 million.<sup>30</sup> There is some reason to believe that the speed of the process was the same in 1936; this gives a sum total of 15.1 million during 6 years. The comparison of the figures concerning migration and the decrease of the rural population shows that there was almost no natural increase of the rural population in the years 1931-1936. In 1937 and 1938 the rural population remained stable, for the entire natural increase was absorbed by the migration to towns. How large the natural increase was can only be estimated.<sup>31</sup>

Still another process may be observed in rural areas, especially in 1932-1937, and that is a rapid decline of the peasant population. This decline can be deduced from the continuous decrease in the number of homesteads or families, the average membership of which hardly could have increased.<sup>32</sup> If we assume that the figure for 1932, which was 4.8 members per rural family, continued to be correct up to 1937, the following table may be drawn up:<sup>33</sup>

TABLE 2  
DECLINE OF THE PEASANT POPULATION

Date	Number of Homesteads (Thousands)	Peasant Population (Millions)
June 1, 1932 . . . . .	24,483	117.5
June 1, 1933 . . . . .	23,620	113.8
July 1, 1934 . . . . .	22,012	105.7
June 1, 1935 . . . . .	20,834	100.0
June 1, 1936 . . . . .	20,414	98.0
April 1, 1937 . . . . .	19,930	95.7

<sup>29</sup> Yearly figures are available for the years 1928-1930; they were respectively (in millions): 1.06, 1.39, 2.63.

<sup>30</sup> The yearly distribution was: 4.1, 2.7, 0.8, 2.5, and 2.5 million, respectively. The low figure for 1933 can be explained by the decree of December 27, 1932, which introduced the system of passports and of special permits for entering the cities; as is the case of many other decrees, this one was enforced for some time and then actually disregarded. The decree testifies to a strong pressure on towns by rural residents who were fleeing the drastic application of Communist methods in the villages.

<sup>31</sup> An approximate calculation of the increase of the urban population (see below) would leave about 4.5 million for the natural increase of the rural population; this would correspond to a natural increase rate of about 20 per thousand yearly.

<sup>32</sup> More probable would have been a decrease in the average because of the migration process mentioned above. According to S. N. Prokopovitz, in *Quarterly Bulletin of Soviet Russian Economics*, No. 1-2 (Geneva, 1939), p. 59, the average size of a kolhoz family is now 4.22 persons.

<sup>33</sup> The process seems to have stopped in 1937, for, in 1938, there were again 20,153 thousand homesteads in the USSR. Cf. Prokopovitz, *Quarterly Bulletin*, p. 29.



How can this decrease be explained? Professor Prokopovicz<sup>84</sup> explained it entirely by the demographic catastrophe of the years 1932-1933 which, in his opinion, continued during the next few years; he thus arrived at the conclusion that, in 1937, the rural population was only 106 million. However, this is only one of the possible explanations. There is another and more plausible one. The non-peasant rural population, which was about 10.2 million in 1932, could have increased up to 18 million in 1937 as the result of a partial industrialization of rural areas<sup>85</sup> and of the increase in the number of Soviet officers, of persons active in public services (education, medicine, and the like), and of workers of machine and tractor stations. The decrease of the peasant population, correlated to the overpopulation of Russian rural areas making for endemic disguised unemployment,<sup>86</sup> could, therefore, be considered as a process of positive social value, all reservation being made in regard to the methods applied to reach this improvement.

The urban population has more than doubled from 1926 to 1939.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Bulletin No. 139* (Prague, 1937), published before any figures concerning the census of 1937 became available (The error has been recognized by Prokopovicz, *Quarterly Bulletin*, No. 4 [Geneva, 1940], p. 112.)

<sup>85</sup> In 1936, the Communist government decided not to permit any further expansion of industry in Moscow and Leningrad—a striking counterpart to the legislation of Fascist Italy! In 1939, this decision was confirmed and expanded by the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party (*Pravda*, March 21, 1939).

<sup>86</sup> C. Clark, *A Critique of Russian Statistics* (London, 1939), pp. 51-53.

<sup>87</sup> The process of urbanization has taken place in Soviet Russia under quite different conditions than in Western Europe and the United States. It was a function of industrialization ordered by the government and carried out according to the Five-Year Plans, not freely effected by the population. Thus, in many cases the new urban population consisting of workers and employees of new plants and mills had to live in quite abnormal conditions. The following figures, borrowed from Prokopovicz, *Quarterly Bulletin*, No. 1-2, p. 56, are enlightening

	Dwelling Space in Towns	
	Total (In millions square meters)	Per Person (In square meters)
1923	127.8	5.8
1928	160.0	5.7
1932	185.1	4.7
1937	211.9	4.0

At the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, Molotoff recognized that the construction of new houses lagged substantially behind the plan, and promised the creation of 45 million square meters of new dwelling space during the Third Five-Year Plan (January 1, 1937-December 31, 1941); of these 10 million were expected to be created by individual (private) owners. In the resolutions of the Congress no mention was made of this last portion, and the promise was restricted to 35 million (*Pravda*, March 16 and 21, 1939).

The increase was the result of the cooperation of three factors: (1) migration from rural areas, 18.5 million; (2) administrative transformation, 5.8 million; and (3) natural increase, 5.3 million.<sup>88</sup>

A distribution of these figures among individual years is unfortunately impossible, but the following are of interest. In 1932, the urban population was 35.6 million or 9.3 million larger than that shown by the census of 1926; but almost the same number of people (9.2 million) migrated to towns during the preceding 6 years. This means that there was no natural increase of the urban population during the mentioned years, and this can be very well explained by the hardships of the years of the Second Communist experiment and by the high mortality among immigrants from rural districts.

During the years 1932-1936 the urban population increased by 14.7 million, and during the years 1937-1938 it again increased by 6.2 million. During the last named years the natural increase was probably 1.7 million, and the migration process gave the additional 4.5 million; the natural increase rate was therefore approximately 17 per thousand yearly, a figure which is indirectly corroborated by official statements.

The general conclusions of this study may be formulated as follows:

1. During the 22-year period of its existence the Soviet State was twice subjected to demographic catastrophes.
2. Each time the catastrophe was followed by a rapid restoration of the demographic equilibrium, though the speed of the process was not as great the second time as the first.
3. In both cases the catastrophes were accompanied by migration of the population away from areas where Communism was applied with greater intensity to areas where the application was less intense.
4. The later years of the period studied were characterized by a partial improvement in the abnormal demographic situation in rural Russia.

<sup>88</sup> The figure concerning administrative transformation is higher than that of 4 million mentioned above in regard to rural districts transformed into urban ones. The difference can be explained by natural increase and by additional migration from villages after the administrative transformation. The figure concerning natural increase is obviously too high. There was only an insignificant natural increase of the urban population in 1927-1929, which was followed by a decrease in 1930-1931 (cf. Prokopovicz, *Bulletin No. 139*); the decrease probably continued in 1932-1933; the increase could have been resumed only in 1934; and quite incredible rates would have been necessary to produce a total increase of 5.3 million in 5 years.

# Rural-Urban Aspects of Adult Probation in Wisconsin†

*John L. Gillin\** and *Reuben L. Hill\*\**

## ABSTRACT

The paper is one chapter from a larger study called "Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin." The problem is to compare the behavior of rural-farm probationers, rural-nonfarm probationers, and urban-nonfarm probationers with respect to certain traits in their history. These traits were age of conviction, factors in the family background, factors associated with the circumstances and conditions of the crime and of the trial, crime for which convicted, length of sentence, and period on probation. Rural-farm and urban-nonfarm differ most strikingly in their behavior on probation. The critical ratio of the standard error of difference to the actual difference between their mean violation rates was 6.8.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper is one chapter from a larger study called *Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin*. Our main problem in the study was to test the relationship of factors in the life histories of adult probationers both before and during the probation period to their outcome on probation. Two factors which we tested showed themselves to be of real importance in this respect. They were: (1) the size and type of community in which living at the time of conviction and (2) the usual occupation of the probationer. Probationers who were farmers by occupation showed a lower violation rate than others. Probationers who lived in the open country or in the villages under 1,000 population had a lower violation rate than probationers in the more urban centers. Probationers, too, who were residents of highly rural counties had a lower violation rate than probationers from more urban counties. This situation suggested the need for a more detailed analysis of these differentiated strata in the probation population.

† The study on which this paper is based was financed by a grant-in-aid from the University of Wisconsin Research Committee. A report of the entire study will be found in the University of Wisconsin Library. See Reuben L. Hill, Jr., *Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin*, Ph.D. Thesis, 1938.

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The original study comprised 2,819 male adult probation cases closed by the Wisconsin State Board of Control in the years 1933, 1934, and 1935. However, for this particular analysis the population has been divided into three residential-occupational strata: (1) rural-farm probationers,<sup>1</sup> (2) rural-nonfarm probationers,<sup>2</sup> and (3) urban-nonfarm probationers.<sup>3</sup>

This breakdown eliminated for the sake of homogeneity migrants during the probation period from the city to the rural areas, or from rural areas to the cities. It eliminated individuals in urban areas who farmed. It failed to eliminate those individuals who had migrated to the city or to the country shortly before committing the crime for which they had been put on probation.

The three groups chosen for contrast were still large enough after the paring they received to insure stability as to numbers. There were 574 probationers in the rural-farm group, of which 13.6 per cent violated probation. There were 1,127 probationers in the urban-nonfarm group, of which 18.4 per cent violated probation. There were 559 in the rural-nonfarm group, of which 15 per cent violated probation.

#### A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problems discussed in this paper revolve about differences in behavior of probationers from the three above mentioned strata of the population. *Our problem is not the comparison of the distribution of traits in the three groups, but the comparison of their behavior in respect to these traits while on probation.*

Of the twenty-eight factors on which data were originally gathered<sup>4</sup> we have chosen ten to test differences of behavior within our strata. These ten are all either highly associated with outcome of probationers in our study or of special interest in the rural-urban contrasts. They

<sup>1</sup> The probationers in the rural-farm stratum were a highly homogeneous group. They were farmers by occupation both before and during the probationary period, and they lived in areas of under 2,500 population both before and during the probationary period.

<sup>2</sup> The probationers in the rural-nonfarm stratum were rural by residence, but followed nonfarm vocations.

<sup>3</sup> The urban-nonfarm probationers were made up of individuals living in the city following vocations other than farming. The number of urban probationers who farmed was so small that they were not included in the study, hence any reference to urban probationers in this study is to urban-nonfarm probationers.

<sup>4</sup> For a report summarizing the effect of all twenty-eight factors on the outcome of probationers see John L. Gillin and Reuben L. Hill, "Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. XXX, No. 6 (March-April, 1940).

cover roughly the fields of age at conviction, family background, factors associated with the circumstances and conditions of the crime and trial, and factors associated with the probation period.

#### AGE AT CONVICTION

Of the three groups the rural-nonfarm probationers are the oldest, with a mean of 32.1 years, the urban-nonfarm next in order with an average of 29.4 years, and the rural-farm youngest at 27.3 years. The rural-farm people are not only the youngest, but also have the lowest violation rate of the three strata.

When each stratum is considered individually, the older probationers appear to be the better risks. The violation rate is higher in the younger than in the older age groups in all three strata. It is when the three strata are compared, one with another, that the influence of age appears to have less effect upon the rural probationers. The rural-farm people are youngest but still have the lowest violation rate. The urban probationers are next in age and have the highest violation rate. Evidently the rural "way of life" modifies the rigors of probation in the rural-farm stratum in such a way that the violation rates are lowered for members of that group.

#### FACTORS IN THE FAMILY BACKGROUND

A measure of the family configuration is the *number of siblings in the family*. How is this configuration related to the outcome within our three strata?

The rural-farm group had the most sibs, with a median of 5.36 siblings per family; the rural-nonfarm next, with 4.45; and the urban smallest, with 4.22. The rural-farm families have only 5.9 per cent of their number with only one sibling, while 14.9 per cent have "9 or more" siblings per family. Both the urban and the rural-nonfarm have fewer siblings, each with only 7.0 per cent in the "9 or more" group.

The hypothesis that the only child is handicapped shows up especially in the rural-farm group, which has a much higher violation rate than the rural-nonfarm in this one child family group. Actually "one sib" families deviate from the normal in rural-farm areas, although common in the urban. It might be logical therefore to expect abnormal behavior from individuals coming from this size of family in rural-farm regions. The families with two siblings, however, have much lower

violation rates in the rural-farm than in the urban group. This is also true of the families with four siblings.

It is difficult to draw any definite conclusions for this factor, although there is a decided, even if erratic, decline in the violation rate for all groups as the size of the family increases.

It is relevant to our problem to measure the relationship of *the broken home* at time of conviction to outcome on probation within our three strata. First of all, the rural-farm homes are less frequently broken. The violation rate is also much lower in the unbroken rural-farm home than in the unbroken urban and rural-nonfarm homes. The proportion of the homes in which parents were divorced is lower in the rural-farm than in the urban, but the difference in violation rates is not great. In all cases of the broken home the differences in behavior between rural-farm and urban, between rural-farm and rural-nonfarm, and between rural-nonfarm and urban were not large. The violation rates do not fluctuate with the broken home quite as much in the rural-farm stratum as in the other two strata. It is hard to explain such a situation with the limited data at hand. Is it less serious to have the home broken in the rural-farm area? Are the children not as likely to be mistreated or sent to institutions? Does the Greater Family take over the duties of the estranged or separated parents? Future studies might clear up these questions.

The *marital status* of our three strata differs to a greater extent than the other factors we have considered. There are more single probationers in the rural-farm, 67.3 per cent, as compared to 45.5 per cent and 46.5 per cent for the urban and rural-nonfarm. The rural-farm probationers are less divorced, less separated, and less married when considered as a percentage of the total group. In spite of this bulking in the unmarried category, the rural-farm has a lower violation rate in this category than the urban. The violation rates of the married among the rural-farm were lower than among the urban. Of the separated and the divorced, the rural-farm is lower in violation rate than the urban or the rural-nonfarm. The very low rates of violation by separated and divorced rural-farm probationers are surprising. Does the concept of primary group controls operating in rural areas offer an explanation? Marital status evidently does not weigh as heavily as other factors in the rural farm sphere in determining outcome on probation.

Does the number of children dependent on the probationer have any relation to outcome on probation? Members of the rural-nonfarm group

Convictions for *drunkenness* amount to only 2.4 per cent of the total rural-farm probationers in our sample, as compared with 9.9 per cent in the urban sample. However, this may well be due to the purported tendency of town marshalls to regard drunkenness in a more lenient way than the city police. The violation rates of probationers convicted for drunkenness are low in all three strata.

#### VIOLATIONS AND LENGTH OF SENTENCE

The rural-farm probationers received a slightly higher average sentence; the median is 23.75 months, compared with 22.7 months for the urban and 22.5 months for the rural-nonfarm. The dispersion about these medians as measured by the average deviation is greater in the case of the urban than in the other two groups (A.D. urban 8.1, rural-farm 7.8, and rural-nonfarm 6.4). Judges appear to have been fairly consistent in sentencing probationers regardless of the strata from which they came.

The composition of the three strata in terms of the length of maximum sentence does not seem very different. Rural-farm probationers, regardless of the length of maximum sentence, violated probation less frequently than urban probationers.

#### FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PERIOD ON PROBATION

In this report two factors dealing with the problems arising during the period on probation have been tested: (1) number of contacts with probation officer per month and (2) changes of residence on probation.

The amount of attention and supervision which an individual probationer receives while on probation may be measured roughly by the number of contacts per month which the probation officer has given him. Does this attention vary in amount from the urban to the rural situation? If so, are the differences significant?

The average number of contacts with probationers per month in the rural-farm areas was 0.92, in rural-nonfarm areas 1.13, and in the urban 1.72. The difference between the means of the rural-farm and the urban groups was 0.8; and the standard error of the difference was .042, which in critical ratio form is 19 S.E.'s, a highly significant difference. The differences between the other two strata were also highly significant:

Mean Urban—Mean Rural-Nonfarm—.59±.046

Mean Rural-Nonfarm—Mean Rural-Farm—.21±.046

The rural-farm group received much less supervision than the urban, and less than the rural-nonfarm, while the rural-nonfarm received less supervision than the urban.

The violation rate of the rural-farm was much lower than the urban in the first two categories, where the visits were low, i.e., 0.0 to 0.4 and 0.5 to 0.9 visits per month. From that point on the violation rates became higher for the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm as the number of visits increased up to three visits a month. While probation officers make regular visits to probationers in urban areas, a man in a rural community must be a more hazardous case to receive more than one visit a month, due to the difficulty of travel in rural areas during part of the year.

It has been suggested that this lack of close supervision accounts for the low violation rates in rural territory, since any violations committed would escape the eye of the probation officer. This is not entirely true, however, since the probation officer is only one of three agencies which detect and report probation violators. Neighbors in rural sections supervise the behavior of miscreants more closely than is done in urban areas and would be more likely to report infractions of the probation agreement.

This analysis shows a differential treatment of rural compared with urban probationers. It demonstrates, finally, that while the violation rates are lower in the rural areas where few visits are made, they become extremely high where the visits exceed one a month.<sup>6</sup>

Another factor in the probation period is "mobility while on probation." Probation officers recognize the necessity of establishing their probationers in employment which will allow them to make friendships in the local community and thus receive outside help in their attempts at self-reform.

Probationers in the rural-farm area made the most moves on the average (0.9). Probationers in the rural-nonfarm follow with 0.83 moves, and probationers in the urban areas are least mobile with 0.76 moves. This high mobility of rural probationers is partially explained by their relative youth. We must not forget that the average age of these rural-farm probationers is about 27 years, and that they are not

<sup>6</sup> There is obviously no direct causal relationship between intensive supervision and the high violation rates of probationers. The case load of officers is so heavy that most of the intensive work is done with poorly educated probationers who need attention badly but who are the poorest risks.



tied down to the soil with property and families as would be the case for their parents in the same area. They probably participated more fully in the migratory type of farm labor which characterizes a great class of farm work.<sup>7</sup>

The violation rate of probationers in the rural-farm group who did not move while on probation was much lower than the rate of the same group in urban territory. The violation rate increases, but in an erratic way, in all three groups as the number of moves increases.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*Age at conviction* differs in its effect on violation rates from stratum to stratum. The "rural way of life" acts as a modifier within age groups in such a way that the violation rates are lowered for members of the rural-farm stratum. Generally, older probationers are better risks than younger men throughout all three strata.

*Factors in the family background* vary, too, in their effects on the behavior of probationers. There is a decided, even if erratic, decline in the violation rate for all groups as the *size of families* from which they come increases. The differences between strata are not large. The effect of the *broken home* on violation rates is to increase them, although the fluctuation is not pronounced in the rural-farm stratum. *Marital status* is a differentiating factor between the various strata in terms of behavior on probation. Rural-farm probationers have a lower violation rate in every category, especially in the divorce category. *The number of dependent children* and outcome on probation differ among our strata. Rural-farm probationers have a lower violation rate than the urban, especially in the class with "no dependents," and the class with "one dependent child."

*Factors associated with the crime and trial* show interesting results. *History of previous arrests* affected the violation rates adversely in all three groups, but much less so in the rural-farm group. The rural-farm configuration nullifies the compulsive effect of past criminal record for its probationers. *The crime for which convicted* shows differences in behavior throughout the table when the strata are compared. The high violation rates of sex offenders and nonsupport classes in the rural-nonfarm areas warrant notice. While the composition of the three

<sup>7</sup> This shows up clearly in reading the case records. It has not been quantified into table form. Examination of these records shows that probation officers move men in rural areas from job to job more frequently than men in urban employment.

strata in terms of the *length of maximum sentence* does not seem very different, the reaction of the probationers, stratum by stratum, is quite different as measured by the violation rates for each sub-category. Generally, the rural-farm probationers, regardless of length of sentence, violated probation less frequently than urban probationers.

*Factors associated with the period on probation* show considerable discrepancy in the two rural strata as compared with the urban. The amount of supervision is much lower in the rural areas. This table shows that, while the violation rates are lower in the rural areas where few visits are made, they become extremely high where the visits exceed one a month. These differences in violation rates made the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm appear strikingly different from the urban in respect to treatment by the probation officer. Finally the question of *mobility on probation* and its effect on outcome within the three strata indicate that the violation rate of probationers in the rural-farm group who did not move while on probation was much lower than the same group in the urban territory. The violation rate increases, but in an erratic way, in all three groups as the number of moves increases.

#### ANGER SPOTS ON PROBATION

Another way of summarizing our findings is to point out those subclasses of our factors which had excessively high violation rates.

We show in a "Summary Table" those groups whose violation rates are higher than might be expected by chance. Our aim was to point out which groups of probationers needed most attention.

We called a subclass a "danger spot" if the violation rate exceeded the mean violation rate by three standard errors. That is a difference which would rarely occur by chance alone. The rural-farm subclasses having violation rates above 13.68 by 3 S.E.'s, or 17.87 per cent, are "danger spots." The rural-nonfarm classes having a violation rate of more than 15.00 by 3 S.E.'s, or 19.3 per cent, are "danger spots." The urban-nonfarm classes having a violation rate above 18.4 by 3 S.E.'s, or 21.85 per cent, are "danger spots." The summary table lists the results tabulated by strata and raises many interesting questions:

(1) Why should the rural-farm stratum have only fifteen "danger spots" while the rural-nonfarm and the urban-nonfarm have as high as twenty-one and twenty-two?

(2) Why are probationers 30-34 years of age a problem age group in the two strata? Are they not mature?

in this connection. Where does the rural-nonfarm belong? With which group are its probationers most highly identified? This study fails to answer the question conclusively.

Our conclusions are that for purposes of generalization and probably for treatment the rural-farm and the urban should be regarded as separate problems. More study should be made of the rural-nonfarm population to determine with which group it should be identified or whether, indeed, it should be treated as a separate stratum by itself.

Note.—Mimeographed tables of data on which this paper is based may be obtained by sending 6c for postage to Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

# Jewish Agricultural Colonization in Palestine: A Sociological Experiment in Collectivism

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## ABSTRACT

From every corner of the globe Jews are coming to Palestine to find liberty and security in their ancient homeland. Inspired by the ideals of Zionism, they have founded about 250 villages on lands that for hundreds of years had been barren deserts or malaria-ridden swamps. This Jewish agricultural colonization by city-bred traders and professionals constitutes a large-scale social experiment in collectivism. About a third of these Jewish colonies are collectives, with a communal household and without private property. Another third are cooperatives, with individual management of farms but cooperative buying and selling of goods. The rest are settlements of fully independent farmers. Together they offer an opportunity to study the possibility and problems of a collective society created by voluntary action without any governmental compulsion. They are an experiment in the establishment of a new democratic social system, which attempts to more adequately adjust our society to its complex technology.

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

More than ever before it is clear today that new social forms must be found to permit mankind to enjoy the fruits of its technical progress. Otherwise, technological advances will mean nothing but greater efficiency of men to destroy each other.

Being among the worst sufferers of the malfunctionings of the world's social systems, the Jewish people are among the most interested in the development of new social forms. In modern Palestine, where the Jews are building a home of security and freedom for those among them who need it most, new social forms of rural life are developing. It is the purpose of this essay to discuss some of the outstanding features of this social experiment.

## ZIONISM AND AGRICULTURE

The Zionist Movement, which aims to build a Jewish National Home in Palestine, puts great emphasis on agricultural colonization. It was no accident that its history began with the establishment of the village, *Rischon L'Tzion* (The First in Zion), in 1878. It was

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight Sanderson, Jacob Golub, I. Hamlin, and Minna Ross gave me valuable help in the preparation of this article through their suggestions and criticisms.

an economic necessity because the Jews could not build cities without farms to supply them with food and to buy the products of their factories. There was also a deep cultural need for Zionism to be a "back to the soil" movement. For centuries the Jews had been forced to live in virtual or actual Ghettos. The old Jewish culture, which had been the product of a rural life, could not develop normally in this disorganizing urban environment. If Jews wanted to produce a cultural renaissance in Palestine, they had to create a new rural environment.

#### THE MOSHAVAH ("VILLAGE OF INDEPENDENT FARMERS")

Rischon L'Tzion, as well as many other villages that were founded in the first few decades of Zionist colonization, consists of large individual farmsteads, most of which cannot be worked without hired help. The houses are built in a cluster, like most of the villages of Europe. The social structure and organization is similar to that of the average American village. This type of colonization is not encouraged today by the majority of Zionists, although some villages of independent farmers are still being founded. In comparison to other forms of colonization which will be discussed later, the Moshavah has several practical disadvantages.

It is an expensive form of colonization. The area of land needed is large. Each farming unit not only needs its own house and barn, but farm machinery and other equipment as well. Only settlers with considerable capital can afford to farm independently. In view of the fact that today most of the colonists in Palestine have little money, many of them arriving without a penny, and that their settlement must be aided by Jewish National Funds, whose resources—derived from voluntary contributions—are very limited, the Moshavah colonization is neither economical nor efficient.

Few of the immigrants arriving today have enough training in agriculture to manage a farm of their own in Palestine, where conditions are very different from those prevailing anywhere in northern Europe. Some have no farm experience whatsoever, since they had to flee overnight, with no time to prepare themselves for their new way of life.

Most of the settlers have lived in cities all their lives and are used to a rich social life. With limited capital, operating their own farms, they would have to work continuously day after day, especially during the first few years of colonization. They usually could not afford to hire people to do the work for them. Thus they could have little leisure.

Under such conditions, the adjustment to the new rural life would be especially difficult.

Colonization in Palestine is similar in many respects to the colonization of the early pioneers in the United States. The settlers in outlying districts, where most of the new villages are established, must frequently defend their lives and property against bandits and terrorists. A community of large farms is not easily defended. Each man, working alone, is often exposed to sniping. Also, in case of illness or disease, the individual farmer has nothing to fall back on except his own resources.

#### IDEOLOGICAL OBJECTIONS TO THE MOSHAVAH

Besides these practical disadvantages of the *Moshavah*, most Zionists have strong ideological objections to this form of rural community organization. They fear that it will create those class differences between the farm owners and the landless wage proletariat that are a source of serious trouble in many countries. They do not want to build a Jewish National Home that copies the unsuccessful social institutions of Europe.

Many of the settlers in *Moshavoth* (plural of *Moshavah*) also employed cheap native labor. Often Arabs from surrounding countries came to Palestine for this very purpose. To build the Jewish National Home with Arab labor was unacceptable to conscientious Zionists. Farms that are merely owned by Jews, but worked by others, would never produce a rural Jewish culture.

If Zionism was to succeed in producing a harmonious and culturally creative Jewish society in Palestine, *new* forms of colonization had to be found. Under the influence of socialist theories, Jewish customs, and the realities of Palestine, certain collective forms of colonization were developed, which may roughly be classed into two main types: *Kvutzoth* ("Collectives") and *Moshavei-Ovdim* ("Cooperatives").

#### THE KVUTZAH ("COLLECTIVE")

The *Kvutzah* takes the form of a large plantation, operated on the principle of "from everyone according to his ability and to everyone according to his need." There is no private property, and no wages are paid. All individual needs are met by the common treasury. Oftentimes even elderly parents or younger siblings in Palestine or abroad are supported by the *Kvutzah*.

*Kvutzoth* (plural of *Kvutzah*) vary in size from 25-750 members.

The average size is about 175 members. Each of these must pass through a trial period of one year, primarily because life in a *Kvutza* differs radically from life outside. The individual must be given time to discover whether its way of life will satisfy him, and the group must get to know him to decide on his adaptability.

Membership turnover varies greatly, from 14 per cent in more recently established groups to 6 per cent in older ones. Three quarters of those who leave have lived in the *Kvutza* for less than one year.<sup>2</sup>

Many *Kvutza* have their origins in Europe, where groups of young people organize their emigration together. They will get training on farms and do other kinds of work to save money for the journey. In Palestine they may be joined by friends who are already there or may merge with an already existing similar group. Other *Kvutza* may be organized in Palestine by various ideological parties.

Before the group can settle on its own land, it has to pass through a period when its members work for wages on farms, in factories, in quarries, and in building industries. All wages are pooled; and most of the members live together on a small piece of land in movable tents and barracks, although some may be employed far away and may live alone. In this period money can be saved, and the group can test itself to see whether the members have enough homogeneity and group spirit to live together for life. Some of these groups are small and later on expect to settle as a *Kvutza*. Others are larger (300 and more people) and have intentions to found a *Kibbutz*. (The *Kibbutz* has the same collective principles as the *Kvutza*, but it includes both agricultural and industrial workers, striving to be as self-sufficient a unit as possible. Some of its members work for wages outside the village but contribute their earnings to the common treasury.)

After a few years, when the group has saved some money, they are supplied with a piece of land bought by the Jewish National Fund. With the help of loans from private or national sources they begin to build their village. At first they may have to live in tents, with a few wooden huts to serve as barn, dining-room, kitchen, and children's house. Then, little by little, stone and concrete structures are built. Later such "luxuries" as libraries, phonograph-record collections, and community buildings can be added.

Dagania, the first *Kvutza* to be established in 1908 by a group of

<sup>2</sup> Figures are from Statistical Bulletins of the Jewish Agricultural Worker's Union, 1937.

Palestinian farm laborers, might serve as an illustrative example. The group was given a plot of land near Lake Tiberias, surrounded by malaria-ridden swamps. Some of its members succumbed to malaria, and others were shot by roving bands of Bedouins. Some had to leave because they could not stand the semi-tropical climate of the Jordan Valley, and others found that they were not suited for collective living. But the group remained.

Today Daganah is one of the most healthful and beautiful spots in the country. There are comfortable living quarters for married couples as well as dormitories for unmarried men and women. The children live in modern houses and have a well-equipped school and kindergarten. The kitchen and laundry contain many laborsaving devices. There also is a dispensary, a library, and a large dining room-social hall. In addition, there are many modern farm buildings. Mixed farming is practiced, with grains, bananas, poultry, and dairy products as cash crops.

Each *Kvutza* is governed by the general meeting of its members, which must be held at least once a year or whenever one third of the group requests such a meeting. It elects a committee of management to carry on the routine tasks of administration. Each member of this committee has different duties. There is usually a secretary-treasurer to control the finances, a work-organizer to assign various individuals to their respective jobs, and a *Mukhtar*, who deals with external affairs such as relations with other villages and the government. The chairman has no special or superior status. In the larger *Kvuzoth* there are also members who deal with purchase and the distribution of supplies.

The committee of management is assisted by several standing committees elected by the general meeting to deal with such activities as household and farm management, work distribution, education, and culture and recreation.

In a small *Kvutza* the division of labor is a relatively simple matter. Most members have one or more specialties which they can do exceptionally well. In addition, most of them help with such routine chores as kitchen work and patrolling the village against possible attacks. Many *Kvuzoth* have members who are doctors, dentists, lawyers, veterinarians, nurses, cobblers, carpenters, etc. The well-established communities can send some of their members to attend special training courses.

There are about 100 days in each year in which no productive work



is done by members. The figures in the following two settlements represent the maximum and minimum totals respectively for 1936:

TABLE 1  
NUMBER OF DAYS IN WHICH NO PRODUCTIVE WORK WAS DONE  
(Settlements Representing Maximum and Minimum Totals)

Name of <i>Kvutzah</i>	CAUSES FOR DAY'S WORK LOST PER PERSON*					
	<i>Illness and Convalescence</i>	<i>Sabbaths and Holidays</i>	<i>Annual Vacation</i>	<i>Childbirth and Suckling</i>	<i>Heavy Rain</i>	<i>Total Number of Days</i>
Ein Harod .....	35.6	58.0	12.0	2.3	2.4	110.3
Ginegar .....	16.3	58.0	11.0		3.0	88.3

\*The figures are from the 1936 Bulletin of the Audit Union of the Jewish Agricultural Labor Cooperatives in Palestine.

The sickness rate is rather high, which is due partly to the fact that most of the settlers must accustom themselves to the Mediterranean climate. The rate in the older *Kvuzoth* is much lower than that in those more recently established.

The *Kvuzoth* do not have identical structures and methods of operation. There are five federations of these collectives, each of which is based on somewhat different ideological premises. These federations hold occasional conferences, at which they discuss their principles and practices. There is also much cooperation among all collectives, regardless of which federation they belong to. Any member of any *Kvutzah* is welcome to stay at any other to spend his vacation or to get some special training.

In addition nearly all members of all *Kvuzoth* belong to the *Histadruth*, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, which unites rural, urban, and white-collar workers in one organization. One quarter of the Jewish population of Palestine are members of this federation. The *Histadruth* makes important services available to the *Kvuzoth*. The most important of these are cooperative marketing and buying, the services of the Labor Bank, and health insurance. A *Kvutzah* pays about three dollars a month for every member to this insurance scheme, for which they are entitled to free medical treatment and hospitalization.

#### SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE KVUTZAH

It is in its social relationships that the *Kvutzah* has made the most radical changes from the patterns that are dominant in the Euro-American civilization. The most important of these are the changes in the

role of the family and of the individual. Proponents of the *Kvutza* way of living believe that they are discovering new social forms which will permit human beings to live peacefully with one another and to enjoy the fruits of man's scientific and technological discoveries.

Individuals join a *Kvutza* through free choice, after overcoming many obstacles, not the least of which is the one year trial period. They are members of a group that owns its means of production. The group also has much control over the consumption of the members. They not only *work*, but *live* with the same group in a rather intimate relationship. The group influence and control is much greater than it is in the Euro-American culture. The question arises therefore whether the *Kvutza* gives the individual sufficient freedom and chance for self-expression?

For many people this answer is certainly *no*. They were reared in an individualistic culture and desire their own home, their own income, and as much independence in conducting their lives as possible. If they join a *Kvutza*, they soon leave. The answer for those who live in one must be *yes*, since membership is voluntary and selective. This can first be explained by the fact that all successful *Kvutzot* are fairly homogeneous groups. Although they have much control over the individual, this control is exercised by people who think and act very much alike. In addition, all but the most socially intelligent and idealistic people are weeded out.

Proponents of the *Kvutza* even think that they have *more* chance to express themselves than they would have if they lived by themselves. By working and living collectively they save much in time and money. They can enjoy more leisure and a higher standard of living than they would otherwise. Does not self-expression depend largely on sufficient economic security and on sufficient leisure to do the things one wants to do? Where else can farmers, especially pioneering farmers, take an annual vacation, become ill without endangering the welfare of their farm and their family, and spend their free time with a large group of people with whom they have much in common? The *Kvutzot* can have libraries, choirs, discussion groups, and communal celebrations which might not be possible if each member lived and managed independently. Although the group exercises a strong social control, it does not require all people to live the same lives. On Sabbaths, on holidays, and on workdays during the long noon-rest-periods from 11:30 A.M. to about 2:00 P.M. and after about 7:00 in the evening, each man is free

to do what he wants. If he is tired, he can sleep. Parents can play with their children, and lovers can stroll in the moonlight. Mr. A can study the most recent bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station, and Mr. B can write his article for the newspaper.

Of course, a small *Kvutza* of less than 100 members must have a very homogeneous type of membership in order not to stifle individual self-expression. In such a group people know each other well; they are primary groups. Those who find it difficult to maintain close, face-to-face relationships with so many people and yet are attracted by the *Kvutza* form of living, can join a *Kibbutz*. There, personal interactions are on a more secondary plane, and each member can enjoy a greater amount of privacy.

Critics of the *Kvutza* often claim that men are not likely to put forth their best efforts, when their earnings are the same, no matter how much or little they work. They claim it cannot succeed in attracting superior people, who will not agree to share the fruits of their labor with average or inferior people. This criticism is undoubtedly correct for a great many individuals. But again it must be remembered that the *Kvutza* membership consists of highly selected idealists. Many of them had to risk their very lives to get to Palestine, smuggling themselves across borders past guards who would shoot them like deer if they got a chance. The purpose of their lives is not to acquire material wealth and comforts but to build a home and a new form of society for the scattered Jewish people. The work they do to realize these ideals, and the group recognition that they get for it, is a sufficiently great incentive.

The role of the family is a great problem in the *Kvutza*. It has no economic function, since the individual is the unit of labor. In the intimacy of *Kvutza* life the members also find much of the affection that, if they lived alone, they would seek in marriage. On the other hand, the family has traditionally been a strong institution in Jewish culture. Much "experimentation" has been and is going on in various *Kvutzot* to find the proper place for the family in the group. But certain dominant practices have already developed.

As soon as a man and a woman announce themselves married, they are given separate living quarters. Husband and wife usually spend much of their leisure time together. Between them the bond of affection and love can be as strong as in the usual marriage. Most observers think that marriages are stable, but no reliable statistics are at present available on this subject. When people want a divorce, they simply

have to declare this fact. Effects of divorces on the women and children are not as serious as they frequently are in America. Women do not depend financially on their husbands. The children are brought up in the Children's House, and are therefore spared from witnessing many scenes of marital discord. The simplicity of divorce procedures also saves the individuals from strains and tragedies that might result if they were complicated.

In the *Kvutza* women have achieved full emancipation, since their economic dependency on the men has been eliminated. They are zealous to take part in all activities. At times this is carried so far as to demand an equal share in such tasks as defense and hard physical labor. If they want to do such work and can do it efficiently, they are permitted to do so. Nevertheless, a certain division of labor between the sexes has grown up, due to the inherent differences between male and female. The nursery and kindergarten are completely operated by women. Also the kitchen, laundry, and sewing-room are mostly staffed by them, although the men have to take their turn in such chores as washing dishes and waiting on tables. On the other hand, women do not play an important part in defense and certain types of very hard physical labor, such as road-building or field work.

The children live in special children's houses from birth on.<sup>3</sup> During the first few months the mothers come there to suckle their infants. The children's houses are usually the first permanent buildings to be erected and are well equipped to give the children healthy surroundings. Their upbringing and education are carefully looked after. Although the general standard of living in Palestine is much lower than in the United States of America, the cost of bringing up a child is relatively high: about \$2,000 from birth till the age of 16.

The members of the *Kvutza* claim that this system has many advantages. While in the ordinary working family a considerable part of the mother's time is required to raise the children, in the *Kvutza* most women are free to do productive work, while their children receive expert care and attention. Trained nurses, kindergarten workers, and teachers look after their health and education. The children learn from babyhood to live collectively. This is necessary if the *Kvutza* form of living is to perpetuate itself. The *Kvutza* members believe that their

<sup>3</sup> In a few *Kvutza*, as for instance in Daganiah, the children stay with their parents for the night after they have been weaned. The children live together only during the day, while their parents are at work.

children's houses will rear a strong and hard-working generation which will more fully realize the ideals that the parents are striving for.

There still remains a close bond between parents and children. The children can be visited by their parents at any time, although the latter usually refrain from doing so while the children have school or are supposed to sleep. Children clearly distinguish between the friendly affection shown by nurses and teachers and the love of their parents. Families spend most of their leisure time together. *Kvutzah* supporters point out that among working-class people who are employed in factories or offices the children spend most of the day alone, often without adequate supervision. Even among well-to-do classes they are, during most of the working hours, in school and under the care of nurses.

There has been little careful research to discover what the effects of changes of family function have been on parents and children, and husbands and wives. Perhaps the movement is still too young to permit us to draw any reliable conclusions, especially since these practices are constantly undergoing changes.

In 1938, 57 of the 204 Jewish villages in Palestine were *Kvuzoth*. Since most of the colonies founded since then have been *Kvuzoth*, their proportion, which was 27.9 per cent in 1938, has probably risen to over 33 per cent. They have nearly 15,000 members.

#### ADVANTAGES CLAIMED FOR THE KVUTZAH

The division of labor possible in a *Kvutzah* gives rise to many advantages. If well administered, much saving in time and money results, since each phase of work can be done by specialists. If people feel ill, they do not have to drag themselves to work for fear of losing their job or because certain farmwork simply has to be done. All *Kvuzoth* have a few temporary members who want to learn farming. Frequently they also care for and rear a group of refugee children and adolescents. A *Kvutzah* is especially well adapted to the training of such novices, since it practices many branches of agriculture, each of which is supervised by experts. The leisure that its members can enjoy is much greater than it would be if they did not work and live collectively. As a result the *Kvuzoth* carry on many cultural activities.

Because of the highly selective membership and the available leisure, the *Kvuzoth* have a great influence on the developing Hebrew culture. This influence is much greater than their number would merit. Many of the leaders of Palestine Jewry are members of these collectives.

The *Kvutzah* is the most economical form of settlement. Its overhead and maintenance expenses are much lower than if the colonists settled as individuals. This makes it possible for them to spend more money for improving the village or helping their dependent parents and siblings. While a depression, crop failure, or prolonged illness may force an individual farmer to abandon his land, the *Kvutzah* offers a great deal of security against such disasters. It can hold out much longer.

The *Kvutzah* is also especially adapted to overcome the hazards of pioneering settlement in isolated parts of the country. During the last few years, until the outbreak of the war brought (paradoxically) peace to Palestine, the Jewish colonies were frequently attacked by hostile Arabs. The *Kvutzah* is easily defended. Its buildings are compact, and the distribution of work can easily be suited to the requirements of defense operations. The necessary drainage of swamps and the clearing of neglected land could hardly be achieved by private initiative. It is too expensive and hazardous for an individual family.

During recent years, the Mandatory Government often refused to permit the establishment of new Jewish colonies under the pretense that it could not guarantee the safety of the settlers. But the Zionists could not permit their work to stand still, especially in view of the disastrous position of the Jews in Europe east of the Rhine and the Alps. They resorted to building their colonies in a *single* day and confronting the government with a *fait accompli*. In great secrecy the building materials for the future colony would be assembled in a neighboring Jewish village. A watchtower with a strong search-light, stockades, tents, and barracks would be loaded on trucks. Then, on a certain day, volunteer workers from all over the country would come. They would leave the village at night and drive the trucks to the site of the to-be-established colony. With sunrise they would start building, protected by Jewish Civil Guards. When the sun set, there would be a new Jewish community.

The *Kvutzah*, more than any other existing form of social organization, is equipped to undertake these pioneering tasks. Some observers even think that it is merely the result of pioneering conditions, and that it will be displaced by other social forms as soon as the Jewish National Home becomes established on a more secure basis.

Critics of the *Kvutzah* form of settlement, while admitting its advantages, point out that because it requires the individual to change

his habitual ways of living radically, it can only attract a relatively small number of people. If it were the only form of Jewish rural colonization, there could not be much of it. In addition, it occasionally happens that a man, who spent much of his life working in and building a *Kvutza*, may find that he no longer fits into the group, because of acquired political or religious ideas which are in strong contrast with the dominant opinion. If he finds it necessary to leave, he has to start again from the beginning. He has practically no legal claims to be reimbursed for his years of labor. Although the group will usually help such people to get established independently, such situations are nevertheless unfortunate.

Supporters of the *Kvutza* will answer these criticisms by suggesting that if they succeed in educating larger and larger numbers to this collective form of living, it may after a few decades become the dominant social form. It will then become as "natural" and as generally accepted as is the individual form of living today. It will then no longer be a handicap to the existence of a large rural population. In answer to the criticism that the *Kvutza* leaves no room for people who strongly differ on important issues with the group, it should be kept in mind that, even in our present individualistic society men sometimes deviate so greatly from the other members of their group that they become socially ostracized and find it advisable to leave.

The *Kvutza* is a radical departure from the mode of living that prevails in the Euro-American culture. Whether it is merely a temporary product of the pioneering demands of Palestine, or a permanent institution, cannot yet be decided. At any rate, it is an unusual experiment, which if studied more carefully, might give rise to important conclusions about the adequacy and efficiency of our own prevailing social forms.

#### THE MOSHAV-OVDIM ("COOPERATIVE VILLAGE")

There are many farmers in Palestine who could not adjust themselves to the radical changes in habits of living demanded by the *Kvutza*. Yet they are just as enthusiastic to build a Jewish National Home and to found a just and peaceful society. They are convinced that they could be most efficient and would be happiest if they are masters of their own destiny and could maintain the traditional family form. Nevertheless, they want to enjoy the advantageous cooperative features of the *Kvutza*. To answer their need the *Moshav-Ovdim* type of village was created.

The *Moshav-Ovdim* is a village with small individual farms. The area of each unit varies from 7 to 25 acres, depending upon the quality of the soil, the possibilities for irrigation, and the crops that can be grown. Each is large enough to support a family by means of intensive cultivation. No hired labor is allowed because the settlers think they should not permit others to work for them, the settlers thus profiting from their labor. Such practices would lead to the development of a rural landless proletariat, and they fear that the community would degenerate culturally if the members were permitted to live on the labor of others. Even village employees, such as the teacher, the herdsman, and the doctor, are given small plots of land for a garden to give them a living connection with the soil.

The income of each family depends primarily on its skill and industry, since its farm consists of strips in every section of the village which has a different type of soil and fertility. Each farmer is free to plant what he wants, although diversified agriculture is the general rule to make failures in a single crop less ruinous.

Cooperation and mutual aid extend to a great many activities, despite the existence of private property and management. All farm products are sold through the producers' cooperative of the *Histadruth*, the General Federation of Jewish Labor.\* Big farm-machines are bought collectively. In many villages the herds are grazed by the village herdsman, and the area allotted to grain production is cultivated on the same basis, each family receiving an equal share of the profits. The farmers also participate in the health insurance scheme of the Jewish Federation of Labor. In case of illness, their fellow farmers will help until the patient gets well.

The *Moshav-Ovdim* consists of a few dozen to several hundred families. To become a member, the farmer must have about \$2,000. This amount is not sufficient to pay for the farm; but, since the land is given to him on a hereditary lease by the Jewish National Fund, and he can receive loans, this sum is sufficient to get him started. The group usually has certain requirements to assure cultural and ideological homogeneity. Although they are not as narrow as those imposed by the *Kvutza*, they are by no means lax. However, a member cannot be expelled later on if he begins to deviate from the group on crucial

\* Although they are farm owners, they are considered "workers" because they support themselves by their own labor exclusively. They therefore are entitled to membership in the *Histadruth*.



issues. Different *Moshavei-Ovdim* (plural of *Moshav-Ovdim*) are based on different social, political, and religious philosophies.

A *Moshav-Ovdim* in formation is called an *Irgun*. In this stage, the members, who may work in cities or on farms, send their savings to a common account, although the contributions of each family are accounted for separately. If enough money is available to settle, the *Irgun* will apply for a strip of land from the Jewish National Fund. Some of the members will go there to drain the swamps and clear the land. When everything is ready, the land is divided into parcels of different fertility, each family receiving a piece in each parcel. A reserve is kept for community buildings, woods, grazing grounds, and playgrounds. A sufficiently large area of land is also kept for the use of village employees.

Nahalal, the first *Moshav-Ovdim*, which was established in the valley of Jezreel in 1921, may serve as an example demonstrating that this form of colonization can be very successful. Although less than twenty years old, its members live in comfortable concrete houses, have good barns, and own cattle, poultry, sheep, and horses. The village has fine community spirit and is well organized. Its kindergarten is housed in two modern buildings, and its school teaches all phases of agriculture. Nahalal is a center of Jewish culture. The Hebrew theaters and the Palestine Symphony Orchestra give regular performances there.

The *Moshav-Ovdim* is governed by an elected village council and a mayor. It raises taxes and maintains a school, kindergarten, and town hall. In religious *Moshavei-Ovdim* a Synagogue and Rabbi are also maintained by the village. Some have sewage and irrigation systems. There are planned community programs to meet the needs of all sections of the population for lectures, discussions, concerts, plays, study courses, singing, and communal celebration of national and religious holidays. The council also takes the necessary steps for the defense of the village.

All the *Moshavei-Ovdim* in Palestine are members of a federation to discuss their common problems and advocate this form of colonization.

Of the 204 Jewish colonies in 1938, 68 of them, or 33 per cent, were *Moshavei-Ovdim*. Their greatest advantage is that they permit the maintenance of the prevailing forms of family relationships. They do away with class-distinctions. They also do not abolish private property, while utilizing many of the collective features of the *Kvutza*.

Compared to the *Kvutza*, the *Moshav-Ovdim* requires more labor from each person, has greater overhead and maintenance costs, and is less well adapted to the demands of pioneering settlement in isolated regions. Yet the members of the *Moshavei-Ovdim* think that their greater economic and social independence are well worth the sacrifices that they must make in the form of greater expenses and more work.

#### COMPARISON OF EARLY AMERICAN AND PALESTINIAN FORMS OF RURAL COLLECTIVISM

The collective forms of living that dominate in the rural villages of Jewish Palestine are not the first or the only instances of such communities. The only country in which similar communities exist on a large scale today is Russia. But there the collective farms are compulsory and state controlled. Their development and structure are partly determined from without and above, not only from within and below. Therefore, they cannot be considered a voluntary sociological experiment in the adaptation of human beings to their technologically complicated environment.

In the United States, during the first half of the last century, there were many similar collectives established, most of which did not last very long. They did not temper their idealism with the forces of economic and cultural reality. They were usually dominated by one man and disintegrated rapidly after his death. Among them were such religious deviates as the Shakers at Mt. Lebanon, New York; the Amana villages, some of which still exist today in Iowa; and the Perfectionist Movement at Oneida, New York. There were also several non-religiously inspired attempts, such as Robert Owen's settlement and the Icarians.

The colonization of Utah by the Mormons in the middle of the nineteenth century offers another interesting parallel. Both the Mormon and the Jewish colonizations were motivated by strong spiritual ideals, religious in the case of the former and national and social in the case of the latter. Both were victims of intolerance. The scarcity of water and the need for adequate defense were common to both situations. Although today Mormon villages have abandoned many of their former collective features, the cooperative movement is still very strong in Utah.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1932), pp. 184-186; Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation Among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXI (May, 1917), 461-499.

Those who hold that farmers are "naturally" individualistic and predict the eventual disappearance of collective forms of rural colonization in Palestine on this account, can point for support to the failure of these communities in the United States. But this country, especially during its pioneering years, was hardly a fair testing ground for collectivism. It had untold riches and resources which were only waiting to be tapped by anyone who possessed some initiative and intelligence. The American colonists came to this country as individuals. Each man wanted to get as much as he could and was not willing to sacrifice very much for those who were not as well equipped to make a place for themselves. Life was still simple enough so that each family could produce most of the things it needed. There was no incentive to large-scale cooperation, except for defense against the Indians and to maintain schools, churches, and government. To supply these institutions and services, the large individual farmstead, which is the most prominent form of rural colonization in this country, was well adapted.

But present-day Palestine, while it has many pioneering problems similar to those of the United States is a poor country. The individual is powerless to overcome the many difficulties involved in settling on the land. Large expenditures of capital are necessary before anything can be grown. Land must be cleared, and swamps must be drained. Wells must be dug, and the group must be strong enough to defend itself at any time. In addition, the Jews of Palestine are very anxious to increase their numbers as rapidly as possible. To do this they must be willing to train novices and supply most of the capital needed for their colonization. Collective action on a large scale is a necessity if Zionism is to succeed. In Palestine, unlike America in the days of its colonization, the environment favors collectivism.

### CONCLUSION

The *Kvuzoth* and *Moshavei-Ovdim* are merely parts of a larger movement to build in Palestine a socialist society, where democracy and freedom go hand in hand with economic planning. They are the rural components and expressions which have their counterparts in the cities.

From a sociological point of view, they are a large social experiment which may yield interesting results. It may throw light on the problems of family life and the role of the individual in society. It may show to

what extent a new rural social system can be planned by voluntary action, without governmental compulsion.

This experiment is carried on by nearly 250 different Jewish villages, of which each principal form, the *Moshavah*, *Kvutzah*, and *Moshav-Ovdim*, constitutes about a third. These three forms are freely competing with each other. Although they are divided into three principal types, there are practically no two colonies that are alike in the minor details of their social and economic structures. There are frequent changes in villages, whenever the members think that a certain practice does not work well.

The experimenters, who are also the subjects of experimentation, come from almost all countries and cultures of the world. Although the majority hail from Poland, Germany, Russia, Rumania, the Baltic States, and Yemen (Arabia), settlers also come from England, Holland, Tunis, Persia, Kurdistan, etc. There are nearly 300 American Jews in *Kvuzoth* and probably many more in *Moshavei-Ovdim* and *Moshavoth*. Although all these immigrants bring with them a certain common element of Jewish culture, they have wide cultural differences. They speak many different languages. However, they quickly learn Hebrew, and most of the children have Hebrew as their mother tongue. They like different foods, are used to different types of clothing and housing, and have many different ideologies and standards of ethics.

Most of the experimenters are carefully selected, because the Zionist organization is influential in determining the human material that comes to Palestine. In addition, the difficulties of getting there and the hard work and strain of making a living in the country weed out many of the less adaptable elements. As a result Palestine in general, and the *Kvuzoth* and *Moshavei-Ovdim* in particular, absorb only the cream of the Jewish people. The members are physically fit, are imbued with national and social idealism, and most of them are well educated.

This large-scale experiment is still in the process of being conducted, and it is therefore too early to draw any reliable conclusions. But its development should be of interest to all sociologists, psychologists, economists, and students of government.

One conclusion, however, can already be drawn. The widespread belief that the Jewish people are an urban nation, unsuited to rural life, is disproved by the success of agricultural colonization in Palestine, which supports nearly 25 per cent of the entire Jewish population. The fact that the Jews, who lived for centuries in cities or even in narrow

Ghettos, were able to become successful farmers within a few years is encouraging news to those who believe that necessary cultural changes can be made quickly, as long as favorable conditions for them are provided.

Although no other conclusions can yet be drawn from this experiment, there are certain indications that the *Kvuzoth* and the *Moshavot-Ovdim* will be permanent forms of agricultural colonization. The first is that the youth growing up in these colonies remain or settle on collectives of their own. Many of the young people who grow up in the cities also want to live in such villages. The members of the *Kvuzoth* and the *Moshavot* are looked up to by the great majority of the Jews of Palestine and especially by the youth. They have greater prestige than doctors. Many of the leaders of Palestine Jewry are members of such colonies. This is not surprising since these collective farmers are the "front line soldiers" of the Jewish National Home. They have made the most complete break with the *spiritual* Ghetto of urbanism, into which Jews had been forced by centuries of persecution. They are most actively at work to develop new social forms, the need for which nearly all Jews in Palestine recognize, since they have suffered so much from the malfunctionings of the social forms of European and Asiatic countries.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The interested reader will find basic materials in the following publications: *Hand book of the Jewish Communal Villages in Palestine* (Head Office of the Keren Kayemeth L Israel and Keren Hayessod (Jerusalem, 1938), 62 pp., Enya Harris Live, *Cooperative Enterprise in Palestine* (New York: Education Department of Zionist Organization of America, 1937), 31 pp., A. Revusky, *Jews in Palestine* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1935), pp. 112-150, Arthur Rupp, *Landwirtschaftliche Kolonisation der Zionistischen Organisation in Palestine* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1925), 205 pp., Franz Oppenheimer, *Merchavia—A Jewish Cooperative Settlement in Palestine* (New York: Jewish National Fund Bureau for America, 1914), 33 pp., S. Zemach, *The Jewish Village* (Jerusalem: Keren Hayessod, 1932), 30 pp., Joseph Baratz, *The Story of Daganah* (Tel Aviv, Palestine: Omanuth, Jewish National Fund Library No. 1, 1931), 78 pp., Samuel Dayan, *Nabalal* (Tel Aviv, Palestine: Omanuth, Jewish National Fund Library No. 3, 1936), 60 pp.

# Notes

## PROPOSALS FOR REORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

J. H. Kolb, president of the Rural Sociological Society, has requested me to make a statement regarding the proposals of the Organization Committee of the American Sociological Society.

This committee was appointed by E. H. Sutherland, past president of the American Sociological Society, in the spring of 1939, as voted by the Society at its Detroit meeting. It consists of fourteen appointed members and the secretaries and chairmen of the regional sociological societies, *ex officio*. J. H. S. Bossard is chairman, and C. C. Zimmerman and the writer are the rural sociologist members. The committee carried on an extensive correspondence and had a meeting at Philadelphia, where it presented a report which will be found in the February, 1940, issue of the *American Sociological Review*.

This report comprises four major topics: (1) Membership, (2) Relation to Regional and Specialized Societies, (3) Reorganization of Executive Committee, and (4) Miscellaneous.

The first recommendation, on membership, is most in dispute and will be discussed last. The second recommendation, concerning affiliated societies, is the one which immediately concerns the Rural Sociological Society. This recommendation is chiefly concerned with the affiliation of the regional societies, but it specifically mentions the Rural Sociological Society which, with "other specialized societies," shall have the privilege of affiliation. Affiliated societies are to be quite autonomous as to membership, finances, etc., the only restriction being that if they meet at the same time and place as the American Sociological Society "the program of the affiliated organization must be coordinated" with that of the latter. This seems a wise provision, which many of us will welcome. An affiliated society has the privilege of electing one member to represent it on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society, providing the third recommendation is approved. It is the writer's judgment that this recommendation in principle provides a satisfactory and desirable basis for the affiliation of specialized and regional societies.

The third recommendation provides that the Executive Committee elect three of its members, who with the officers and the editor of the *American Sociological Review* will form an administrative committee to act *ad interim* for the Executive Committee. This arrangement will tend to center responsibility and make possible a more continuous administrative policy than is now possible with a large Executive Committee meeting only at the annual meetings.

The fourth recommendation, "miscellaneous," states that the society approves in principle of the election of officers by mail ballot. This recommendation seemed to command very general approval at the Philadelphia meeting, and is in

line with the practice of several of the largest national scientific and educational societies. It will make for democracy and will prevent the elections being dominated by members from the immediate locality of the meeting.

The last three recommendations seemed to meet with little opposition. The first recommendation, regarding a classified membership, aroused very strong opposition. This provides that there be two classes of members, members and fellows. Fellows are to be elected only on the basis of specified professional qualifications, and voting for election of officers is to be restricted to the fellows. This provision is frankly patterned after the constitution of the American Psychological Association, which has had such a distinction for many years. Its members feel that this has very definitely strengthened the organization and the professional standards of psychologists.

The merit of this first recommendation is clearly debatable, and I would urge that however they may feel about it rural sociologists vote for the other three.

Upon vote of the Society a census of the membership has been conducted to make possible an estimate of what proportion of its present membership would be eligible to become fellows. It is hoped to publish a summary of this in the August issue of the Review. Personally I would favor a classified membership if it might include a majority of the present members, although I would prefer the terms member and associate member.

The Organization Committee was instructed to poll the membership with regard to these recommendations. It has arranged a ballot which gives opportunity for more than a *yes* or *no* answer to each proposal, and it is hoped that the members of the Society will answer the alternative questions carefully so that the committee may get the representative opinion of the membership. Upon the basis of the replies received the Organization Committee was instructed to draft amendments to the constitution which will be submitted to the membership with the notice of the next meeting, as required by the constitution.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

### GRADUATE TRAINING IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

Resources at Harvard for graduate as well as for undergraduate training in rural sociology include not only an active major in the leading department of sociology but opportunities for minor work in the most important of the leading associated fields. By working with John D. Black through the seminars in the Littauer School of Public Administration the student can get a minor in agricultural economics which puts him in immediate contact with all the major leaders in governmental planning for economic agriculture. E. A. Hooton and Carleton Coon offer training in the physical anthropology of the rural popula-

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of three statements on the recruiting and training of personnel in rural sociology. It deals with the situation at Harvard, as representing a private university situation. The others deal with the problem from the standpoint of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant Universities.

tion through the facilities of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Anthropology. In the fields of history of agriculture and its associated branches the student at Harvard has the opportunity to work with Arthur M. Schlesinger, Frederick C. Merk, and N. S. B. Gras. Training in social psychology and its associated fields as they apply to rural life can be had through the courses with Gordon Allport and his associates. Finally, the training in sociological theory in the Harvard Department of Sociology can be carried on under P. A. Sorokin, whose interest in rural sociology is well-known internationally.

Not all persons interested in sociology are equipped naturally to study in the field of rural life. Such a field requires men with considerable rural backgrounds, well integrated personalities, deep fundamental interests in Nativism and the foundations of our culture, and, finally, highly qualified minds capable of handling empirical facts in relation to some of the most complicated and abstruse of our sociological theories. As a result, the problem of interesting even the highest caliber students in rural sociology is first a matter of selection. After that come the problems of the centering of motivation and of complete training. This must be done with due reference to the fact that most training of graduate students must be financed institutionally.

The funds for supporting graduate students in rural sociology at Harvard come from a number of small regular fellowships within the control of the department, aided by incidental fellowship grants by foundations and paid positions as teaching fellows. A "teaching fellow" under the Harvard scheme is a class assistant and an undergraduate tutor. The major portion of the money comes from the teaching fellowships. Four or five of these are awarded each year to the more mature and qualified graduate students who have at least had one year of instruction here at Harvard. These can pay between \$500 and \$1,300 a year to the qualified student. The aim is to pick the better students and give them sufficient employment to finish their Ph.D.'s. However, one cannot hold a position as a teaching fellow for more than four years. If he does not finish his work in that time, he must get out. Most finish in two years as teaching fellows.

The fellowships awarded without service are limited in number. The general aim is to use these for new men so as to bring to Harvard as many as possible who have not been here before. In a normal year three outsiders are awarded tuition fellowships by the department: one may get a special all-Harvard grant, and one other may be taken care of by some outside foundation, such as the General Education Board. Those who make good on these first-year fellowships are generally supported by pay for services as teaching fellows until they complete their graduate work and find positions. Ordinarily there are ten or twelve applicants for each available first-year grant, so that the candidates are highly selected.

The content for training for those who do specialize in rural sociology must be varied on the one hand and rigid on the other. It used to be the practice in many institutions to push the "left-overs" into Rural Sociology. This was a very bad practice which harmed the field and contributed negatively to the develop-



ment of Rural Sociology as a science. With the increasing demands for qualified sociologists this can no longer be permitted anywhere.

A rural sociologist should be able to grasp and use all the general concepts and ideas of sociological theory and, in addition, have a specialized interest such as the Negro, farm tenancy, French-Canadians, standard of living, the community, commercial farmers as a social class, or the subsistence problems of the great American yeomanry. This means that the rural sociologist should pass the examinations for the Ph.D. in general sociology in addition to exhibiting highly specialized training, including field work in his special field. The concrete development of such a well-trained student can be illustrated as follows: This student, a descendant of the Louisiana French, wants to specialize in a study of his people and of the racial problems in the rural South. After securing an M.A. degree from a southern university he received a General Education Board fellowship, spending two years at Harvard. While at Harvard he passed his general examination in the sociology department and received special training in racial problems with Hooton and Coon and in economic problems with Black. In addition he was able to spend two summers in field research, one among the French in Canada and the other in the ancestral home of the American French in western France. Such a man has an "ideal" training. The extent to which others approximate this type of training is a measure of their preparation. This man has technical training in a land-grant institution, theoretical training in Sociology at Harvard, and specialized training in Rural Sociology, Physical Anthropology, and Agricultural Economics. In addition, from his wider studies he has been able to see a good deal of the world background of the major problems of his interest. He has studied the French in the South, in New England, in Canada, and in France. He has studied the Negro in the South, in the northern cities, and seen them as colonials in France. Probably in his future years he will be able to add some field work in Africa, the ancestral home of the Negro, and some observations of the Negro in the Latin-American countries.

Training does not guarantee that a person will be a scholar. Nevertheless, a properly balanced training can make better scholars out of the products of our academic institutions.

All social problems exist in the country as well as in the city; but in the country human values move more slowly, and the student can observe them; whereas in the city the constant mobility of all objects and values generally impedes observation. Then again, the country plays the selecting and preserving roles in the culture of the civilization. Things which are normal in the city, such as high divorce rates, high suicide rates, or low birth rates, are not normal in the country. Consequently, the sociologist who studies only urban phenomena always studies decaying societies. The ordinary city, if left to itself, would disappear in one hundred years. As a result, the only true perspective upon a society can be reached after a study of the rural processes. This means that unless the rural sociologist gets a well-founded understanding of sociological theory and contributes to its development, the sociology of a nation essentially becomes a dry system of logistics. This explains why German sociology, when the formal

school began to dominate the field, finally ended in a sociology of three motions, the context of which could be learned by a schoolchild in one morning. This explains why in all the "pure" social sciences the relativism of values becomes so confused that equally distinguished men can champion opposite theories of action, neither of which is valid.

The emerging Nativism and Shintoism of American culture now offers a most challenging field to the rural sociologist. America is finally born but has not yet come of age. The constant output of books about our rivers, our mountains, our regions, our country lawyers, and our country doctors illustrates this inward striving for an integrated culture in America. As yet we are a people, but we are rapidly becoming a folk. The job of the rural sociologist in this transition is the most challenging but at the same time the most difficult.

Harvard has thus taken the lead among the world's private universities offering graduate academic training in rural sociology. This is an important step not only because Harvard is the world's leading university, but also because it is the American national university imbedded in more than 300 years of the American tradition.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

## TRANSMISSION OF FARMING AS AN OCCUPATION, II

In a previous article in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*<sup>1</sup> the author presented a series of generalizations about the transmission of farming over three generations.

The present article supplements and tests whether these generalizations are true. It is based upon information obtained from 664 farm operators in Cortland County, New York, who furnished data about the occupations followed by their fathers, their brothers, and their sons.

Since the information in this study was obtained from farm operators only, it is not possible to test generalizations which compare farming with nonfarming occupations.

*The Decrease in the Transmission of Farming.* These data show clearly that there is a decrease in the transfer of farming from fathers to sons in succeeding generations. In the previous study, 50 per cent of the sons of the grandfathers and only 31 per cent of the sons of the fathers became farmers.

In the farmer families of the present sample, 64 per cent of the sons of the grandfathers became farmers, while 36 per cent of the sons of the farmer fathers became farmers. Though the percentages obtained in the two studies differ, the direction of the change is clearly the same, and the relative decrease in the proportion of sons following the father's occupation is about the same.

The reason for this difference in the percentages of sons who follow the father's occupation is, in part at least, that the sample in this present study was obtained from farmers only. This means that at least one of the brothers in each family was a farmer, and that in all the families where there was but one son, he was a farmer. Therefore, the percentage of sons of the grandfather who

<sup>1</sup> W. A. Anderson, *The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation*, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV, No. 4 (December, 1939), 433-448.

followed him as a farmer is certain to be larger than if the families interviewed had been a random selection.

The important fact is, however, that both studies show the decrease in transmission of farming from one generation to the next.

This decreasing transmission of farming is further enforced by the fact that the proportion of farm families in which all the sons followed the father's occupation is considerably less for the father's sons than the grandfather's. In 47 per cent of the grandfather's families, all sons became farmers, while in only 31 per cent of the father's families was this true.

*Farming Is a Self-Perpetuating Occupation.* As in the previous study, these data also show that farming is an occupation that perpetuates itself and has little influx from other occupations. Of the 664 farmers interviewed, 61 (or 9 per cent only) had fathers who were not farmers.

The sons of nonfarmers commonly do not become farmers. Farming is more than just a job; it is a way of life, the skills and activities of which are absorbed only after considerable experience. Thus, to move from nonfarming backgrounds into farming with success is difficult.

*Which Son Inherits the Occupation?* In the grandfather generation there were 148 families, and in the father generation, 25, in which there were 2 or more sons, only one of whom followed the father's occupation of farming.

Of these sons following the grandfather in farming, 44 per cent were the oldest son, 18 per cent a middle son, and 38 per cent the youngest son. In the father generation, 48 per cent were the oldest son, 12 per cent a middle son, and 40 per cent the youngest son.

Thus where only one son followed the father's occupation of farming both in the grandfather and father generations, it was the oldest son who did so most frequently, while the youngest son took next ranking.

In the grandfather generation, there were 311 families where there were 2 or more sons and one or more followed the father's occupation of farming. In the father generation there were 62 families of a similar sort.

The proportion of the families in which an oldest son was one of those following the father's occupation was greater in both the grandfather and father generations than the proportion of middle or youngest sons.

In general, therefore, the same conclusion may be stated as in the previous study as to which son inherits the father's occupation. It is the oldest son who follows the father most frequently, and then the youngest son.

In the grandfather generation, a slightly larger proportion of the families included middle sons who followed the grandfather's occupation rather than the youngest sons; but the reverse was true for the father generation, as these figures indicate.

In the grandfather generation, 55 per cent of the families included oldest sons who became farmers, while 40 and 37 per cent respectively included middle and youngest sons. In the father generation, 76 per cent of the families included oldest sons who became farmers, while 39 and 66 per cent respectively included middle and youngest sons.

*Occupations Entered by the Sons.* The same generalization may be stated with regard to the types of occupations entered by the sons of farmers as was made in our previous study, namely, the farmer's sons enter all the major types of occupations. Both in the grandfather and the father generations, each major class of occupation was represented by sons who were following an occupation in it. No class of occupation is closed to the sons of farmers.

The significant difference in the two studies, however, is in the percentage who enter the different kinds of work. The present sample was taken directly from operating farmers. The sample described in the previous report was from students in New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University and represented upper-class families.

In the present sample much larger proportions of the sons became farmers (64 and 36 per cent in each generation respectively) than in the previous study (50 and 33 per cent respectively). Much smaller proportions entered the professions and the proprietary occupations than in the previous study, while much larger proportions became semiskilled, unskilled workers, and farm laborers than in the previous study.

Thus, in the present sample but 1 per cent in the grandfather generation and 4 per cent in the father generation became professional people, as compared with 10 per cent in the grandfather generation and 38 per cent in the father generation in the previous study. And similar differences are found with respect to entrance into skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled occupations.

The reason for such differences, as indicated, is in the nature of the two samples, the one being a selected upper-class group and the latter a cross-section of the operating farm population.

*Further Study.* The Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell is studying this problem further. A large cross-section sample is being obtained through the schools in two counties by having the high school children furnish the information about the occupations of their fathers, grandfathers, uncles, and brothers.

The study has value as furnishing more facts for a complete theory of rural social selection and for practical problems of rural education.

Cornell University

W. A. ANDERSON

### BEGINNINGS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN YUGOSLAVIA†

It is characteristic of the development of sociology in Europe that younger and smaller countries seem to be more willing to accept it and offer it the opportunity to justify its existence and need for expansion. The best example of very intense teaching and research in sociology was the former state of Czechoslovakia, where three departments of sociology existed, at the universities of Prague, Brno, and Bratislava. Another country with an exceptional understanding for sociology is Rumania, where a real new school of sociological method and thought has been built up in the Department of Sociology of the Bucharest

† From a lecture given at the University of California, February 14, 1940.

University.<sup>1</sup> Though general sociology has not been neglected, rural sociology is the main and specialized field of work of the Bucharest group. The research work is concentrated in the Social Institute, headed by Professor Dimitri Gusti, the outstanding figure of sociology in Rumania and the founder of the school. The Institute is editing two regular publications, the *Sociologie Romanesca* and the *Arhiva Pentru Stiinta Si Reforma Sociala*, which contain the results of the extensive and specialized field work of the group.<sup>2</sup>

In another Southeast European country, Yugoslavia, recent years have shown a very interesting development toward the definite acceptance and introduction of sociology. While there are but a few departments of sociology in Western Europe,<sup>3</sup> in Yugoslavia there are six universities and colleges having sociology in their teaching program.<sup>4</sup> All these departments have been established very recently, and the chairs of sociology are held mostly by rather young people, most of them educated on the lines of thought of French positivism and the Durkheimian school. Since the new departments are hardly older than a few years, their work is still experimental, consisting of search for methods and objects.<sup>5</sup>

While the first years of work have been devoted to preparation, organization, and elaboration of method, it seems as if in the years to come rural sociology will be the limited field of special efforts. It is not hard to understand that, in a country where the predominant majority of the population are peasant farmers, there will be a special interest and need for the development of rural rather than any other branch of sociology, especially in present times when rural life is in a period of transition and change throughout the Southeast. In that regard a close collaboration with the more experienced Rumanian sociologists will prove to be necessary and fruitful.

The present work in rural sociology and rural social research is confined to two centers, Belgrade and Zagreb, both having different projects and practically

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. E. Mosely, "The Sociological School of Dimitrie Gusti," *Sociological Review*, XXVIII (April, 1936), 149-165.

<sup>2</sup> P. E. Mosely, "A New Rumanian Journal of Rural Sociology," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, II, No. 4 (December, 1937), 457-465.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Earle Edward Eubank, "European and American Sociology: Some Comparisons," *Social Forces*, XV, No. 2 (December, 1936), 148-150. For detailed information on European sociology and sociologists cf. P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930).

<sup>4</sup> Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade (Slobodan Yovanovich, George Tassich, Yovan Georgevich, Sreten Vukosavljevich); Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb (Dinko Tomasich); Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana (Eugene Spektorski); Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade at Subotica (Peter Struve); College of Commerce, Belgrade (Dragoslav Todorovich); College of Commerce, Zagreb (the late Juraj Scetinetz).

<sup>5</sup> Among the older generation of sociologists in Yugoslavia should be mentioned Slobodan Yovanovich, Mihailo Avramovich, Milan Vlajatz, Milan Ivsich, and Mirko Kossich, the last being a very prolific writer of sociological studies and author of a very good text book, used in colleges along with the translation of P. A. Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928).

no contacts, this situation being caused by the internal political antagonisms in the last years; but the new agreement reached between the Serbs and Croats in August, 1939, might create better conditions for a closer collaboration and exchange of results of work.

At Belgrade, the work is concentrated in the Sociological Society, founded in 1935 under the name of "Society for Juridical Philosophy and Sociology" (*Drustvo Za Pravnu Filozofiju I Sociologiju*), this being changed in 1938 to "Society for Sociology and other Social Sciences" (*Drustvo Za Sociologiju I Ostale Društvene Nauke*) or "Sociological Society." The Society is led by its founder George Tassich, professor of law in the University of Belgrade, a brilliant mind and a social scientist who could really claim to be the spirit of the younger group in the Faculty of Law.<sup>6</sup> The Sociological Society has in the period 1935-1939 acted as an independent body, although very closely connected with the Faculty of Law of the Belgrade University. At the meeting of June, 1939, it was decided that the research work of the Society should be transferred to the Institute of Sociology to be created at the University of Belgrade.<sup>7</sup> The Society will continue to exist formally as a body for scientific discussion. The Society itself was composed of members of the staff of the University of Belgrade, the College of Commerce, the Teachers College, and individual scientists and research workers; but the influence of the Faculty of Law was predominant and remarkable. The work was divided as follows: (a) lectures and discussions, (b) research work, and (c) publications.<sup>8</sup>

The work in rural sociology is still in the beginning. During the years 1936-1938 field work has been done in Northern Serbia (Machva, Posavina, Kosmaj, and Shumadia), but for several reasons, one of which was the lack of proper experience, there have been no special results, except that members of the Society became better acquainted with rural life of Serbia and collected individual

<sup>6</sup> Of the older generation, Slobodan Yovanovich, an outstanding social scientist, should be mentioned. He has published a great number of studies on the political and social history of Serbia, problems in government, social philosophy and constitutional law. Before retiring from the University in 1939 he has conducted three graduate courses in sociology: (a) formal sociology, (b) sociology of religion, and (c) political sociology.

<sup>7</sup> The Institute of Sociology is to be a part of the Faculty of Law and will incorporate an institute for economic research.

<sup>8</sup> In 1939 the first volume of the *Yearbook of Sociology (Socioloski Pregled)* was published, containing contributions of the members of the Society. The volume was devoted to questions of method, and a number of studies were written by Slobodan Yovanovich, Mihailo Avramovich, George Tassich, Mihailo Konstantinovich, Sinisa Stankovich, Slobodan Popovich, Yovan Georgevich, Slobodan Draskovich, Dragoslav Todorovich, Ljubomir Dukanatz, Radomir Zivkovich, Branislav Nedelkovich, and others. The author of these lines, being a member of the Society before leaving for the United States, has contributed papers on "The Social Sciences in American Universities" and "The London School of Economics and Social Science." Mihailo Avramovich, the pioneer worker in the Serbian farmers' cooperative movement, has a long article on "Investigation in Social Phenomena in the United States," a part of which is devoted to American rural sociology (special attention paid to Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, to the writings of J. M. Gillette, to W. I. Thomas' and F. Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasants in Europe and America*, and to the publication of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*).

impressions and information. Lack of experience in field work and methods of inquiry was very characteristic of the Belgrade group, most of their leading members having a purely theoretical background. This was a contrast to the Bucharest group, influenced to a very great extent by American rural sociology and research methods. In 1939 the rural field work was charged to Sreten Vukosavlevich, an experienced investigator with an exceptional knowledge of rural life in Serbia. It was decided also that the next *Yearbook* of the Society shall be devoted to rural social problems. That the Belgrade group has very strongly shifted toward rural sociology can clearly be seen from the papers prepared for the Bucharest Congress of the International Sociological Institute. Practically all reports coming from Yugoslavia, as well as those coming from Rumania, were dealing with rural social problems.<sup>9</sup>

In the Zagreb group, the work of Dinko Tomasich, professor of sociology in the University of Zagreb, should be mentioned in the first place. Trained partly in the United States (University of Chicago), Tomasich has spent a great deal of time working on the development and character of the "zadruga" institution in Croatia.<sup>10</sup> On the other side, very extensive rural research work has been done by the "Gospodarska Sloga," an institution for economic investigation and co-operation, acting under the direction of Dr. Rudolf Bicanich. This group, working in Croatian villages, is very experienced and very active, although its work has a political background, being closely related to the activities and aims of the Croatian Peasant Party.

Although the results are rather moderate yet, it can be assumed that rural sociology will gradually develop in Yugoslavia, and will very soon be where it is in Rumania today. The foundations for a prospective work are already there, and the first testing steps have been made.<sup>11</sup> The country itself is an inexorable reservoir of fact materials and problems to be exposed and solved. As far as method and technique of work are concerned, a better acquaintance with Rumanian and American experiences would be of great help.

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. "XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de Sociologie," *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 47<sup>e</sup> Année, III-IV (March-April, 1939), 113-125; *ibid.*, I-II (January-February, 1939), 13-37.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. H. J. E. Peake, "Village Community," *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, ed. E. R. A. Seligman, XV, 253-259.

<sup>11</sup> For the earlier development of sociology in Yugoslavia cf. J. S. Roucek, "The Development of Sociology in Yugoslavia," *American Sociological Review*, I, No. 6 (December, 1936), 981-988.

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis, Editor*

## COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

A Michigan State College bulletin,<sup>1</sup> "the first of a contemplated series dealing with local communities and conditions, is devoted to the determination of the boundaries of the natural areas surrounding the 35 or 40 towns and cities in the Lansing district and to a study of their reciprocal relationships."

"A six-fold purpose motivated this study:

(1) To determine Lansing's zone of influence as differentiated from that of Saginaw, Flint, Pontiac, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Jackson, Battle Creek, and Grand Rapids;

(2) To discover, within this zone of influence, the constituent communities; and the center, boundary, size, and conformation of each, and the factors modifying those communities;

(3) To evaluate the extent to which natural community lines coincide with the legal boundaries of counties and townships;

(4) To note the change in agricultural, economic, and sociological factors with increasing distance from Lansing, using the township and concentric tiers of townships as units of study;

(5) To compare those tendencies and trends around Lansing with those around Grand Rapids and Flint; and

(6) To suggest some implications those factors may have for leaders engaged or interested in the problems of adjusting people to their environment and to the changing character of rural civilization."

High school, hardware, newspaper, banking, clothing, and R.F.D. service areas were mapped out by plotting data obtained from personal interviews; and field schedules and composite service areas were determined by superimposing one map upon another. It was found that the high school community tended to coincide more closely with the composite of the various basic services than did any other single service area. Since the Department of Agriculture and other agencies working with local groups are necessarily interested in determining functional communities, this tendency would seem particularly significant and, from both a research and a practical viewpoint, would warrant more emphasis.

*Forces Influencing Rural Life—A Study of a Central Pennsylvania Community*<sup>2</sup> is based upon personal interviews with the 434 families. Data concerning

<sup>1</sup> J. F. Thaden, *The Lansing Region and Its Tributary Town-Country Communities*, Michigan AESB 302 (East Lansing, March, 1940). 50 pp.

<sup>2</sup> M. E. John, *Forces Influencing Rural Life—A Study of a Central Pennsylvania Community*, Pennsylvania AESB 388 (State College, February, 1940). 28 pp.



population composition, social participation, education, suggestions for community improvement, and other facts were gathered. The area which later became the community was settled by Scotch-Irish and Germans from 1770 to 1875. It went through a period of rapid expansion and development from 1875 to 1910 but has since been on the decline. This decline has led to the emigration of the young people to find work, immigration of unemployed and unskilled, a decline in church and other participation, and the development of an attitude of "hopelessness."

*Kansas Rural Communities—A Study of Nemaha County*<sup>3</sup> represents the work of members of the staff of the Division of Farm Population in the United States Department of Agriculture done at the request of and for the county and state land use planning committees. Previous to the delineation of the neighborhoods and communities by the Division staff, the county agent and county planning committees were confronted with the necessity of working with a large number of arbitrarily determined areas they called communities. Delineation resulted in the reduction of the number of centers from 21 to 14; and, whereas previously only about one-third of the people were reached in the 21 centers, by using the 14 communities it became possible to contact almost everyone.

These "functional" neighborhoods and communities to be used in the county planning process were delineated during a five-day period by personal interview with local leaders and officials and key families living in the various neighborhoods. The 14 communities which were delimited were described, as were the historical settlements of the German and Irish groups. The local school district was found in most cases to actually constitute the rural neighborhood, a finding which is significant for this area.

The following statement emphasizes the importance of determining the functional groupings for the county planning process: "County planning is likely to be successful to the extent that the county planning committees are actually representative of the areas they were meant to serve. On the other hand, if the county committees are selected without any regard for the natural community groupings, they may so inadequately represent many of the farmers in the county as to prevent the carrying out of any proposed action program. In other words, *each community should have a representative on the county committee who can express the interests of that particular community and who, therefore, can claim the cooperation of the people living in it in carrying out a unified program for the county as a whole.*"

*County Land Use Planning*<sup>4</sup> is No. 1 in a series of Bureau of Agricultural Economics circulars written to describe and give the background for the county planning movement. The bulletin ends with the statement: "Having farmers

<sup>3</sup> *Kansas Rural Communities—A Study of Nemaha County*, USDA BAE and Kansas AES (Amarillo, Texas, June, 1940). Mimeographed, 30 pp.

<sup>4</sup> *County Land Use Planning*, USDA County Planning Series No. 1 (Washington, D. C., 1940). 12 pp. Other circulars in this series are: *Membership of Land Use Planning Committees*, No. 2; and *The Land Use Planning Organization*, No. 3.

participate in planning means a lot of work, and some people are asking why the Department of Agriculture or the State colleges, for instance, should not send technicians into a county, make the surveys, figure out scientifically what the county's plans ought to be, and then just announce the results.

"The reasons are plain: In the first place, the 'hand-me-down' idea of doing things is not the way of a democracy; and, in the second, this is simply not a job for technicians alone. It is one for the joint concern of farmers, technicians, and program administrators. And the key to success in the entire task is to obtain the benefit of local knowledge and opinions about local problems and conditions, together with local support and participation in planning agricultural programs and goals."

*Community Relations in Urban Low-Rent Housing*<sup>5</sup> is the first report of the Committee on Community Relations in Housing Developments. Recommendations include provisions for integrating new developments into the existing structure of communities and organization of democratic groups to develop educational, recreational, health, social, church, safety, and other facilities under the guidance of the various governmental agencies. Since it is recognized that the various housing agencies of the Federal Government have over-emphasized construction to the detriment of the nurturing of community life, it is to be hoped that this report will result in changed policies.

A study of two new German settlements in Mecklenburg<sup>6</sup> describes the co-operatives, the social life, and economic activities of the families. The author lived and worked with the peasants to get farm management data from 9 families who were originally from the province of Württemberg. Of special interest is the observation that, although the Württemberger families (who were settled in a small "line" village or on isolated holdings) first objected to separation because they thought they preferred the closed villages to which they were accustomed, they later preferred to be located nearer their land holdings, because of economic reasons. Although electricity for the more scattered form of settlement would cost some 82 Reichs' Marks more for each holding than for the closed village settlement, fire and bomb hazards were lessened where the isolated holdings prevailed. Since the Nazis first argued in favor of closed villages for resettlement communities, these observations in a publication which devotes considerable space to proving that past Nazi resettlement activities were much more effective than those of the period immediately preceding Hitler's coming to power, are important.

Of interest also is the observation that after settlement the Württembergers did not attend church so much as had been their custom before settlement. This is explained on the basis that the church services of the Swabians, many of whom

<sup>5</sup> *Community Relations in Urban Low-Rent Housing*, National Association of Housing Officials Publication No. N123 (Chicago, Illinois, May, 1940). Mimeographed, 19 pp.

<sup>6</sup> Gustav Haist, *Erfahrungen und Erfolge eines Betriebsjahres in Zwei Württembergischen Siedlerdörfern Mecklenburgs*, Druck von Friedrich Find Söhne, Plieningen-Stuttgart, 75 pp.

had been laborers on the estates which were broken up for settlement, did not suit the newcomers. Also the Württembergers imitated the Swabians' practice of working on Sunday, a practice the latter followed to enable them to care for their own gardens when not working for the large estate holders.

Among the county planning reports received this quarter was the *Annual Report of Unified Program, Adair County, Agricultural Planning Committee, Adair County, Iowa*.<sup>7</sup> Such other county reports as are available may be had by writing to the Division of Economic Information, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

### POPULATION MIGRATION

*Migrants—A National Problem and Its Impact on California*,<sup>8</sup> a California Chamber of Commerce Report based upon many studies, for which only scanty recognition is given, claims that "over the past ten years, net migration into this State, that is, arrivals less departures, has been more than 1,200,000 persons, according to best available estimates. More than 75 per cent of these, or 850,000, have arrived in the last five years, since January, 1935. A majority of them have been in the younger working age group. At least half of them represent additions to the potentially employable labor force."

Concerning the qualities of the group, the report states that "It is believed that the group as a whole does not possess unsatisfactory work habits but that they are probably accustomed to a slightly slower tempo of work than is expected in California. This is due to the fact that in the states from which they have migrated they have been, in many instances, tenant farmers who were masters of their own time, and who adjusted their work habits to the nature of the agricultural operations in which they were engaged.

The committee's view is that as a whole the group is anything but shiftless, and that the majority are anxious to secure and retain employment. There are, of course, many conspicuous exceptions to any such generalized description."

As factors causing migration in the states of origin, the committee discusses the following: high birth rates and surplus population; drought, soil erosion, and agricultural depression; mechanization and agricultural readjustment; inadequate local relief and welfare aids in the home states; and increased mobility of population. The committee recommends that the migration be reduced by extending federal relief programs in states of origin, removing "glaring" inequalities in local relief aids, integrating programs of federal and state agencies, issuing warnings as to lack of jobs in California, and urging Arizona to stop recruiting in states of origin.

*Oklahoma Farm Population Changes in 1938*<sup>9</sup> have been estimated from re-

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Report of Unified Program, Adair County Agricultural Planning Committee, Adair County, Iowa*, May 17, 1940 (Ames, May, 1940). Mimeographed, 42 pp.

<sup>8</sup> *Migrants—A National Problem and Its Impact on California*, California State Chamber of Commerce (California, May, 1940). 51 pp.

<sup>9</sup> "Oklahoma Farm Population Changes in 1938," *Current Farm Economics*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1 and 2, Oklahoma AES (Stillwater, February-April, 1940). 10 pp.

ports of 1,197 correspondents who represented 5,490 farms. According to the estimate, 275,000 persons (or 28 per cent of the total farm population) moved to a new farm during the year, as compared with 27 per cent for 1937. The intensity of movements from farms to nonfarm areas, from farms to farms, and other population data for counties are graphically described.

*The People of Dolores County, Colorado*,<sup>10</sup> are extremely mobile. A study conducted cooperatively by school officials and the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, based upon complete enumeration made in 1939, for the most part by local citizens, indicated that over half of the people present in the county in 1939 had moved there during or since 1930, and that from one-half to two-thirds of the people present in 1930 had either died or moved out by 1939. These movements have increased the proportion of young people in the population and decreased the proportion of aged persons and males of working age. Annual school census data indicate similar trends and substantiate the conclusion that forecasting of future school enrollment without knowledge of in-and-out migrations is very difficult.

Under the title, *The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population*,<sup>11</sup> causes, types, volume, and consequences of movements of people are discussed. The recent western migrations are discussed and studied to prove the fallacy of the prevalent notion that *emigrés* from Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas were exclusively from dust bowl counties.

According to an Arkansas Experiment Station bulletin,<sup>12</sup> "the population process from 1930 to 1935 was in the direction of maladjustment rather than adjustment," because farm population increase and congestion were greatest in those areas which were already overpopulated and where the farm base was poorest. From 1920 to 1930, on the other hand, the overcrowded upland sent population to areas of greater opportunity in Arkansas and other states. Indices of population pressure based upon productive area, wealth, and income as related to population are presented by the author.

*Rural Population Density in the Southern Appalachians*<sup>13</sup> has been graphically described on a map so that account is taken of "changes in the natural environment and changes in the population density itself, as far as they can be discerned from the evidence furnished by the source material and can be expressed within the limitations imposed by the scale of the map." The region was broken into

<sup>10</sup> *The People of Dolores County, Colorado*, USDA and Colorado AES (Amarillo, Texas, March, 1940). Mimeographed, 22 pp.

<sup>11</sup> Otis Durant Duncan, *The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population*, Oklahoma AES Circular 88 (Stillwater, May, 1940). 22 pp.

<sup>12</sup> William H. Metzler, *Population Trends and Adjustments in Arkansas*, Arkansas AESB 388 (Fayetteville, May, 1940). 59 pp.

<sup>13</sup> Francis J. Marschner, *Rural Population Density in the Southern Appalachians*, USDA MP 367 (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). 18 pp.

2,435 tracts, each averaging 45 square miles. Area of minor civil divisions was calculated from maps; population numbers were furnished by minor civil divisions from census reports; and "cartometric operations were controlled by the independently computed areas of quadrilaterals of 5' extent in latitude and longitude." In the map 11 gradient colors were used to indicate density per square mile. Boundaries of color areas were determined by both physiographic and cultural factors. Thus the older form of map on which population density is indicated by dots (each indicating a number of people) or progressive shading of political divisions (corresponding to a graduated scale of average groups) is supplanted by a new cartographic feature which allows for a more realistic portrayal of density within areas not bounded by political lines.

In the summary the author states that "there are areas which may be considered as conforming to the premises that the greater adaptability of the land to farming is responsible for the denser population, or conversely, that because the land is poorly adapted to farming the population is sparse. But the exceptions are too many to establish such a relationship as the prevailing rule."

#### CULTURE AND CULTURAL AREAS

A "New Design for Forest Fire Prevention in the South,"<sup>14</sup> where 90 per cent of all forest fires are caused by man, has been developed from a study of 200 families located in a typical southern forest. The original study, "Getting at the Roots of Man-Caused Forest Fires,"<sup>15</sup> with its recommendations, although made by a psychologist, deals primarily with group phenomena and is a sociological and cultural anthropological investigation. The basic method used in the study was "the controlled interview" which "may be compared roughly to playing a game fish with a reel of not-too-strong fishing line."

In this study we are not dealing with Germans. According to the author, the denizens of the southern forests come from an Anglo-Saxon stock with the southern disbelief in the merits of hard work. They are proud and sensitive even though they stand at the bottom of the southern class or caste system. "Like their ancestors they 'takes no sass off'n nobody.' They 'insults easy' and they 'shoots quick.' " According to the author, "many of these frustrated people allow themselves to become careless and dirty in their persons. Most men go unshaved, women look bedraggled, and many of their houses are disordered and unsanitary. Farm implements and tools are allowed to rust by farmers who 'see no way out.' Such persons, though literate, neglect to read. Most of them neglect to play musical instruments and to cultivate handicrafts."

The study reveals that burning woods is traditional with the southern forest people who battle the forests to keep their small plots of land free. Since game reserves are depleted, making hunting and fishing (which were traditional

<sup>14</sup> John P. Shea, "New Design for Forest Fire Prevention in the South," a paper read before 65th Annual Meeting of the American Forestry Association, February 1-3, 1940, Biloxi, Mississippi.

<sup>15</sup> John P. Shea, "Getting at the Roots of Man-Caused Forest Fires," USDA (Washington, D. C., March, 1940).

sources of diversion and food supply) futile pursuits, forest fires furnish an important source of recreation. The people think burning the woods kills off the boll weevil, helps produce better cotton crops, kills off snakes, destroys ticks, kills bean beetles, keeps their fields from being choked up with brush, makes grass grow better and quicker, keeps them healthy by killing "fever germs," and is the best way to keep the woods "clean." "Woods burning is 'right.' We have always done it. Our fathers and grandfathers burned the woods. It was 'right' for them and it is the 'right' thing for us to do."

After psychological fashion the author analyzes the following basic urges and drives: (1) need for income (economic); (2) need for social belongingness (including recreations); (3) need for prestige; (4) need or craving for religion; (5) craving for excitement (this cuts through all the other urges); and (6) need for security. Since the first four "needs" are not met, conflict develops, resulting in "frustration," which in turn leads to setting of forest fires and "Human Cussedness."

To deter these people from setting fires, the author writes, "We can not win their cooperation by locking horns with them in their beliefs. And mere propaganda and prohibitions against such deepseated beliefs are about as effective as a popgun against an elephant."

It is recommended that the fire-setting habit be "blocked off" and punishment for fire setting made quick and sure. A community program with movies, fishing, and hunting sponsored by a community center with a Forest Officer who can "whittle" and "spit" with the people (particularly the "Pappies" who control all in this culture) is designed to develop new habits to supplant the old fire-setting activities.

*Rural Regions of the United States*<sup>16</sup> is a Work Projects Administration publication which classifies the 3,070 counties of the United States into 32 general rural-farm regions and 218 rural-farm subregions. Also the same counties were combined into 34 general rural regions which take into account the characteristics of the rural-nonfarm population. From the regions typical counties have been designated to represent the nation. Since many agencies have already used the preliminary report of this work for research and administrative purposes, its appearance in printed form will be welcomed.

The regions were delimited in such a manner as to attain the maximum of homogeneity in each with respect to the following seven factors:

"(1) A rural-farm plane-of-living index combining the average value of the farm dwelling, the percent of farms having automobiles, the percent of farm homes having electric lights, the percent having running water piped into the house, the percent having telephones, and the percent having radios, 1930.

"(2) A rural-farm population fertility index constructed by computing the ratio of children under 5 years of age to women 20-44 years of age, 1930.

"(3) Percent of farms producing less than \$1,000 gross income, 1929.

<sup>16</sup> A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States*, WPA Special Report (Washington, D. C., 1940). 230 pp.

"(4) Percent of farm tenancy, 1935.

"(5) Land value per capita of the rural-farm population, 1930.

"(6) Percent of farm produce consumed on farms, 1929.

"(7) Percent of rural families residing on farms, 1930."

The factors of more localized importance were:

"(1) Percent Negroes constituted of the total rural-farm population in the South, 1930.

"(2) Percent 'other races' constituted of the total rural-farm population in the Southwest, 1930.

"(3) Percent farm wage workers constituted of all agricultural workers in the West, 1930.

"In addition, physiographic features were taken into account in places where these were prominent elements."

These factors were chosen after statistical analysis had demonstrated that each was highly related to a large number of other cultural factors and that they were not highly related one with another. This statistical analysis was comparable to that of Lively and Almack<sup>17</sup> for Ohio. It indicated that the plane-of-living index and the population fertility ratio were the "most pertinent" county indices used in the delimitation. Maps showing regions and subregions are included.

The *Cultural Approach in Extension Work*,<sup>18</sup> according to the new Director of Extension in the United States Department of Agriculture, involves the consideration that "the core of any culture is the value system which is not nearly so subject to change as the technological or economic aspects of our life. It would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance of these value systems. Here are bound together the ideas which give meaning to the activities, the stresses, and strains of everyday life. Frequently they are difficult to detect, but anything that challenges them is likely to meet with resistance or open hostility. The fact that the value systems, like other parts of the culture, are acquired almost as easily as the oxygen we breathe, makes it more difficult to be fully aware of them and always to take them into account. The mere fact that they are anchored so deeply below all the speech reactions and the rationalizations of everyday life, however, makes it very important that they be recognized and understood."

*Indians and the Land*<sup>19</sup> is the title of a symposium with the following articles:

"Conservation of Soil and Water in the Americas," by H. H. Bennett

"Farm Tenancy and Related Problems," by M. L. Wilson

"The Indian and the Land," by Allan G. Harper

<sup>17</sup> C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio*, Ohio AESB 106 (Columbus, January, 1938). This method was reviewed in detail in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, June, 1938.

<sup>18</sup> M. L. Wilson, *Cultural Approach in Extension Work*, USDA Extension Service Circular 332 (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 12 pp.

<sup>19</sup> *Indians and the Land*, First Inter-American Conference on Indian Life (Patzcuaro, Mexico, April, 1940). Mimeographed, 75 pp.

"Regional Planning for Indians and Spanish Americans by the Interdepartmental Rio Grande Board," by Walter V. Woehlke

"Credit for Indian Landholders in Mexico and the United States," by Alida C. Bowler

"Legal Aspects of Land Acquisition," by Charlotte Tuttle Westwood

In these articles the plight of the Spanish-American civilization in the Southwest is dramatized. The population in the upper Rio Grande Watershed, which is said to be denser than that of any other cultivated area of similar size in the United States or even in England, has been caught in the vise of commercialization.

"The Anglo-American pioneers, individualists, strong, lusty, fearless and myopic, aggressive representatives of the money economy of an expanding society, brought with them capital, credit, markets, rails, all the financial and mechanical tools for the exploitation of the region. With these tools they proceeded to compete for the use of the watershed's resources which, in 1850, were already supporting a settled agricultural and pastoral population of more than 60,000 Spanish-Americans and Indians."

The greatest loss to the natives from the onslaught of the "gringos" was that of their free-grazing privileges on some 8,750,000 acres as of 1860. But in 1860 one railroad alone received a grant of 2,000,000 acres, most of which went under the control of commercial livestock companies. Sixty per cent of the 2,500,000 acres of national forests now offer summer range for commercial operators. As state and other lands came under the control of commercial operators, the available range shrank to less than one-fourth its original size. As a result the native population living on small irrigated holdings to which they cling like leeches were forced first to work for wages on railroads, ranches, or in the north in beet fields or factories and then to go on relief. "Fifty-five per cent of all the livestock was owned by 238 commercial operators. At this time the Federal Government was spending \$3,600,000 for relief to the rural population of 92,000." "With the principal source of cash income, the sale of labor seasonally on the out-of-State market either closed or seriously curtailed from 1930 to the present day, the subsistence population failed to meet these cash obligations, and deeds to 4,000 tracts of land passed into the hands of the State Tax Commission."

Indian land tenure problems are summed up as follows: "Indian land tenure problems in the United States are of a highly technical character. They relate particularly to lands owned in severalty, and their satisfactory solution is a *sine qua non* of placing the Indian owners upon a basis of economic self-sufficiency. Tenure problems related to the tribally owned lands are of relatively small difficulty. On the allotted land, however, they are the roots of problems of proper land use, conservation, and the very economic recovery of whole tribes."

The report of an anthropological investigation covering the tribal organizations, marriage, child rearing, education, fiestas, funerals, household economy, architecture, medical practices, and physical characteristics and practices of the



Yaqui Indians in Mexico has been received.<sup>20</sup> The difficulties which the Mexican government has encountered in its attempt to control this tribe and the mistakes which officials have made are given incidental attention.

A German Ph.D. Thesis<sup>21</sup> describes the customs, economy, folk lore, and other cultural characteristics as well as racial traits and life of the people in the upper Rhone valleys. Like the many descriptions of rural culture coming from Germany since the Nazis came to power, the lives of these people are considerably romanticized. Settlement patterns, farmstead and house arrangements, handicrafts, gardens, inheritance systems, dress and customs, mental attitudes, beliefs, festivals, and other traits of the culture are described.

#### LOCAL COMMUNITY AGENCIES AND FACILITIES

Twenty-two weekly newspapers considered representative of those of the State of Washington in 1938 were found to devote the largest portion of their space (41 per cent) to advertising;<sup>22</sup> news dissemination accounted for the second largest portion of space (32 per cent); magazine material (reading matter of a not immediately timely nature, which nevertheless contains a considerable human-interest appeal) made up 21 per cent of the total space; and 6 per cent was devoted to material discharging the opinion function of the newspaper. In comparing the content of papers published in 1937 with those published in 1915-16, it was found that "advertising and news both decreased between 1915-16 and 1937 in the proportions of total space they occupied, magazine material increased greatly, and opinion material increased slightly. The combination of news and opinion material, representing the social function of the newspaper, indicates that the weeklies in the earlier period gave a larger proportion of their space (42.8 per cent) to social material than they did in the later period (35.9 per cent)."

"The extent to which the weekly paper is a local organ is shown by the fact that somewhat over two-thirds of its advertising was local and three-fourths of its news was of town plus country origin, town news predominating. Papers published in towns of 1,000 or more population were found to contain considerably larger proportions of local material than were their contemporaries published in smaller centers."

The findings in this study are compared with those from studies of 20 Virginia weeklies and 35 Michigan papers.

*Public Health Facilities*<sup>23</sup> available to families in South Dakota are discussed in an Experiment Station bulletin. Death rates and causes are also discussed, and graphic descriptions of location and availability of various types of county

<sup>20</sup> W. C. Holden *et al.*, *Studies of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, Mexico*, Texas Technological College Bulletin Scientific Series No. 2 (Lubbock, Texas, January, 1936). 142 pp.

<sup>21</sup> Aloys Winterling, *Die bauerliche Lebens- und Sittengemeinschaft der Hoben Rhön*, Inaugural-Dissertation, Universität Köln Buchdruckerei Orthen, Köln, 1939.

<sup>22</sup> Carl F. Reuss, *Content of Washington Weekly Newspapers*, Washington AESB 387 (Pullman, February, 1940). 48 pp.

<sup>23</sup> W. F. Kumlien, *Basic Trends of Social Change in South Dakota, V. Public Health Facilities*, South Dakota AESB 334 (Brookings, March, 1940). 30 pp.

health services, hospitals, physicians, dentists, pharmacists, and utilization of these are included. The increasing importance of public and group health facilities is emphasized. There were 20,000 families participating in the Farm Security Administration medical aid program in 1938, and in 1939 one-third of the farm families of the state were eligible for medical aid.

A United States Office of Education bulletin describes the public educational system in the Canal Zone.<sup>24</sup> Approximately half of the population of the Canal Zone and slightly more than half of the children enrolled in the school are colored. Because of similarity in economic status among the white families in the Canal Zone, there is greater homogeneity among the children in the schools than is found in the "States." The school program is very similar to that in the "States," thus facilitating transference of children between Canal Zone schools and those in the United States. This is particularly important, for most of the white people are United States citizens and many still consider themselves citizens of one or another of the 48 states.

*Rural Electrification Surveys of Harvey and Dickinson Counties*<sup>25</sup> are reports based upon personal interviews with farmers and ratings of farmsteads by investigators while "driving" through the rural areas. The report discourages complete electrification of the county because: (1) "Under the present condition of agriculture and the attitude of farmers toward electric service, it is difficult to get all farmers to join the lines and use service." (2) "The type of farming practiced by a majority of the farmers does not provide many uses for electricity outside of the home." (3) There is a definite tendency toward larger farms in these areas thus increasing the cost of lines per unit. (4) "The income derived from the sale of electricity to farms alone is scarcely enough to make the lines profitable. If these lines are profitable for the power companies, it must be due to other rural customers such as filling stations, schools, churches, etc., and also to small towns served by the same lines."

Other conclusions are: In each county some 600 more farms can be supplied with electricity on the basis on which it is now being purchased. Electric service from the power line is less expensive than from the private plant.

*A Study of Churches of Culpeper County, Virginia*<sup>26</sup> recommends that "the rural church must become an integral part of the community life, spiritually, socially, mentally—it must lend guidance and inspiration for better rural planning and rural life—it must supplement the economic well-being of man." It also presents data concerning memberships, ministers, and programs of 35 white churches.

<sup>24</sup> Katherine M. Cook, *Public Education in the Panama Canal Zone*, U. S. Department of Interior, Bulletin 1939, No. 8 (Washington, D. C., 1939). 63 pp.

<sup>25</sup> F. C. Fenton and D. E. Wiant, *Rural Electrification Surveys of Harvey and Dickinson Counties*, Kansas Engineering Experiment Station, Bulletin 39 (Manhattan, May, 1940). 48 pp.

<sup>26</sup> Douglas Enslinger and John S. Page, *A Study of Churches of Culpeper County, Virginia*, USDA (Washington, D. C., July, 1940). Mimeographed, 23 pp.

*A Rural School Area in Central South Carolina*<sup>27</sup> is the second of a series of studies made of selected rural school areas in South Carolina. The purpose was to ascertain facts relative to the family, homes, and schools of a rural community, with the hope of "throwing some light on the economic and social conditions of the families, the conditions under which the schools operate, and the educational achievement of the children." Both the educational attainment of the pupils and the economic level of the families were found to be low, with 61 per cent of the elementary pupils repeating one or more grades. The chief recommendations were consolidation and the substitution of educational for lay management.

*A Study of 4-H Local Leadership in South Carolina*<sup>28</sup> found the average tenure of 114 leaders in six counties to be 3.8 years. Sixty-two per cent of the leaders were teachers. Sixty-eight per cent of all leaders had schooling beyond high school, and 84 per cent were graduated from high school. Eighty-two per cent were reared on a farm; 45 per cent received training in agriculture or home economics in high school or college; 38 per cent had themselves been 4-H members. The median age was 32 years.

Twenty-two egg and poultry auction associations—with 13,000 active members in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island—have been studied by the Farm Credit Administration.<sup>29</sup> From personal interviews with 601 active members, the membership attitudes were studied. Fifty-three per cent of those interviewed gave higher prices as their reasons for joining. Other reasons listed were: more dependable sales outlet; new, special, or surplus outlet; more financially reliable outlet; convenience; and other advantages. Ninety per cent of the members interviewed were personally acquainted with the auction manager. When the members were asked to what extent they sold to other buyers when offered higher prices, 56 per cent replied that they would not sell elsewhere than to the auctions even when higher prices were offered; and 32 per cent indicated that they would accept higher prices.<sup>30</sup>

Of 54 Oklahoma cooperative associations<sup>31</sup> which were defunct in 1937, 20

<sup>27</sup> Henry L. Fulmer, *A Rural School Area in Central South Carolina*, South Carolina AESB 325 (Clemson, March, 1940). 44 pp.

<sup>28</sup> Leon O. Clayton, *A Study of 4-H Local Leadership in South Carolina*, USDA Extension Service Circular 325 (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 28 pp.

<sup>29</sup> John J. Scanlan and Roy W. Lennartson, *Cooperative Egg and Poultry Auction Associations*, FCAB 37 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 101 pp.

<sup>30</sup> Other Farm Credit Administration studies of farm cooperatives received this quarter were the following: Gerald M. Francis, *Cooperative Purchasing by Indiana Farmers Through Federated County Farm Bureau Associations*, FCAB 38 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 84 pp.; Paul E. Quintus and T. G. Stitts, *Butter Marketing by Cooperative Creameries in the Middle West*, FCAB 36 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 66 pp.; Delmer D. Brubaker, *Cooperative Creamery Accounting*, FCAB 39 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 99 pp.; R. C. Dorsey, *Farmer Co-ops in Virginia*, Baltimore Bank for Cooperatives (Baltimore, Maryland, January, 1939). 19 pp.

<sup>31</sup> "Listed Causes of Failure of Oklahoma Farm Cooperatives," *Current Farm Economics*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1 and 2, Oklahoma AES (Stillwater, February-April, 1940). 10 pp.

reported lack of volume or drought as the major cause of quitting business. Also bad management and disloyalty of members were important contributing causes for failure of cooperatives.

### FARM TENANCY

In a study describing the *Legal Aspects of Farm Tenancy in Illinois*<sup>32</sup> recommendations are made for a farm tenancy code, which among other things makes a "clear distinction between farm and urban tenancy than that which exists under present laws," and states as a manner of law that the following duties exist on the part of the tenant: to use proper methods of tillage, destroy weeds, spread manure, keep tile outlets and drainage ditches open, make reasonable repairs where no cash outlay is involved and where an unusual amount of labor is not required, and cause no destruction or impairment to the land or property through neglect or improper management. Also the code would state that the duties on the part of the landlord are: to repair buildings and fences, insure the undisturbed occupancy of the tenant by the payment of all taxes and assessments against the property, and maintain adequate drainage, a satisfactory water supply, and such minimum standards of housing as are prescribed by law.

### RURAL YOUTH

The White House Conference on *Children in a Democracy*,<sup>33</sup> meeting in 1940 to review what is being done and what ought to be done for the nation's children, in its report made recommendations concerning the local and federal governments' obligations to children: financial, housing, religious, educational, recreational, health, and employment.

A study<sup>34</sup> has been made "to discover just what are the educational contributions of nationally organized clubs for girls of school age." The organizations were classified as follows: Protestant; Catholic; Jewish; patriotic, political, fraternal, and labor; leisure, recreation, and special interest organizations. The objectives of the various organizations vary widely, and approximately one-sixth of those studied had been formed since 1930.

A statement concerning *Child Labor in Agriculture*<sup>35</sup> was submitted by the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau to a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate. In this report are included discussions of the extent of child labor in agriculture, the conditions under which children employed in agriculture must work and live, lack of

<sup>32</sup> W. H. Hannah and Joseph Ackerman, *Legal Aspects of Farm Tenancy in Illinois*, Illinois AESB 465 (Urbana, April, 1940). 34 pp.

<sup>33</sup> *Children in a Democracy*, General Report of White House Conference (Washington, D. C., 1940). 86 pp.

<sup>34</sup> Helen Gilchrist Fudge, *Girls' Clubs of National Organization in the United States—Their Development and Present Status* (Philadelphia, 1939). 349 pp.

<sup>35</sup> *Child Labor in Agriculture*, Statement of Beatrice McConnell, Director, Industrial Division, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 66 pp.

educational opportunities, and the attempts at legal regulation of agricultural child labor by state and federal governments.

The National Child Labor Committee has published the third in its series of studies of migratory children.<sup>86</sup> This bulletin presents a discussion of strawberry migrants of the mid-section of the Mississippi valley, whose increasing numbers are attributed to the disintegration of the tenancy system in southern cotton culture. One of the most striking aspects of the problem is the influence of migratory life upon the education of the children. "Thirty-six per cent of the migrant children of school age had not attended school a single day in the calendar year preceding the study. The average number of weeks attended by those who had gone to school was 17.2, or a matter of 86 days."

Pennsylvania State College has published a study of 54 young men, former students of vocational agriculture, who left high school before graduation and were farming at the time of the study.<sup>87</sup> It was found that these boys had relatively low I.Q.'s and were retarded in school. "A comparatively large number reject farming as an occupation and try other ways of earning their living, but eventually they gravitate back, generally to the rural community where they were reared and gained their early farm experience." Recommendations for helping this type of boy to make his vocational adjustment are presented.

#### FAMILY LIVING

From 800 field interview records in 3 Oklahoma counties, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*<sup>88</sup> has been completed. Chapin's definition (quoted by Sewell) of socio-economic status is "the position that an individual or family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions and participation in the group activities of the community."

The effectiveness of over 200 items in measuring these four components of socio-economic status was considered. On the basis of judgment all but 123 of these were discarded as ineffective. The method used in reducing the 123 items to the 36 retained in the standardized scale was the following:

- (1) Each of the 800 schedules was scored by adding up the number of 123 items listed which the family from whom the schedule was taken actually had.
- (2) Using these scores the 800 schedules were divided into four groups, each with 200 schedules in such a manner that the first quartile contained the 200 lowest-scoring schedules, the second the next highest, etc.
- (3) In each group the percentage of the 200 records reporting the possession of each item was com-

<sup>86</sup> Raymond G. Fuller, *Children in Strawberries*, National Child Labor Committee Publication 380 (New York, March, 1940). 22 pp.

<sup>87</sup> C. S. Anderson, *Out-of-school Rural Youth Enter Farming*, Pennsylvania AESB 385 (State College, January, 1940). 26 pp.

<sup>88</sup> William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Oklahoma AESB Technical Bulletin 9 (Stillwater, April, 1940). 88 pp.

puted. For instance, the possession of "separate living room" was reported in "5.5, 25.0, 48.0, and 82.5 percent of the schedules in quartiles 1, 2, 3, 4, respectively." (4) To determine the efficacy of each item in measuring socio-economic status, the percentage difference in the occurrence of each item between successive and extreme quartiles was calculated. (5) "This yielded four quartile percentage difference figures for each item in the experimental schedule, as follows: 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, and 1 and 4. . . . [For separate living room these percentages were:] 19.5, 23.0, 34.5, and 77.0." When these percentages were high in relation to the standard error, they were kept. Specifically, when the critical ratio (ratio of each of these percentage differences to its standard error) was less than 2, the item was discarded. (6) Items which were retained were weighted so that the more infrequent the occurrence of a given item among the 800 schedules, the larger the weight applied to it. The scale was duly tested and "it was concluded that it measures the socio-economic status of Oklahoma farm families and therefore may be considered a valid measuring instrument."

The report includes summary appraisals of other previously constructed socio-economic scales.

*A Study of Housing Needs of Renting Families and Available Rental Facilities in Ontario, Oregon*,<sup>39</sup> based upon interviews with 70 families, many of whom were migratory laborers for farm and construction work, indicates housing preferences of renters. The one-story, single-family house with a basement and a minimum-sized yard of two city lots was preferred.

#### CONFERENCES PERTAINING TO RURAL LIFE

The proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Agriculture,<sup>40</sup> held in Germany, 1939, have been published in nine sections consisting of as many separate bulletins. Of these, three are of particular interest to rural sociologists. Section 2, entitled "Agricultural Instruction and Propaganda," includes reports on the following topics by Germans, a Belgian, and an Italian. "New Methods and Results of Agricultural Training and Instruction"; "Development, Progress and Importance of the System of Giving Advice on Agricultural Matters"; "Object-Lessons and Demonstrations in Agricultural Schools"; and "Broadcasting and Films in the Service of Agriculture." An example of the conclusions is the following taken from the report of the first topic:

"If we examine which influences most permanently act upon the young peasant in later life, it seems as if we must ascribe about 40-50 percent to the teacher, 30-40 percent to the books, and to everything else: class-room equipment, collections, school farm, etc., about 20-30 percent. I arrived at these conclusions as general inspector of agricultural schools in the former Czecho-Slovakian Republic."

<sup>39</sup> Ruth P. Chindgren, *A Study of Housing Needs of Renting Families and Available Rental Facilities in Ontario, Oregon*, Oregon State College Thesis Series No. 13 (Corvallis, March, 1940). Mimeographed, 64 pp.

<sup>40</sup> *Congres International D'Agriculture*, 18th Congress, Main Reports (Dresden, June, 1939). 402 pp.

Section 3, "Agricultural Cooperative Societies," includes three topics entitled: "The Tasks of the Agricultural Cooperative Societies in The Economic Policy of the State," "The Cooperative Societies for Agricultural Production," and "The Processing of Fruit and Vegetables by Cooperative Societies," which were written by Finnish, Yugoslavian, and Bulgarian representatives. Davidović, author of the second topic, claims that: "Apart from the works of the well-known Russian economist Tchaianov, and those of the Hungarian Professor K. Ihrig, there is hardly any other literature, as far as we know, which contains a scientific analysis of the problem of agricultural cooperation. It is true, there are other authors, such as Emilianoff and Wolff, who have written on this subject but their works are of a descriptive rather than of an analytical nature, as is the case in most of the literature on the cooperative movement." He concludes that: "Cooperatives whose object it is to produce agricultural goods by joint labour have gained considerable importance, but their extension is, except for the fishermen's cooperatives, limited to certain geographical regions, as Russia and Palestine, where they stand under the strong influence either of the State or of international organizations."

Section 8, "Rural Life and the Work of the Countrywoman," includes the following topics: "Relation between Economic and Hygienic Position of the Rural Population," "Means and Measures to Lighten the Countrywoman's Work," "Peasant Culture and Its Importance in the Life of Nations," and "Practical Measures of Different Countries to Encourage Peasant Culture and Peasant Traditions," which were written by English, German, Belgium, and Swiss scholars. Among the most interesting quotations are the following taken from the third topic in this section: "Peasant culture is characteristically traditional. That is to say, it in the first place tries to keep the balance, considering this the basis of advancement, not the contrary. This first characteristic would suffice to explain its aim, in our period in which the economic crisis presents the same kind of problems to all statesmen. There was a time in which each advance in production mysteriously seemed to bring about the conditions for a future balance, which was to vastly surpass the past in its forms. But the economic and philosophic system known as "Fordisme" may be taken to have been the last manifestation of this optimistic frame of mind. Since then, in all countries, every advance is only looked upon as a subordinate factor for the possibility of keeping up a maximum balance. Formerly one considered every traditional point of view as radical inferiority, as a psychological disgrace, as the only human frame of mind deserving the name of "sin" in the age of enlightenment. Since a few years we again discover that traditions may shelter deep wisdom. We again learn to understand that it is not insignificant—who carries out a piece of work, nor what work is done and how it is done, and also that good results are often due to exertion whose innermost, secret impulse was tradition. . . ."

*Agricultural History in Relation to Current Agricultural Problems*<sup>41</sup> is a report of a conference on Agricultural History held in the Bureau of Agricultural

<sup>41</sup> *Agricultural History in Relation to Current Agricultural Problems*, USDA (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 47 pp.

Economics in the United States Department of Agriculture. The conferees from the Department of Agriculture described their programs, and the historians within the Department and from outside indicated the assistance which history might offer in that program. Recommendations included the establishment of a National Agricultural Museum.

### REHABILITATION

A summary analysis of *Rural Rehabilitation Progress in Stearns County, Minnesota*,<sup>42</sup> emphasizes the importance of the human factor in rehabilitation. According to the report, officials too frequently fail to consider personal or family peculiarities in devising farm and home plans. More emphasis should be placed upon long-time rehabilitation than immediate cash income.

The report states that "only those who have real possibilities of complete and permanent rehabilitation can be expected to repay their loans. Other less able families may deserve other types of public assistance but to include them in the rehabilitation program may deprive those who are more capable from participation. Young, ambitious, cooperative farmers constitute the most desirable rehabilitation materials." Recommendations are based upon analysis of use of borrowed funds, progress of clients, and other data from rehabilitation records.

### GENERAL REPORTS

*A Report of the Committee on Social and Economic Conditions in Alabama and Their Implications for Education*<sup>43</sup> summarizes available information on the state's geography, population, religion, health, recreation, government schools, natural resources, and the exploitation of these. Among the data gathered are the following:

1. During the past generation Alabama has suffered "a net loss by migration of 382,763 persons more than have come from other states. If a reasonable estimate of \$2,000 is allowed as the cost of rearing and educating a person to the age of 20, this represents a loss to the state of three-fourths of a billion dollars in a generation."

2. "Of children 10 to 17 years old 24 percent are gainfully occupied as compared with 11.3 percent for the nation and 18.8 percent for the Southeastern region. Of these children nearly three-fourths are engaged in agricultural work, over 11 percent in industry and about 14 percent in distributive and social occupations. These facts reveal vital social and economic problems for education."

3. Approximately 90 per cent of rural homes are without refrigeration, while 9.7 per cent have ice boxes, and about 2 per cent have mechanical refrigeration.

4. "The average Alabama pupil enters junior high school with a preparation 1½ years short of the national average, and he enters college with a preparation cut short by two years."

<sup>42</sup> Warren R. Bailey, *Rural Rehabilitation Progress in Stearns County, Minnesota*, USDA Farm Management Reports No. 3 (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 31 pp.

<sup>43</sup> *Report of the Committee on Social and Economic Conditions in Alabama and Their Implications for Education*, Division of Instruction, State Department of Education (Montgomery, Alabama, May, 1937). 142 pp.



# Book Reviews

*Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor*

*A Social and Economic Survey of Beadle County, South Dakota: A Study of Social Action in Boom and Depression Years in an Agricultural Community.* By Beryl R. McClaskey. Chicago: Aragat Booksellers, 1940. xii, 260 pp. \$2.00.

*Rural Regions of the United States.* By A. R. Mangus. Washington: Division of Social Research, Work Projects Administration, 1940. x, 230 pp. Free.

We have here two additions to the growing literature of regionalism. McClaskey's study deals with a county which is probably typical in a general way of the northwestern sector of the corn belt. It is more accurately described by the title than the subtitle. A summary of the settlement history of the county emphasizes the boom-depression pulsations; this is followed by brief demographic descriptions, the natural resources base, the business structure, types of farming, a picture of the debt and tax structure and the liquidation process, education, and social action and control. We get a clear picture of the economic structure, and the catastrophes of the '20's and '30's resulting from drouth and low prices are vividly portrayed. But somehow the book reads like a gazetteer. The author never comes to the point, sociologically speaking. She indicates "... the points at which socio-economic behavior has proved inadequate, ...", but she does not portray the processes, and most of the data are economic. Many years of residence and personal acquaintance in the county do not appear to have been sociologically useful to her. Another instance: She repeats that the townships vary in soils, farming methods, taxation, nationality, foreclosures, etc. But she never puts these facts together. No processes (unless it be over-valuation of land and consequent liquidation) issue from the data. We see some mal-adjustments of men—crops—nature, but we do not see them through a sociologist's eyes.

For many years true regional studies have been progressing from impressionistic and pseudo-ethnographic descriptions through a series of increasingly quantified and multifaceted comparisons. To descriptions of what factors characterize a region are being added measurements of how regional is a region, so to speak. Mangus' report merits unstinted praise, which he would happily share with his predecessors, Odum and Lively.

Mangus retells how the study of the distribution of innumerable items descriptive of rural conditions repeatedly revealed stable areal patterns over the whole country. This experience led to an effort to delimit these areas more carefully, to test their internal homogeneity, and to establish a useful sample of

counties which could represent these areas individually or collectively. Rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and total rural populations were studied separately and comparatively; and some 200 subregions and 30 odd regions were set up. Each region is summarily described; appendices give the data for all variables for each region, subregion, and sample county.

The methodological aim throughout was to isolate a few variables, each highly correlated with many others but only slightly intercorrelated among themselves. The final factors chosen were: plane of living index (running water, auto, etc.), population fertility, income, tenancy, per capita value of land, percentage of products home used, percentage of rural families on farms—plus proportion of Negroes, other races, and farm laborers in special areas.

Tentatively beginning with type-of farming areas, refinements were obtained by shifting counties back and forth until the mean deviation of all variables together within a region was a minimum. Within each region and subregion sample counties were picked to represent the median and one mean deviation above and below the median, and to total about 1 per cent of the population of the area.

This is a model study, and few additional comments are called for. Of merit is the use of county instead of state data. The regions obtained appear to agree well with those recognized by other workers or arrived at by less precise methods. It is asserted that although they were based on 1930 data they are probably permanent. For the future this cannot now be tested, but it would be eminently worthwhile to run analyses backwards in time. One is curious also why fertility should comprise part of the nonfarm set of variables. This study is rigidly empirical, and sociologists might well consider why the particular variables proved to delimit regions so reliably. And there are innumerable problems for research in the study of variations of traits not studied within regions demarked by the chosen items. Thus regionalism can proceed farther on the road to precision of meaning.

Iowa State College

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

*The Races of Europe* Carleton Stevens Coon New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. 739 pp.

This volume bears the same title as the noted work of Ripley, published some 40 years ago. Certainly Ripley's work needs revision, in view of the great progress in anthropology and allied sciences since its publication. The present work is, however, more than a simple revision of the earlier classic. It is new both in content and in structure, adding, for example, materials on the Yemen of Arabia and Morocco, and devoting fully six chapters to historical data.

The author states his fundamental theses in the introduction to the rich photographic supplement which illustrates the volume. These theses may be briefly summarized: (1) The representatives of the white race now living in Europe owe their initial differentiation to their dual origin. (2) Some (type A) are

descended from a mixture of two species, *Homo Neanderthalensis* and *Homo Sapiens*, and historically have lived in the subglacial zone and devoted themselves to the hunt and food collection. (3) Others (type B) are descendants of the Mediterranean populations, representing a pure *Homo Sapiens* type. These have devoted themselves historically to agriculture and cattle-raising. (4) Other groups, which in Europe are the more numerous, represent hybrid forms resulting from mixture of the two principal types, which are clearly differentiated according to very definite metrical and morphological principles. Among these principles a particularly important one is that which the author calls the "law of dinaricization," whereby a mixture of the dolichocephalic Mediterraneans and the brachicephalic Alpines, in certain proportions, produces a new type, different from both sources, and is classified as a race in itself: the "dinaric race." The author maintains, however, that the dinaric race is not a true race, but is the result of distinct crosses which can be distinguished by the various proportions of the cephalic elements. (5) Not all the mixtures lead to the dinaric type, for in many places there reappears type A, to be submerged in its time by an invasion of the Mediterraneans. (6) The racial composition of Europe is not at all constant, but always changing under the influence of: (a) environmental conditions, (b) migratory movements, and (c) social and economic selection. These transformations are to be found both in the sedentary populations and in the migratory movements.

One of the merits of this work is to have emphasized the phenomenon of re-emergence. The reviewer is particularly interested in this matter, since he has emphasized its importance during the past thirty years in his various works. Coon seems to be unaware of the existence of these books. Actually the phenomenon is not that of reappearance of the ancient type—inconceivable in view of the thousands of mixtures and the independence of the combination of characteristics—but the re-emergence of an analogous type.

Another principle which is noted by the author, but not, to my way of thinking, adequately developed, is that of the *plasticity* of human types. The author does not sufficiently emphasize the importance of the orthogenetic tendency on the one hand and that of mutation on the other, neither of which is mentioned among the sources of modification of types, which are reduced to three: mixture, selection, and environment.

Certainly a shortcoming of the present volume is the absence of a discussion of the data, ever more abundant and precise, concerning blood-groups, which ought not to be separated from judgments concerning racial affinity and differentiation, the less so when the blood-group indications do not conform to the traditional classifications of race based on external characteristics.

The advantages and defects of Coon's work show it to be an outstanding study, marking a transition from the traditional, and in large part a priori, anthropological conceptions to the new conceptions which are being formed under the irresistible pressure of vast and better organized research and experimental results in the field of genetics. It is to be hoped that this edition will be followed

by a second, in which the advantages of the first will be developed and the lacunae filled.

University of Rome

CORRADO GINI

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The above review was translated and condensed from a longer Italian review made jointly for *Genus*, organ of the Italian Committee of Population Studies and Rural Sociology. The translation was made by Wilbert E. Moore, Harvard University. The importance of Dr. Coon's work to rural sociology cannot be overemphasized. *Soil and Men* and *Food and Life* [titles of the two most recent yearbooks of the United States Department of Agriculture] mean simply that rural life joins together agriculture and the population stock at their foundations.)

*Youth—Millions Too Many: A Search for Youth's Place in America.* By Bruce L. Melvin. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. New York: Association Press, 1940. 220 pp. \$2.00.

This is frankly a "pamphlet" for social action on the youth problem. It is written for the general public in a simple, forceful style which will command the reader's interest. Although not a report on research, it is based on the author's own investigations carried on under the Work Projects Administration, and makes use of most of the recent research literature in this field. Although not a sociological treatise, it is full of sociological material and contains many a challenge to the sociologist for the practical application of our present sociological knowledge to the solution of the problems involved, as well as for further research.

The author feels that there is need for the organization of youth, and for a youth movement; yet he sees the dangers of institutionalization and the difficulty of integrating such a movement on a national basis. He wisely places his trust in local organization by communities, counties, and states, as the best basis for a possible national movement.

There is nothing strikingly new in the factual material for those familiar with the literature in this field, but it is presented in a clear-cut summary fashion which shows the relation of population trends, unemployment, inadequate programs of education and recreation, and the agencies which are attempting to deal with the problems of youth. He points out the possibilities of the county land use committees set up by the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Land Grant Colleges as agencies for studying this problem locally. "If planning for the use and conservation of the soil is worth while, then county planning for the future of young people is certainly of equal value."

One of his most convincing chapters includes a brief resumé of how the frustration of the idealism of the German youth movement made it a ready prey for the Nazi program. He suggests: "Were the historians to delve deeper into their tomes they probably would find that a neglected factor, if not a determining one in the rise and fall of states, was the role of youth," and he quotes a former leader of the German youth movement before the Nazi regime: "Tell me the situation of your youth today and I'll tell you the state of your nation tomorrow." Consequently he points out the danger of neglecting our youth

problem in a furor for national defense. In her ringing foreword Eleanor Roosevelt by implication upholds this position when she says: "In my estimation this book will show why the first question before us is action on the problems of youth."

This is a book which should be read by everyone with responsibility for meeting its challenge: congressmen, educators, clergymen, extension workers, and leaders of all organizations serving youth. Incidentally, it should be good required reading for classes in rural sociology, and should form an excellent text for discussion groups, not only of youth—as suggested by the author—but of granges, church young people's societies, women's clubs, and junior chambers of commerce.

The author is to be congratulated upon bringing to the general public the results of his own and other research from a sociological point of view, in a form which should arouse responsibility for meeting the issues raised.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

*Agrarian China: Selected Source Materials from Chinese Authors. A Report in the International Research Series of the Institute of Pacific Relations, with an Introduction by R. H. Tawney. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. xviii, 258 pp. \$2.50.*

Studies by foreign scholars of remote countries, particularly by Westerners of Asia, for understandable reasons generally show signs of being superficial. On the other hand, much of the best materials published in the native languages are inaccessible to most of the foreign scholars and readers. As a result, this translation by the Institute of Pacific Relations of studies written by Chinese has an unusual value. A reader is surprised at the variety and number of subjects that were almost never discussed in the literature about China in Western countries. Only persons very well acquainted with local problems could have written them. This applies especially to the great many very interesting shorter writings on the actual social and economic situation in the different regions of China.

Titles of some articles of an unusual sociological interest include: *Military Requisition and the Peasantry*, by Wong Yin-seng, Hsieh Pin-hsien, and Shi Kai-fu; *The Omnipotence of Opium in Fow-Chow Villages*, by Chen Von-ko; *Pawnshop and Peasantry*, by Lo Kuo-hsian; *The Decline of Chinese Handicrafts*, by Lee Tse-tsian; *Trade Capital and Silk Farming*, by Chien Chao-hsuen; *Peasant Women and Hand Weaving in Kiangyin*, by Lo Chun; *Two Hand Weaving Centers in Southernmost China*, by Chen Nyi-kuan; and *The Peasant Exodus from Western Shantung*, by Hao Pun-sui. The first two chapters of the collection, which discuss land problems, especially land ownership, carry a wealth of new and yet unknown materials.

The work is defective in that it carries no maps or location charts. This is unfortunate because those not familiar with China cannot place the studies. After all, China is a great teeming land of many thousands of square miles and

of many hundreds of millions of people. The work also needs an index, a glossary of terms, and a philosophical analysis of the content. Of the many Chinese terms used, only *mow*, *picul*, and *catty* are explained in detail and these only incidentally. A philosophical analysis would be particularly helpful to the American who has forgotten the American residual of the feudal tenure, the Quit Rent system, and has almost no conception of a land system in which fee-simple ownership of the whole right under a capitalistic payment and momentary contract between two "persons" do not predominate. Then again the work raises two further questions. How much of the rural trouble in China is due to the decay of a former well working system of "feudal" or pure rural custom tenure, and how much of the rural distress is due to exploitation by landlords and usurers? It seems that the interpretations of these young Chinese scholars overlook considerations of the first type.

Such as it is, this book is a real service to the American scholar of rural life and rural social problems. The Institute of Pacific Relations could have made it more usable to the reader and student, as indicated above. This remark applies for a number of very useful publications put out by the Institute in the course of the last few years.

University of California

NICHOLAS MIRKOWICH

*Freedom of Thought in the Old South.* By Clement Eaton. Durham: Duke University Press, 1940, 343 pp. \$3.00.

This volume might well be considered a companion to the one written a few years ago by Virginius Dabney, and entitled *Liberalism in the South*. The latter book concerns the contemporary scene, while Eaton's deals with the similar situation from "Jefferson to Calhoun." The author interprets the phrase "freedom of thought" in general as synonymous with Jefferson's characterization of the same concept as "the illimitable freedom of the human mind," and the "Old South" to mean "those states where slavery was a vital institution."

The thesis of the study in brief is to the effect that in the Colonial period and the earlier days of the Republic the dominant group in the Old South was a relatively small group of aristocratic planters, merchants, and lawyers, many of whom had been educated in Europe. These leaders were liberal in their political views, their attitude toward slavery, and in religious matters—the South, with its more cavalierly traditions, leading the more puritanical North in this respect. Exhaustion of soils on the tobacco and rice plantations due to wasteful methods of cultivation; repudiation of Locke's theory of natural rights so prevalent in Jefferson's day, and the turn to the political philosophy expressed by Thomas Cooper in his statement that "rights are what society acknowledges and sanctions, and they are nothing else"; the growing importance of cotton in the region and the concomitant strengthening of slavery as an institution—all, accentuated by the rise of the common man to political power, operated as seriously inhibiting factors to freedom of thought and of speech. The most important of these forces, however, was the solidification of Southern sentiment in its socio-

economic conflict with the North over the issues of slavery, states rights, and the tariff, the former complicated by the widespread fear of "servile insurrection" in the region.

This volume of Eaton's won the \$1,500 prize offered by Duke University in 1938-1939 for a scholarly manuscript in the field of social, literary, or artistic history of the United States. Its merit is of a high order, particularly in the enormous amount of careful and diligent research into primary and secondary sources, in the sifting and presentation of these extensive materials, and in the copious footnotes which make possible the verification of the data employed. Any deficiency is in the opinion of the reviewer to be found in the thoroughness of the analysis, which often leaves the reader uncertain as to whether the author has always adequately proved his hypothesis. The sociologist will find the study of value as source materials in collective behavior and social processes. The rural sociologist will regret that the analysis neglects to take account adequately of the comparative rural and urban rôles, as between the North and the South, in accounting for the greater conservatism of the latter in the first half of the nineteenth century. The book is well worth the reading of anyone who would like to understand better the nature and development of the social psychological attitudes in the South, which led inevitably to the bitter War Between the States.

University of Virginia

WILSON GEE

*The County Agent.* By Gladys Baker. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. xxi, 226 pp. \$2.00.

One of the largest and most illuminating chapters in the history of adult education in the United States is that which depicts the rise and development of the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service. In the book under review, Gladys Baker, who has been intimately connected with the extension movement, presents a critical analysis and evaluation of the county agent and his work. Since the county agent is the key person in the Extension Service, the book amounts to a critique of the entire system of Agricultural Extension, presented from the point of view of public administration. After a brief sketch of the rise of the system, the work of the county agent following the World War is analyzed and compared with his work during the depression period following 1929. Other chapters are concerned with the system of responsibility, financial support, and personnel, with a chapter devoted to the Negro county agent.

The author describes a system which began locally, spread rapidly because it met a need, and became involved in the trend toward larger and more powerful governmental agencies engaged in ministering to agriculture. It is her opinion that the county agent will continue to be involved in action programs and that control will center increasingly in the National Capitol. She sees that the agent is now hampered rather than aided in his duties as a public servant by a too intimate connection with particular farmers' organizations such as the Farm Bureau which have ceased to be entirely concerned with the extension program as was formerly the case.

The treatment is sympathetic and intelligent throughout. This does not prevent some severe criticism, however. The agent is seen as a "technical teacher who has been more concerned with the immediate and apparent results of his advice than with its social implications." (p. 212.) "In the future, he needs to become as effective in his analysis of the large economic and social problems of the state, region, and nation as he has been in distributing specialized project solutions in the past." (p. 208.) The present movement toward county planning has emphasized the truth of this point in a convincing manner.

The author sees need for greater emphasis upon the few major problems of the county and less upon many technical projects. To this end she suggests that more money be spent for agents and less for subject matter specialists. (p. 213.) There can be no doubt that more emphasis upon the larger problems is needed. Perhaps the technical projects could be placed under the supervision of an assistant county agent, leaving the agent free to deal with the larger problems of planning.

The author recognizes that the Extension Service has failed to serve the disadvantaged third (or is it a larger percentage) of the farm population. But she seems to think that a change in policy will correct this situation. The reviewer believes that she overestimates the flexibility of the Extension Service. It is true that the system has shown considerable adaptability, but always within a general pattern—a pattern which has never included, except indirectly, the marginal and submarginal farmers. It will necessitate a considerable change in philosophy from top to bottom, together with important changes in the training of county agents, to effect the change. Furthermore, other agencies, such as the Farm Security Administration, are springing up to serve the farmers at the bottom of the economic scale. Because of this increase in the number of action agencies operating in the county, it is a question of more than academic importance to inquire what the future position of the county agent will be with respect to these agencies. Will he be the leader of the group, or will he be merely "one of the boys"?

University of Missouri

C. E. LIVELY

*Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana.* By Roger Wallace Shugg. University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1939. x, 372 pp. \$3.50.

"A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875," the descriptive subtitle of this work, has long been wanting. That this particular study is confined to Louisiana enhances rather than decreases its value; the way is now open for further treatment of the status of that almost-forgotten man, the nonplanter white, in other areas of the South before the War of Secession and during Reconstruction. The author carefully shows the economic position of the nonslaveholding whites during the slavery system, and of the nonplanter whites after the abolition of slavery. Both before and after, they suffered from the peculiar organization of the social order. The peculiarity of the social order was not confined to the "peculiar institution" of slavery but involved



the broader caste system, which remained after abolition. It was this caste system, coupled with a belief in the possibility of economic advancement, which prevented effective development of class-consciousness among the "poor whites" and insured their support of the very social order which was their economic nemesis. For the caste system made that type of labor typically performed by Negroes, slave or free, dishonorable for the whites. Yet the nonslaveholding whites were assured that there were only two social classes, the blacks and the whites, and that all whites therefore belonged to the upper class. Even the independent farmers, although "respected members of the community," could not hope to compete with the economically affluent and politically dominant planters. Those sporadic outbursts of discontent which occurred were short-lived, for neither education nor political power was available for effective resistance. Although Shugg's analysis is rarely put in Marxian terms, all this is documentation of the importance of the noneconomic elements in the relationships of production (*Produktionsverhältnisse*).

The materials of this book are much too meaty for brief review. The backgrounds for many of the social and economic problems of the contemporary South are to be found in such factors as the rapid early economic development and subsequent rigidification of class lines, accompanied by the persistence of the belief in the possibility of social advancement; the orientation of the entire class structure to the caste system; and the semi-geographical basis for class distinctions, contributing to continual intersectional political strife. Despite the abolition of slavery and the increasing class-consciousness of the lower classes, "The people who were poor and white had changed neither their color nor their condition in any appreciable sense."

Harvard University

WILBERT E. MOORE

*A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes.* By J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. xvii, 694 pp. \$3.75.

This is the second edition of a rural sociology text that was first published in 1935. The original work has been somewhat revised, and enlarged to the extent of about fifty pages. The tables and data have been brought up to date, and the rural developments of the last five years have been taken into account. The chapters dealing with various phases of agriculture as well as those concerned with the standard of living, public health and welfare, and recreation and sociability are the ones that have been subjected to most alteration. Thus, except for the addition of a new chapter on rural youth and minor additions and changes in a few other chapters, the work remains in form and content substantially unaltered. The treatment of the problem of country youth is a brief but timely summary of conditions, and it constitutes the distinctive contribution of the revised edition.

The authors draw rather heavily on the third study of rural trade centers, previously published as *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, and also on local

surveys in Wisconsin for their revision data. However useful the material derived from the study of a few score rural trade centers may be, the student may easily come to feel that this particular source has been overworked and question whether the data drawn therefrom fully typify conditions throughout rural America.

Although the work remains an informing and penetrating analysis of many aspects of rural life, its strong emphasis on the economic and business phases of agriculture and its inclusion of such topics as local government make it something more than a treatise on the sociology of country life. This need not detract in the least from its general usefulness, but it does tend to confuse the student as to the true nature and scope of sociology in general and rural sociology in particular.

Oberlin College

NFWELL L. SIMS

*Das Pennsylvaniendeutsche Bauernland.* Von E. Meynen. Verlag von S. Hirzel in Leipzig, 1939. pp. 252-292.

Meynen describes the culture of the peoples of German origin in Pennsylvania, estimating their number at from eight hundred thousand to a million. He locates and traces the origin of the various religious sects, particularly the original German groups of Mennonites, Amish Mennonites, Dunkers, Lutherans, and other protestant groups, as well as the groups such as Methodists, United Brethren, and others which came into existence at about the turn of the century.

Although most of the German settlers came from areas in Germany or Switzerland where the village community was common, the prevailing type of settlement in Pennsylvania was the isolated holding. The author claims this change in form of settlement was due to the abundance of land at the time of settlement, the method of clearing the land, and settlement regulations. Also, the barns are not attached to the houses as in some German areas. The unique red barns and stone churches distinguish the German farms from the Scotch-Irish and Anglican groups, but few material cultural traits have not been influenced by the American neighbors. This being true, the author poses the question, Why do their farms produce so much more per acre than do those of people of different ethnic backgrounds? Meynen holds that this and other differences are to be explained by the attitudes and religious beliefs of the people. Land is something sacred, to be passed down from father to son; it is not to be exploited. Farming is a way of life, not a business. Gardens, production for home use, diversification, and scientific methods have been harmonized into a "never boom, never bust" philosophy. Pride in their farms and disparagement for the outer world have made it possible to build a culture in which farms have been passed down through seven generations with little fluctuation in soil fertility.

The maps included in the study indicate the location of the Pennsylvania German settlements as related to the forest areas, the types of soil, and other geographical features, as well as the types of crops grown.

United States Department of Agriculture

C. P. LOOMIS

*An American Exodus.* By Dorothea Lange and Paul S. Taylor. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939. 158 pp.

*Adrift on the Land.* By Paul S. Taylor. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 1940. 31 pp.

Here are two publications for the thousands of citizens who were startled by the Joads and wondered whether the story of dispossessed farmers turned into migratory workers could be real, and, if real, how it all came to be. Both are startling in their careful portrayal of the backgrounds and outlines of the problems of the migrant workers, and of the directions which action might take. Both add to the extensive efforts of Paul Taylor and Dorothea Lange to bring to public attention the plight of this group of workers, victims of forces beyond their control.

*An American Exodus* in a series of vivid photographs and in carefully selected text, tells the story of agricultural changes developing surplus population in some areas; of a form of agriculture which requires large numbers of migratory workers for short periods of time; of a social structure which is reluctantly beginning to provide assistance to the workers when their labor is not required; of a puzzled group of people looking for a place to rest and wondering what the forces are which keep them adrift. There are many revealing excerpts from conversations with the migrants. The end papers, with their pithy quotations, are a unique feature of the book.

*Adrift on the Land* is one of the pamphlets in the series sponsored by the Public Affairs Committee. Much of the available information on the subject is summarized, with the major factors grouped under 5 heads: (1) industrialized agriculture; (2) desire of employers for complete control of wages as distinct from other costs; (3) perishability of crops; (4) lack of status of mobile workers in agriculture; (5) a surplus of farm workers, many of whom are American farmers who have been driven from the land. To these should be added the impact of industrial unemployment, resulting in the sharp curtailment of the stream of migration from country to city which had been an important outlet for farm youth before 1930. A large proportion of the young people currently reaching maturity on farms find scant opportunity to become farm operators or industrial or service workers. This is an important factor in producing the problems of those who are adrift on the land.

Taylor concludes that "the 'farm problem' is becoming no longer the problem of price alone, for even when price is adequate there remains insecurity in a variety of forms. The farm problem is becoming also a problem of the relation of people to the land on which they work. Among the most dramatic symptoms of insecurity is our migratory agricultural labor." This is a problem not only of one segment of agricultural workers, but of the whole organization of agriculture.

*Emigrant Communities in South China.* By Ta Chen. Edited by Bruno Lasker. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940. xvi, 287 pp.

A significant population movement still in process is that of the other Asiatic peoples to the southeast, especially to Siam, the Malay states, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines (see R. Mukerjee, *Migrant Asia*, Rome, 1936). This study tells the story of the Chinese part of that migration both in general terms and by studies of neighboring communities, some of which have contributed heavily to the movement. To an unusual degree these "overseas Chinese maintain connections with their homeland and periodically give practical expression to their sense of belonging by remitting money to their families in the villages from which they or their forebears have come." The proof of this is one of the central themes of the book. The income of families with members abroad is markedly higher than of families in the communities which have not shared in the emigration. Four-fifths of the income of the families with migrants away is accounted for by remittances from their overseas members. Indeed, local earnings in the emigrant communities are about 25 per cent lower than in the non-emigrant ones. This was despite the fact that the depression had sharply reduced remittances from emigrants by 1934-1935, when the field work was done.

Emigrants' funds are also invested in numerous homeland, commercial, and social enterprises, such as factories, utilities, and bus lines. The emigrants show great enthusiasm for the development of education. Thus, ideas as well as money return from *Nan Yang*, as the Chinese designate the whole of southeastern Asia to which this migration has gone. The migrant enriches his "compatriots at home not only with what his money can buy, but also with his taste, ideas, and aspirations." These changes are analyzed under the familiar categories of social change, livelihood, food, clothing and shelter, the family, education, health, social organizations, and religion. The family chapter is especially interesting. *Nan Yang* Chinese often establish families in the lands to which they have gone, even though maintaining and frequently visiting their families in China. Often the Chinese wife manages quite successfully the family's interests at home. Such an arrangement is not without its problems, as Ta Chen shows, but is possible under the concept of the family as traditionally held by the Chinese.

Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

*Body, Boots and Britches.* By Harold W. Thompson. New York: J. B. Lipincott Co., 1939. 530 pp. \$3.50.

This book consists of twenty chapters of American folk tales and folklore revolving about such subjects as sailors, pirates, injun-fighters, whalers, canawlers, lumbermen, rafters, mountaineers, heroes, warriors, tricksters, robbers, witches, ghosts, murderers, lovers' ballads, proverbs, and place-names. The materials have been gathered by students under the author's direction in the State of New York and were by him edited and organized. The title of the book is a proverb meaning "the whole thing," and in this instance covers a collection of

tall tales, stories, songs, wise-sayings, anecdotes, bits of gossip and accounts handed down by word of mouth concerning various sorts of events and persons, and experiences told by the people themselves.

The author calls it New York folklore and justifies the work on the ground that this state "is the most typical and varied of all states in its folklore." In fact, he suggests that much of the folklore found in the Western States derives from New York. No doubt some of it does, but probably most of it is common to the rural folk who migrated from the Old World to the New and to those who have lived their lives on the frontiers throughout our history. About the only thing peculiarly New York in what is here offered is, in the reviewer's opinion, the fact that the author happened to find it prevalent among rural residents of the Empire State.

The work represents a vast amount of labor extended over many years. Its chief merit consists in the fact that it assembles and presents in organized form a body of authentic material sufficient in scope and variety to reveal what is probably the true nature of the folklore of rural America. Apart from the value of such a demonstration, there is little that can be said in praise of the book. With the exception of the chapter on place-names and occasionally a salty tale, the reviewer finds little of worth in the volume. Much of its content is trivial stuff not deserving of record in the name of folklore or anything else. A great deal is extremely banal, lacking sufficient humor or inherent interest to justify printing. It is hard to understand the author's enthusiasm for collecting anything and everything emanating from the vapid minds of countrymen except on the basis of the collectors' mania. Perhaps his material throws some light on rural psychology, but otherwise it is difficult to justify the labor spent in collecting it.

Oberlin College

NEWELL L. SIMS

*American Social Problems: An Introduction to the Study of the People and Their Dilemmas.* By Howard W. Odum. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939. vii, 549 pp. \$3.00.

In this volume "inscribed primarily to American youth in their search for security and reality" the author presents the product of a wide experience in the study of social problems. The book is not confined to rigid textbook style or organization though it is obviously addressed to novices in the field. The point of view expressed is frankly "scientific-liberal" as opposed to "dogmatic-conservative," "agnostic-objective," or any other point of view denying the effectiveness of social science and of social planning. The presentation of problems is depicted as a "continuous, unfolding story" of American life. This picture is drawn in a vigorous style calculated to stimulate the emotions as well as the intellect. "A part of the picture is the epic quality of the powerful sweep of time, change, and technology." (p. v.) The sincere belief of the author in the American dream pervades the entire work.

The first section, which is much the greater part of the book, is a presentation of the problems and their backgrounds. Hundreds of problems are men-

tioned or discussed, revealing the author's encyclopedic knowledge of the American scene. The reader is continuously bombarded with a stimulating, if at times bewildering, galaxy of questions, all of which go unanswered in this section. The second section is an "aid to the search for answers," including a carefully selected bibliography on each of the major problems discussed, in an attempt to provide the tools for a "realistic framework of inquiry." The problems are grouped under four descriptive headings entitled "Natural and Cultural Heritage," "The People," "Institutions of the People," and "Testing Grounds for the People." The latter is a discussion of the more general problems related to the orientation of our society as a whole to a chaotic world. Though rural problems are not emphasized, there is a sympathetic discussion of them in a chapter entitled "The Community—Rural and Urban."

Princeton University

DUDLEY KIRK

*Foundations of Sociology.* By George A. Lundberg. New York: Macmillan, 1939. xx, 556 pp. \$3.50.

This is a polemic. It is being hailed by laymen and scholars in other fields as a sign that at last sociology is being made scientific. It is a wordy book and a stimulating one. It says in a vigorous and persuasive way what we have been telling our classes for some years. Sociologists should read it; I am not sure they should recommend it to their colleagues.

Part I emphasizes the need for objectification and quantification as means of obtaining that "corroboration of responses" which is reliable observation and from which we may derive generalizations of pragmatic utility. This is a clarifying review of scientific method and a demonstration that most of the excuses sociologists offer for the paucity of reliable principles are irrelevant. The "visibility" of social phenomena and the role of measurement in "knowing" and defining objects, including "intangible" objects, were never better demonstrated. In criticism we may say that others have pointed out the sterility of Lundberg's adopting natural science concepts, as energy. No less amusing is Lundberg's penchant for disposing of non-operational definitions in the deft manner that the Freudian uses to destroy the heretic's criticisms. And the generous admission of language behavior to the realm of objective data neatly finesses many technical obstacles to measurement.

In Part II the author strives to polish up some basic concepts of sociology by passing them through a purifying bath of his epistemology. On many points—the fallacy of the "group fallacy" notion, equilibrium, public opinion—his criticisms and amendments are incisive. These comments draw upon his previous argument about objectivity but not, as he asserts, upon the specific ideas about measurement. Nor are these discussions more enlightening than similar critiques by many other methodologically less sophisticated scholars.

Five chapters in Part III discuss types of groups, institutions, demography, ecology, and change. This part is really a modest "principles" textbook. It is not overly clear or original, nor is any essential dependence upon the previous

methodology demonstrated. Saying old things in new words does give new perspective on occasional processes and concepts, but this does not validate the specific methodology proposed, and this part could stand without the rest of the book.

But is this a book on sociology? The methodology is pertinent for all the social sciences. The illustrations are mainly sociological—aside from amateurish discussions of economics and political science. Yet nowhere is there a definition of sociology that distinguishes the field from any other social science or from the old "synthesis" sociology. Is it inexpedient to suggest that the unity, coherence, and integration of sociological generalizations for which Lundberg pleads require an indication of what particular "differential response," what aspect of the behavior of men, shall be the subject of sociologists' studies? Does unity come from showing that energy is a concept applicable to social as well as "physical" phenomena?

Iowa State College

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

*Revista Mexicana de Sociologia.* A publication of the Institute of Social Investigation of the Mexican National University. Mexico, D. F., 1939. (Paging varies per issue.) \$1.00 (Mex.).

*Fundamentos de Sociologia.* By A. Carneiro Leão. Rio de Janeiro: Rodriguez & Cia., 1940. 349 pp. (Price not given).

The virility and usefulness of any science or intellectual movement is measured partly by its spread and recognition by diverse peoples. Here is the first purely sociological journal, as far as the reviewer knows, published in Mexico. The *Revista Mexicana*, excellently edited by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, director of the Institute for Social Investigation in the National University at Mexico City, has passed through its first year, appearing about once each quarter. Each issue consists of about 175 pages broken into 9 or 10 original articles, a summary of recent Spanish-American contributions of interest to sociologists (edited by Rafael Heliodoro Valle), and a book review section.

The work appears to be a combination of a general Spanish-American journal of sociology, an avenue for publication of the specific researches made by members of the University's Social Investigation Institute, and a source where the other sociologists of the world can not only read of the investigations in Latin-America but also send their own contributions. Thus there are articles from such persons as John L. Gillin, Howard Becker, Ernest Mowrer, B. Malinowski, Harry Alpert, and Maurice Halbwachs. A criticism of these contributions, however, is that most of them, with the possible exceptions of those by Gillin and Alpert, have been published either in English or in the native language of the writer, elsewhere. Nevertheless, this is a first-rate journal and deserves our support not only for its possible future use in science and inter-American good will but because most of the Latin-American studies published are right down the road in our own special interest in rural sociology.

Professor Leão of the University of Brazil, who is already known internation-

ally for his publications in sociology, rural sociology, and education, presents here a textbook of principles of sociology in Portuguese, "official" language of Brazil. The well-balanced nature of his text not only gives the general conceptions of sociology an adequate introduction, but in special chapters he shows those of most important application not only to the city but to the rural and country environment. The fact that Brazil has a great rural population is reflected in the fact that this book on principles of sociology for Brazil emphasizes the rural *milieu*. This principle, too often neglected in the United States of America, gives the work a freshness and concreteness and makes it much more "realistic" than the average text of principles in English. His references and notes cover the chief works of most of the prominent North American sociologists.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Thralldom in Ancient Iceland: A Chapter in the History of Class Rule.* By Carl O. Williams. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937. xxv, 167 pp. \$2.50.

A transplanted Germanic society is here described on the basis of materials drawn from the Eddic Poems, the Genealogical Sagas, and the laws of early Iceland. Although the author's interests are in the description of class divisions rather than in comprehensive analytical treatment, his materials tell us much about the total social structure. The study is useful as a source of data for comparative analyses.

Early Icelandic society contained three main social classes: earls (warriors, priests), franklins (yeoman farmers and artisans), and thralls (slaves, serfs). This hierarchy was explained by myth and legend, sanctioned by religion, and maintained by a strong ruling class which was willing to use any means necessary to keep its position. It was a society of "realistic" groups in which the individual figured only as a trustee of group values. The thralls were *homini de facto* rather than *de jure*, i.e., men "in appearance" but not in the eyes of the law. Justice was status justice. Students of rural society will note with interest the familiar patterns of strong social sentiments, corporate responsibility, particularistic loyalties, etc., which characterize young, non-urbanized societies.

The materials of the study throw additional light on the problem of the functions of linguistic labels (stereotypes, epithets, etc.) in social equilibrium. The key to the focal supports of a social system is often indicated by the symbolic channelizations of attitudes. Other points of particular interest include the author's discussion of the introduction and modification of Christianity within the older culture, and the sections dealing with the disappearance of thralldom. Just as feudalism on the Continent simply "evaporated," so did thralldom die away without reference to formal abolition.

Some cautions should be kept in mind in appraising this work. The use of laws and literary materials as data is beset by the danger of taking a cultural pattern as actually descriptive of behavior. Furthermore, ideologies, and descriptions based upon them, are most fruitfully treated when not taken at face-value,



but analyzed as social definitions, bases of expectation, and symbols of group identification. The present study fails to avoid some pitfalls in this type of interpretation, and suffers from inadequate theoretical systemization. Nevertheless, it is a useful source for any rural sociologist who wishes to understand the *Geist* of emergent twentieth-century status-societies.

University of Kentucky

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS

*Preface to An Educational Philosophy.* By I. B. Berkson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. xvi, 250 pp. \$2.50.

From such a book as this, the sociologist is indelibly impressed with the fact that he has scarcely begun to do what he might in behalf of professedly open-minded "social engineers" who are marshalling forces to reorient and revamp modern societies. He realizes indeed that he has hardly begun to provide them with any adequate, realistic, concrete analysis of modern society. To a much greater extent than is true of certain other mobilizing groups, the militant educators at least profess "to envisage the character of the age to come on the basis of an analysis of the past and of current trends"; and only then do they launch out into "the main lines of social organization which are needed to embody the fundamental agelong human ideals in forms appropriate to the new age." (p. 210.) Like various other groups, they present their own special selection of analyses of political forms and processes, and of economic ones—let the political scientist and the economist comment on those. But, although these educators have the keenest interest in human social relations, and are not economic determinists, such men as the author seem to find no need of taking into consideration the momentums, tendencies, or resistances in other aspects of the vast social and cultural matrix.

Avowing that his "educational views have been largely shaped by the teachings" of John Dewey and W. H. Kilpatrick, the author declares that the school must adapt itself not merely to the past, but to the present society; and this society, for him, is not only undergoing change, but is in a crisis. From this point of view, he criticizes those with multitudinous but unified social objectives. He then delivers a blast against R. M. Hutchins' "metaphysical approach" as utterly naïve, conservative, unhistorical, illogical. As for himself, he takes as the basic plan in his educational philosophy ("ideal way of living") the worth of the individual human being. He calls for a democratization of industry as well as government, for planned economy, for equality among racial and cultural minorities, and for internationalism based on democratic and socialistic nationality-groups.

He knows he is weaving his hope for a better world into his desire for the future age; but, so far as facts are available, he believes he is making a scientific analysis of present as well as past society. His book is hailed by his "reconstructionist" colleagues and many other educators as a great work. The sociologist can hardly be expected to agree.

Urbana, Illinois

MAURICE T. PRICE

*Forty Years a Country Preacher.* By George B. Gilbert. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. xiii, 319 pp. \$2.75.

*Doc's Wife.* By Faye Cashatt Lewis. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. 198 pp. \$2.00.

Gilbert's autobiography is the delightful story of the son of a Democratic Vermont farmer who entered the Episcopalian ministry. With this auspicious beginning, he spent his life serving the people of rural mission churches in Middlesex County, Connecticut, as agricultural advisor, recreation specialist, social worker, cook, barber, plumber, politician, and minister. It was almost inevitable that Gilbert should come into serious conflict with the adherents of the orthodox church. At the end of a decade of conflict, he found himself without a church. In this period of reorientation, he heard a series of talks by Kenyon Butterfield stressing the fact that the supreme emphasis in the rural ministry should be on the rural people themselves. It is to these talks that Gilbert attributes the development of his broad social conception of the function of the church. Be that as it may, the next thirty years were spent in religious, social, and economic service to the rural poor in his area, regardless of nativity or even prior or present religious beliefs or affiliations.

This country minister, although chosen in a nationwide contest as a "typical country parson," is not representative from the standpoint of area or denomination, innate ability, personality, or social conception of the ministry. However, his story is a case study of the possibilities for the integration of church and community in the furtherance of the welfare of individuals, the development and maintenance of the community, and the survival of the rural church itself.

The life of "Doc's wife" stands in marked contrast to that of the Gilberts. The Lewises began the practice of medicine in a small Iowa town, and, as far as Mrs. Lewis' story indicates, seldom wavered in their attitude of condescending superiority toward the rural and small town people who supported them. The only value of the story for sociologists is as a case study in professional attitudes which differ widely from those of the traditional "country doctor."

Princeton University

IRENE BARNES TAEUBER

*Marusia.* Hrihory Kvitka. Translation from the Ukrainian by Florence Randal Livesay. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1940. 217 pp. \$2.00.

In this Ukrainian folk classic, superbly rendered in translation by Mrs. Livesay, rural sociologists will find many insights into the life and customs of a peasant culture. A poignant love story, written over a hundred years ago, it gives us an intimate understanding not only of the folkways relating to courtship and marriage but also of folk dances; burial customs; the relationships between town and country, social classes, the young and the old; the psychology of the patriarchal family; superstition in peasant life; and the profound role of deep religious faith and moral beliefs in a typical peasant culture. It is in the latter respect, perhaps, that the book is most significant, from a sociological point of

view. It impresses us deeply with the radically different psychological orientation a culture makes in all its institutions, attitudes, personality statuses, and roles, when it is dominated by religious, familistic, and moral rather than economic and political values. In this respect it reminds us strongly of Louis Hemon's *Maria Chapdelaine*. Indeed, it does for the Ukrainian peasant precisely what *Maria Chapdelaine* does for the French-Canadian "habitant." It reveals him simply, classically, permanently, in intimate human terms, living in a type of culture which for the most part the western world has long since lost. It is without doubt the kind of book the late Thomas G. Masaryk, famous Czech sociologist and statesman, had in mind when he said that he often found the surest avenue to an understanding of a people in a reading of its literature.

Dartmouth College

GEORGE F. THERIAULT

*American Local Government.* By Roger H. Wells. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. xii, 200 pp. \$1.50.

This concise statement of some major characteristics and problems discernible in local government considers local government in terms of its relation to the citizen, the states, and the Federal Government. A chapter on "areas and structures" outlines the various types of local governing and jurisdictional units. It points out a bewildering and unorganized complexity of relations between local and wider spheres of government, all of which impinge on the activities of the individual. This leads to the conclusion that increasing occupational stratification is being accompanied by an increased *rapprochement* between federal and local administrative agencies, largely as a matter of necessity.

Underlying this needed survey of the surface aspects of local government seems to be the issue of localization vs. centralization of political authority. With the increasingly complex division of labor a possible modification would be more centralization to avoid the unwieldy tendency of local autonomy and the expense of conflicts in jurisdiction. On the other hand, the same social changes place state and federal authorities progressively out of touch with the peculiar problems of the local situation. Hence, the process of governmental differentiation would seem to involve a large-scale program of education to new legal structures and an understanding of problems inherent in the existing bureaucratic organization.

Harvard University

GORDON T. BOWDEN

# News Notes and Announcements

## NEW MEMBERS AND FORMER MEMBERS REJOINING IN 1940

*(Supplementing Membership List Published in December, 1939, and Lists Published in March and June, 1940, Issues of RURAL SOCIOLOGY)*

Bradshaw, Miss Nettie P.	3722 13th St., N.W.	Washington, D. C.
Clowes, Harry G.	Bureau of Ag. Economics, U.S.D.A.	Upper Darby, Pa.
Davis, Ralph N.	Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
Kirk, Dudley	Princeton University	Princeton, N. J.
Lampe, Supt. Arthur	St. Louis County Board of Education	Duluth, Minn.
Lawson, Mrs. M. Jones	Florida Normal & Indus. Institute	St. Augustine, Fla.
Lundberg, George A.	Bennington College	Bennington, Vt.
Mason, John E.	1326 Grove St.	Vicksburg, Miss.
Mirkowich, Mrs. Beatrice	Giannini Foundation	Berkeley, Calif.
Mirkowich, Nicholas	University of California	Berkeley, Calif.
Nichols, Charles K.	137 Main St.	Whitesboro, N. Y.
Post, Lauren C.	San Diego State College	San Diego, Calif.
Ramsey, R. J.	Louisiana State University	University, La.
Reuss, F. S.	St. Francis College	Loretto, Pa.
Schwier, Vernon R.	2030 North 32nd St.	Lincoln, Neb.
Shafer, Karl A.	438 Donaghey Bldg.	Little Rock, Ark.
Slocum, Walter L.	South Dakota State College	Brookings, S. D.
Van Vleck, Joseph, Jr.	Hartford Seminary Foundation	Hartford, Conn.

### *Cornell University:—*

Last fall the writer sent an announcement of prizes for the best "Sociological Description of a Rural Community" to a selected list of teachers of rural sociology. Prizes of \$50, \$25, and \$15 were offered for first, second, and third best papers, to be submitted by instructors certifying that they were the best prepared by members of their classes. The prizes were open to both undergraduates and graduates. Eighteen essays from twelve colleges were submitted in May, 1940, by ten undergraduate and nine graduate students. The best ten were selected by R. A. Polson and me and then submitted to a committee consisting of C. C. Taylor, C. P. Loomis, and Douglas Ensminger, of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, United States Department of Agriculture, to make the final awards.

The prizes were awarded by them as follows:

*First*, R. W. Kerns, Cornell University, writing under pseudonym of "Logan Bokescreek" on "Buckeyeburg," Ohio.

*Second*, Reed H. Bradford, Harvard University, on Salem, Utah.

*Third*, Lee Taylor, Brigham Young University, on Levan, Utah.

The judges also gave honorable mention to the following:

1. David R. Jenkins, Teachers College, Columbia University, "A Declining Village" (a large plantation community—Bartholomew, Arkansas).

2. Sara Hileman, Pennsylvania State College, "Warriors' Mark Community."
3. Loren W. Burch, (written under a pseudonym), Cornell University, "Novo" (pseudonym), New York.
4. Ragna Randolph, University of Michigan, "Saugatuck, Michigan."

In the announcement sent out the object was stated as follows: "This offer is made for the purpose of stimulating the study of rural communities by students in rural sociology, and to obtain better case studies than are now available for possible publication as a case book for classes in rural sociology."

I feel that the second objective was fairly well met, but I was disappointed that more essays were not submitted, particularly by undergraduates. I will be glad to continue the offer another year if it is felt by those interested that it will stimulate better community studies by students. To determine this I should like to hear from instructors in rural sociology as to whether they feel such prizes are effective stimuli for better studies by their students.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

*Louisiana State University:*—The General Education Board has made two grants of funds to the university's department of sociology. One of these is for the purpose of employing visiting instructors to carry part of the department's teaching load, thus giving the regular staff members more time for research. Under the provisions of the grant Dr. Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina will spend the session of 1940-1941 at the university as a Visiting Professor. The second grant provides funds for conducting at the university a Training Institute in population research techniques. Under the provisions of this grant Dr. Warren S. Thompson, Director of the Scripps Foundation for Population Research, will be in residence at Louisiana State University during the second semester of the 1940-1941 session.

*Social Science Abstracts:*—Complete sets of SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS for the four years from 1929 to 1932, inclusive, during which they were published, may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council upon payment of express and handling charges. These charges, to be paid at the time the request is made, amount to \$1.00 anywhere in the United States except California, Oregon, and Washington, where the amount will be \$1.50. For Canada, the charge will be \$3.00, and for other foreign countries, \$4.00.

Communications should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

*Social Science Research Council:*—Eighty-five awards, totaling more than \$95,000.00, for the academic year 1940-1941, have been announced by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York. The awards provide for study and research in the fields of economics; political science; sociology; statistics; political, social, and economic history; cultural anthropology; social psychology; geography; and related disciplines.

Among those listed as receiving grants-in-aid are the following of our members and subscribers: Leonard S. Cottiell, Jr., Cornell University, Robert K. Merton, Tulane University; and Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University.

*University of Maryland:*—Carl S. Joslyn has been appointed permanent head of the department of sociology.

John B. Holt has been appointed associate professor of sociology. He will take charge of teaching and research in rural sociology, in addition to giving the courses in introductory sociology and population problems.

*University of North Carolina:*—Howard W. Odum and Harold D. Meyer, with the collaboration of B. S. Holden, of the Peabody Demonstration School, and Fred M. Alexander, of the Virginia State Department of Education, are the authors of *American Democracy Anew: An Approach to the Understanding of Our Social Problems*, a text for high school use, recently published by Henry Holt and Company.

*The Family and Its Social Functions*, by Ernest R. Groves, has recently been released by the J. B. Lippincott Company.



# RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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## CONTENTS

<i>Migration and Rural Population Adjustment</i> By Conrad Taeuber	399
<i>Rural Electrification A Field for Social Research</i> By John Kerr Rose	411
<i>Some Contrasts in White Women Employees in Garment Plants Located in Three Types of Communities of Mississippi</i> By Dorothy Dickens	427
<i>Cultural Factors and Land Use Planning in Cuba Valley New Mexico</i> By Kalervo Oberg	438
<i>Notes</i>	
<i>A Long Time Experiment in Local Social Planning</i> By W D Nicholls	449
<i>A Suggested Technique for Determining Whether a Community Can Be Classified as Rural or Urban</i> By Charles K Nichols	454
<i>Recruiting Personnel for Government Service</i> By Carl C Taylor	460
<i>Training Students for Professional Work in Rural Sociology from the Point of View of the Land Grant College</i> C E Lively	462
<i>Current Bulletins</i> Edited by Charles P Loomis	466
<i>Book Reviews</i> Edited by Carle C Zimmerman	477
Arensberg and Kimball, <i>Family and Community in Ireland</i> by Reed H Bradford	477
Sims, <i>Elements of Rural Sociology</i> , by Geo W Hill	478
Dawson and Younge, <i>Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces The Social Side of the Settlement Process</i> , by N L Whetten	479
Gras, <i>A History of Agriculture</i> , by Gordon W Blackwell	480
Hartshorne, <i>The Nature of Geography</i> , by Bonney Youngblood	480
Hopkins, <i>Elements of Farm Management</i> , by William T Ham	481
Ross, <i>New Age Sociology</i> , by N J Demerath	482
Strelsky, <i>Saltykov and the Russian Squire</i> , by Carle C Zimmerman	483
Ross, <i>Belgian Rural Cooperation</i> , by Geo W Hill	484
Griffin (ed ), <i>Concerning Latin American Culture</i> , by T Lynn Smith	484
Jackson, <i>Look at the Law</i> , by Gordon T Bowden	485
Meland, <i>The Church and Adult Education</i> , by Ernest Burnham	486
Ford, <i>Social Deviation</i> , by Arthur Evans Wood	486

<i>Congrès International de la Population</i> , by Carle C. Zimmerman . . .	487
Taylor, <i>Adrift on the Land</i> , by W. R. Gordon . . . . .	488
Bloodworth and Greenwood, <i>The Personal Side</i> ; Hill, <i>Educating for Health</i> , by Wendell H. Bash . . . . .	488
Bacon and Schloemer, <i>World Trade in Agricultural Products</i> , by T. Lynn Smith . . . . .	489
<i>General Education Board Annual Report, 1939</i> , by T. Lynn Smith . .	489
Kotinsky, <i>Adult Education Councils</i> , by T. Lynn Smith . . . .	489
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i> . . . . .	490



# Migration and Rural Population Adjustment†

*Conrad Taeuber\**

## ABSTRACT

A mobile population is essential to the maintenance of an effective balance between population and resources in a nation characterized by marked differentials in rates of reproduction and in employment opportunities. Although migration from rural to urban areas was at a high rate during the 1920's, the unguided migration of that period did not evacuate rural problem areas on the scale which would be necessary to bring about desirable adjustments of resources and population. If this did not occur during a period when urban industry was calling for large numbers of rural workers, it was virtually impossible after 1930. Between 1930 and 1935 the increase in farm population was greatest in the poorest land areas—those in which considerations of a sound land use would call for a reduction, rather than an increase in numbers.

A mobile population is essential to the maintenance of an effective balance between population and resources in a nation which is characterized by marked differentials in rates of reproduction and in employment opportunities. The dynamic social and industrial development of this country would have been impossible if each area had been dependent for its man power solely on the relatively slow rate of growth or decline resulting from the balance of births and deaths. The progressive expansion of the frontier and the early development of industry were made possible by large-scale immigration from abroad. Later, when immigration was reduced, cities and other industrial areas depended for the major part of their growth upon migration from farms and rural areas.

Without extensive migrations, the adjustment of people to economic opportunities would be difficult, because ordinarily a period of 16 to 20 years elapses between the birth of an individual and the time when he is ready to enter the labor market. Even a birth rate nicely adjusted to present economic conditions would not insure the adjustment of the working age population to the labor market twenty years later. In recent years the rate of reproduction has tended to bear an inverse relationship to local economic opportunities, thus increasing

† Address delivered before the American Sociological Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 27, 1939.

\* Senior Social Scientist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

greatly the volume of migration which must occur if any effective balance of people and resources is to be achieved. At least until 1930 opportunities for a large proportion of rural youth were greater in cities than in the areas in which they were reared.

Despite their economic advantages, cities generally have been characterized by low rates of reproduction, while rural areas with fewer economic advantages have been characterized by higher rates of reproduction. In 1930 the fertility ratios for native whites in cities as a whole were 15 per cent below the values needed for permanent replacement; and in cities of 100,000 and over they were 25 per cent below. In rural areas there was an excess of approximately 50 per cent over replacement needs; and in the farm population this excess rose to 70 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Wide differences were found within the farm population; fertility ratios for the native white farm population ranged from 22 per cent above replacement in the Pacific Coast States to 93 per cent above replacement in the East South Central States. Farm population apparently was failing to reproduce itself in 36 counties in the nation, but in 45 counties the fertility ratio was 125 per cent above replacement needs.<sup>2</sup>

The significance of these extreme differences in the fertility of various areas for internal migration has been aptly summarized by Vance in his statement that, 'Differential reproduction, left to itself, would in a generation more completely redistribute the population than is normally done by migration.'<sup>3</sup> The effects of a cessation of rural-urban or inter-regional migration can be shown graphically with reference to the growth of the population of working age. Under these conditions, accessions to the age group 18-65 in the rural farm population would be approximately double the number required to replace the losses by death or senescence. In seven states, mostly in the South, the accessions would be three or more times as great as would be necessary to maintain a stable number of persons in that age group.<sup>4</sup>

In some smaller areas the increases in the working age population would be even larger. In the 205 counties in the Southern Appalachians

<sup>1</sup> P. K. Whelpton, "Geographic and Economic Differentials in Fertility," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, Division of Research, WPA RM XIX (Washington, D. C., 1939), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Rupert B. Vance, *Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution Within the United States*, SSRC Bulletin 42, (New York, 1938), p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Replacement Rates in the Productive Ages," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 4 (New York, October, 1937).

Area, the estimated increase in the population 15-64 years old would be about 27 per cent between 1930 and 1940, if there were no migration. In the farm population of the mountain counties of Kentucky, the accessions to this age group would be about three and one-half as numerous as the losses by death or senescence, resulting in an increase of 40 per cent in ten years. In Leslie County, Kentucky, with a fertility ratio of 1,255 in 1930, the additions to this group would be 4 times as numerous as the losses. If there were no migration, the population of various groups and areas would increase at divergent rates, with a rapid growth in the rural-farm population, especially in the poorer areas. Woofter concludes that under these conditions one-half of the total national increase of 14,512,000 persons 18-65 years of age by 1955 would be in the rural-farm population.<sup>5</sup> This would be the number of persons who would be available for movement to rural-nonfarm or urban areas, if the number of persons living on farms is to remain unchanged. Any prediction concerning the probable demand for these additional seven million persons of working age in urban employment would be hazardous. These figures can be used only to indicate the nature of the problems of the immediate future.

What volume of migration will actually take place and between what areas the exchange of population will occur is largely a matter of conjecture. But the existence of areas of severe population pressure at the present time makes it pertinent to inquire into the extent to which migrations as we have experienced them in this country have contributed to population adjustments in the areas of outmigration.

Obviously, differentials in economic opportunity are only part of the causal factors in the flow of migrants within this country. The economic motive is frequently so overlaid with other motives and values that it becomes difficult to distinguish it. In many instances the behavior of the migrant may have either no direct relationship or an inverse one to the real economic differentials in the situation. The well established generalization of Ravenstein that for every current of migration there is a counter-current of almost equal size suggests the difficulty which must be anticipated if migrations are to be related to objectively measured differentials in opportunity. The individual's interpretations of economic opportunity are made on the basis of the information at hand, which is often incomplete, plus his training and experience. A given

<sup>5</sup> T. J. Woofter, Jr., "The Future Working Population," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV, No. 3, (September, 1939), pp. 275-282.

level of living may stimulate one group actively to seek areas of greater opportunity, if through direct experience or information from other sources they are aware of the existence of better opportunities there, and if they are able to take advantage of those opportunities. Another group of persons, lacking this direct experience or information, may fail to respond to an equally impressive differential as determined from objective measures, for to them it does not exist. Thus, higher levels of education, in expanding the individual's horizon as well as his ability to take advantage of the opportunities of which he becomes aware, may stimulate migration away from some areas which are sufficiently prosperous to afford better educational facilities. Where meager economic opportunities are coupled with high rates of reproduction and meager educational facilities, as they are in many places, the result may be a rate of out-migration so low that it complicates or nullifies other apparently desirable steps in effecting an adjustment of numbers of people to resources.

A survey of the pertinent data indicates that the unguided migrations of the decade prior to 1930 tended to be from areas of lesser to areas of greater economic opportunity.<sup>6</sup> The net migration from farms during the nineteen twenties was approximately 6,000,000 persons. The 169 predominantly manufacturing counties, in which 75 per cent of the wage jobs in 1929 were concentrated, received 4,500,000 migrants net between 1920 and 1930.<sup>7</sup> Cities of rapidly expanding employment opportunities were receiving a large proportion of these migrants.<sup>8</sup> Three large cities and their adjoining territory—New York, Chicago, and Detroit—accounted for 1,600,000, while Los Angeles alone accounted for more than 1,000,000.

The statement that rural-urban migrations during the nineteen twenties were largely from areas of lesser to areas of greater opportunity is not identical with the statement that these migrants came from areas where outmigration was most needed to contribute to the improvement of man-land adjustments. Surveys of present and proposed land use have identified areas where major changes are recommended.

<sup>6</sup> Goodrich, Carter, and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), pp. 503-519.

<sup>7</sup> Immigrants from foreign countries are excluded from these calculations.

<sup>8</sup> Whether the migrants went directly from the areas losing by migration to those gaining by migration is not significant for this argument. If the typical movement were from farm to nearby villages, where the migrants replaced others who had gone on to a more industrialized or urbanized point, it would simply indicate that the various groups of migrants had diverse interpretations of the term "economic opportunity."

During the nineteen twenties the rate of movement from the most stable agricultural areas was about the same as from those areas in which a substantial proportion of the farm land should be withdrawn entirely from agriculture and devoted to forestry, grazing, and recreational and other uses.<sup>9</sup> In view of the fact that the areas in which

TABLE 1

## RURAL POPULATION CHANGES IN RELATION TO LAND-USE ADJUSTMENT\*

Land Use Adjustment Class†	Per Cent of Farm Population, 1930	Per Cent Net Rural Migration 1920-1930	Per Cent Change in Farm Population 1930-1935‡		
			Total	By Accession of Migrants from Nonfarm Territory	Exclusive of Migrants from Nonfarm Territory
I	67.0	-13.0	+2.2	+5.6	-3.4
II	1.8	-10.5	-5.7	+5.9	-11.6
III	16.6	-15.4	+8.4	+6.6	+1.8
IV	9.5	-7.8	+9.7	+9.5	+ .2
V	4.7	+5.9	+16.7	+13.9	+2.8
VI	3	+17.3	-1.3	+11.7	-13.0
TOTAL	100.0	-11.0	+4.5	+6.6	-2.1

\*Carl C. Taylor and Conrad Taeuber, "Wanted Population Adjustment, Too," *Land Policy Review*, II, No. 2, (March-April, 1939), 20-26

†CLASS I Designated as one of relatively stabilized agriculture, it includes all of those areas in which farming can be continued on a relatively permanent basis, either with present farm organization or with some reorganization or practices and enlargement of farming units. Approximately two-thirds of the total farm population lives in these areas, which include most of the commercial farming land of the country.

CLASS II This includes areas in which the major portion of the land should be utilized in grass culture and a system of livestock farming practiced. This area includes a considerable portion of the Great Plains and is peopled by only about two per cent of the total farm population.

CLASS III This includes areas in which it is recommended that a substantial proportion of the land now in farms be withdrawn entirely from agriculture and developed for forest, grazing, recreational, and other uses. These lands are located chiefly in the Southern Appalachian and Ozark Mountains, scattered parts of the South, the Lake States Cut Over area, and part of the Great Plains, with smaller concentrations on the Pacific Coast, New England, and elsewhere. About 17 per cent of all farm people live in counties the majority of whose areas fall in this class.

CLASS IV Closely related to Class III, this class includes lands now in forests, which should be retained in forest uses, and range and livestock ranching areas in which land water use adjustments are required. Counties, the major portion of which are in this class, include about 10 per cent of the farm population.

CLASS V This includes areas near large cities where the major adjustment needed consists of correlating rural land uses with the requirements of an orderly urban expansion. These areas include only about five per cent of the farm population.

CLASS VI This includes some scattered areas containing no serious land-use adjustment problems, although unstable land values, uneconomic production, tenure relations, and similar factors are important obstacles to sound land use. Most of these areas are sparsely settled and altogether they account for less than one-half of one per cent of the farm population.

‡There was an increase of 4.5 per cent in the total farm population, but the back-to-the land movement was so large that if it had been the only factor, the increase would have been 6.6 per cent. Since the total net increase was less than that, it is clear that there must have been considerable migration from farms—enough to offset all of the back-to-the land movement and part of the natural increase as well. If this back to the land movement had not occurred, the farm population would have decreased by two per cent during those five years.

<sup>9</sup> Carl C. Taylor and Conrad Taeuber, "Wanted Population Adjustment, Too," *Land Policy Review*, II, No. 2 (March-April, 1939), pp. 20-26



major land-use adjustments were deemed to be desirable were also the areas in which rates of reproduction were higher, the outmigration from 1920 to 1930 was not sufficient to bring about the substantial declines in population which were needed to develop a workable balance of population to resources.

Another classification based on land use is that of the National Resources Board which classified 821 counties as problem counties. Eighty-seven per cent of them had net losses in rural population between 1920 and 1930, as compared with 82 per cent among the non-problem counties. In some cases problem counties had relatively large losses by migration, while in others the losses were slight.<sup>10</sup> This does not suggest any clear-cut relationship. It does serve, however, as a basis for questioning the assumption that the unguided migration of the nineteen twenties was of such a character as to produce needed adjustments.

Another measure of opportunity in addition to type of land is an index of the plane of living, based on the presence or absence of certain material goods and conveniences. Such an index has been constructed for the rural population as of 1930 on the basis of value of dwellings and the possession of telephones, radios, electric lights, running water, and an automobile. Counties which rank low on such an index tend to be those in which population pressure is most intense, and which, therefore, might gain most by outmigration. Again, the very poorest counties did not have a higher rate of outmigration than did counties ranking nearer the average, though it was greater than that of the counties which ranked high on this measure. Those counties with the highest plane-of-living index value reported a net immigration.<sup>11</sup> In view of the differentials in the rate of reproduction among the groups of counties with the highest rates of reproduction where the plane-of-living index is lowest, these differences in outmigration are clearly insufficient to produce any adequate adjustment of people to resources in agriculture.

Per capita farm wealth may also be used as a measure of the differential economic opportunities of various areas.<sup>12</sup> This measure gives somewhat clearer indications of a greater rate of outmigration from the areas where capital accumulation has been less as compared with those

<sup>10</sup> Lively and Taeuber, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> This measure relates the total value of all farm property as reported in the 1930 Census to the total farm population at the same time, regardless of the ownership of that property.

areas where it has been greatest. (See Table 2.) Counties in which the per capita value of farm property was less than \$400 reported an outmigration of 19.7 per cent for the decade, whereas those in which this value was \$700 to \$1,199 reported an outmigration of 15.9 per cent; and the next value group, \$1,200 to \$1,999, reported a rate of only 11 per cent. Where the per capita land value was in excess of \$2,000, the rate of outmigration was well below this figure; and those areas where it exceeded \$8,000, which were located almost entirely in Texas, New York, and California, showed considerable immigration.

TABLE 2

CHANGES IN RURAL POPULATION, 1920-1930, IN RELATION TO PER CAPITA VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY, 1930

<i>Per Capita Value of Farm Property, 1930</i>	<i>Rural Population, 1920</i>	<i>Per Cent Net Rural Migration 1920-1930</i>	<i>Per Cent Net Change in Rural Population, 1920-1930</i>
Under \$400 .	2,943,220	-19.7	+ 0.2
\$400 \$699	10,979,456	-16.7	+ 2.4
\$700 \$1,199	7,155,386	-15.9	+ 0.6
\$1,200-\$1,999	10,043,757	-11.0	+ 3.4
\$2,000 \$3,199	10,169,763	- 5.8	+ 8.1
\$3,200-\$4,999	5,965,099	- 6.3	+ 7.4
\$5,000 \$7,999	3,612,533	- 7.1	+ 4.2
\$8,000 and over	536,557*	+45.1	+62.8
TOTAL	51,406,017†	-11.0	+ 4.7

\*Located almost entirely in California, New York, and Texas

†Includes population of counties for which per capita value of farm property was not computed

Net changes in rural population were less uniform than rates of outmigration. Areas in which the per capita values were less than \$400 showed an increase in rural population of only 0.2 per cent. Where these values were less than \$2,000, the increases in rural population were not over 3.5 per cent; but where these values were \$2,000-\$5,000, the increases were 7 and 8 per cent. However, there are wide geographic variations within these groups. For example, in those counties in the South Atlantic States where per capita farm values were under \$400 the decrease in the rural population was nearly 6 per cent, but in the comparable group in the East South Central States there was an increase of 3 per cent. There is no uniform relationship between the rate of net change in the rural population during the nineteen twenties and economic opportunities in agriculture as represented by per capita values of farm property.

TABLE 3

CHANGES IN FARM POPULATION, 1930-1935, IN RELATION TO PER CAPITA  
VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY, 1930

Per Capita Value of Farm Property 1930	Farm Population, 1930	Per Cent Change in Farm Population 1930-1935*		
		Total	By Accession of Migrants from Nonfarm Territory	Exclusive of Migrants from Nonfarm Territory
Under \$400	2 102 078	+ 7.3	+ 4.0	+ 3.3
\$400-\$699	8 042 589	+ 2.6	+ 3.9	- 1.3
\$700-\$1 199	4 216 419	+ 7.9	+ 6.5	+ 1.4
\$1 200-\$1 999	5 077 814	+ 7.5	+ 9.4	- 1.9
\$2 000-\$3 199	5 582 422	+ 4.8	+ 8.5	- 3.7
\$3 200-\$4 999	3 408 930	+ 0.3	+ 6.8	- 6.5
\$5 000-\$7 999	1 815 907	- 0.3	+ 6.3	- 6.6
\$8 000 and over	197 452	+ 2.3	+14.4	-12.1
TOTAL	30 445 350†	+ 4.5	+ 6.6	- 2.1

\*There was an increase of 4.5 per cent in the total farm population but the back-to-the-land movement was so large that if it had been the only factor the increase would have been 6.6 per cent. Since the total net increase was less than that it is clear that there must have been considerable migration from farms—enough to offset all of the back-to-the-land movement and part of the natural increase as well. If this back-to-the-land movement had not occurred the farm population would have decreased by two per cent during those five years.

†Includes population of counties for which per capita value of farm property was not computed.

The proportion of the population dependent upon public relief since 1930 is also a measure of the extent to which adjustments are required. Although relief rates are affected by many other factors, such as variations in procedures and administrative decisions, the rate of migration to or from an area since 1930, etc., the intensity of relief in rural areas was closely related to chronic maladjustments in the relations of population to natural resources.<sup>13</sup> Where the percentage of the total population on relief, July, 1934-June, 1935, was 30 per cent or less, the rate of outmigration, 1920-1930, was approximately 10 per cent, but where the relief rate was 30 per cent or more, the rate of outmigration was 21 per cent.<sup>14</sup> Even so large a rate of outmigration apparently had not been sufficient to obviate the need for extensive relief after 1930.

The fact that the counties offering least economic opportunities show higher rates of outmigration than counties offering greater opportunities may not indicate a tendency toward the equalization of the distribution of population in relation to resources because of the large differentials

<sup>13</sup> P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, *Six Rural Problem Areas: Relief—Resources—Rehabilitation*, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, FERA RM 1 (Washington, D. C., 1935).

<sup>14</sup> Lively and Taeuber, *op cit*, p. 79.

in fertility involved. In many areas outmigration would not only have to remove all of the excess resulting from high rates of natural increase but also drastically reduce the existing population. Almost none of the counties reporting an outmigration of less than 10 per cent reported a net loss in rural population; three-fifths of those reporting outmigration of 10-19 per cent reported a net loss, but nearly all the counties reporting a rate of outmigration of 20 per cent or more also reported net losses in rural population.

Half the counties in the United States reported a sufficient volume of outmigration to produce a decrease in rural population between 1920 and 1930. One-sixth reported net gains by migration; in the remaining one-third the outmigration was not sufficiently large to produce a net loss in rural population.<sup>15</sup> Those counties which gained in rural population as a result of migration were proportionately more numerous among the counties in which fertility ratios were low (less than 550 children under 5 per 1,000 women 20-44). Outmigration among counties where fertility ratios were high (880 and over) was sufficient to produce net decreases in population in one-third of the cases. Nonetheless, one-seventh of the counties in which these high fertility ratios were reported also gained by migration during the decade. The meager information which is available does not indicate a close relationship between rates of reproduction and volume and direction of migration in the rural population for the time period covered. Areas of high fertility tended to export a part of their natural increase, thus reducing the net rate of growth considerably below what it would have been if there had been no outmigration. However, a rate of outmigration sufficient to reduce the population in high fertility areas was achieved in only one-third of the counties with high fertility; in the others rural population continued to increase.

The unguided migration of the nineteen twenties did not evacuate rural problem areas on the scale which would be necessary to bring about desirable adjustments of resources and population. If this did not occur during a period when urban industry was calling for large numbers of rural workers, it was virtually impossible after 1930. The decline in urban demand for migrants from rural areas was felt most in the poorest areas. Between 1930 and 1935 the increase in farm population was greatest in the poorest land areas, those in which considerations of

<sup>15</sup> Lively and Taeuber, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 64.

a sound land use would call for a reduction rather than an increase in numbers.

In most places this increase was due not so much to a movement to farms, the back-to-the-land movement, as to the slowing down of out-migration. Whatever the measure of economic resources, the evidence for the five years ending in 1935 shows clearly that the large increases in population in poor areas were due in the main to the decreased outmigration as compared with more favored areas. There is evidence that this situation has not changed materially since 1935. How long such a development can continue without leading to drastic attempts at correction by the individuals most directly concerned cannot be determined. Migration is more often a response to a felt differential in opportunity, which is not necessarily purely economic, than to the expelling factors of gradually decreasing opportunity. If this decline in opportunity is gradual and if there is little contact with the outside world, or if handicaps such as limited educational facilities or legal restrictions on mobility are interposed, the pressure of population on resources may continue to develop for a long period of time with no reaction other than acquiescence on the part of the individuals affected. Stranded agricultural and industrial communities in all parts of the country are grim reminders of the general immobility of population. However, a sudden decline in the opportunities afforded by an area, such as a drought or similar disaster, may constitute an expulsive force which makes the individuals in the area keenly aware of the differentials in opportunity in their own recent experience and leads them to seek alternatives in other locations.

One element which affects future migrations from poorer rural areas is the character of educational facilities. Areas where good land, higher incomes, and superior educational facilities are found appear to be able to provide their maturing young people with an education which enables them to enter into many urban occupations. Although areas with poorer resources may make proportionately greater efforts to provide educational facilities, they ordinarily provide their young people with much less adequate training. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the school facilities of the poorer areas will improve sufficiently to facilitate the transfer of population to other areas in view of the demand for increased educational attainments. Developments since 1930 suggest that they are not doing so. Increases in farm population during 1930-

1935 were most marked in the areas having both meager agricultural resources and limited educational facilities. Migration from the more commercialized farming areas has continued more nearly at predepression levels, and the prospects are that technological improvements will release additional persons from these areas. Thus the problems of population pressure are not likely to be solved simply through migration stimulated by the ordinary interplay of economic, social, and psychological factors which operate in internal migration. Areas in which educational retardation is so pronounced that one-third or more of the children in school at any one time are in the first and second grades are not providing their school children with the training which increasingly is a prerequisite to urban employment. The emphasis in industry is shifting from unskilled to semiskilled and skilled occupations, and clerical and service occupations are increasing in importance. These developments in the employment market accentuate the disadvantages of the migrants from the poorer areas, and may serve increasingly as barriers to migrations of sufficient magnitude to lessen the pressure of people on the land.

With the maturing of the social and economic structure of the country and a slowing down of the rate of population growth, questions of the distribution of the population in relation to resources will become increasingly a matter of public concern. The awareness of the problems engendered by the onset of the depression led to many proposals for the redistribution of the population. These ranged from the myriad proposals to settle the urban unemployed in rural areas to the more ambitious plans to evacuate the inhabitants of the most distressed rural areas to more favorable locations. The history of our national development suggested migration as a solution to problems of urban unemployment and rural distress. Hence, when it appeared that "natural" movements were not creating the most favorable adjustment of people to the land, it appeared desirable to many people to stimulate migration on a scale sufficient to produce the results they deemed desirable. Up to the present time such efforts have had only limited results.

Pending the development of any far-reaching action, the processes of population change, births, deaths, and migrations continue. We are now experiencing the results of the peak in births of the early nineteen twenties in the exceptionally large contingent of youth currently reach-

ing maturity. Unless superior opportunities are readily accessible, the stimulation of migration from problem areas, however, can be only one element in a policy designed to bring about an optimum relation of population to resources—or of resources to population. The improvement of the basic social and economic conditions of problem areas, and the maximum utilization of existing resources for the benefit of the population now living in these areas, must be elements in a program which also includes both a reduction in rates of population growth in distressed areas and guided migrations.

# Rural Electrification: A Field for Social Research

*John Kerr Rose\**

## ABSTRACT

Nearly 2,000,000 of our farms now use central station electric power. Not only is much of this farm electrification very recent, but the social aspects and implications of this new factor in rural life have received very little objective investigation.

In this paper a variety of questions believed to be worthy of and suited to objective investigation are raised:

Does electrification increase farm income and farm value?

What are its effects upon tenant mobility and cityward migration of youth?

How does the farmer use his electricity?

Does he thereby have more leisure; and if so, how is his leisure used?

Why do a considerable number of farmers along the lines not use electricity, and what are the social implications of such nonuse in juxtaposition with neighboring use?

Does this new development, particularly through cooperatives, have significant implications as to the size, organization, and governmental consciousness of the community?

Does rural electrification contribute to rural-urban understandings?

To what extent is rural electrification a directional force in the adjustment of agriculture in our problem areas?

Some general aspects of methodology are briefly dealt with.

Of the numerous and diverse social forces at work in present Rural America, few are now more active or more widely pervasive than those which may be grouped under the term "rural electrification." Nearly 2,000,000 of our farms, or well over one-fourth of the total, are now supplied with central-station power service—a 160 per cent increase in the number served since 1935 and approximately a 2,000 per cent increase since 1920. In 1939 more farms undoubtedly received service for the first time than in any past year. The end is not yet in sight; part of the \$40,000,000 program of the Rural Electrification Administration for the year 1939-1940 is yet to be completed. A substantial fund to be available to the Rural Electrification Administration for the fiscal year 1940-1941 when the Agricultural Appropriation Bill becomes law will carry the program forward. Also, there are the additions resulting from continued expansion in rural areas by the private utilities.

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Few who are well acquainted with farm life are likely to question seriously the general social potency of a program of farm electrification. Opinion at its optimistic limits credits rural electrification with being the long sought equalizer of city and country, a significant step in economic and social justice, and the force which will cause prompt regurgitation of population and industry into the countryside. At the other extreme are those who fear the weight of additional debt upon the farmer, the intrusion of installment buying and encouragement to live beyond his means.

Be this as it may, there has, even so, been little or no adequate investigation; and not even much systematic evidence has been collected on the social and economic implications which may reasonably be presumed to accompany the attainment by rural people of electric service. The present and near future would seem to be an opportune time for careful investigations in this field. A suitable sample, adequate in size and well distributed geographically, is now available for study. If such investigation is long delayed, the unavailability of unelectrified control areas will become a serious matter. Moreover, the findings of a delayed study have less chance of being useful to the program of farm electrification. Only a minor part of the job of electrifying Rural America is done. To push the task on to completion will cost nearly two billion dollars for line construction, with at least an additional two billion required for farmstead wiring and appliances—a total sum equivalent to half of all the debt our farmers now owe, either in long-term or short-term obligations. Facts to be revealed by a careful examination and testing of hypotheses and assumptions in the light of the available sample of Rural America now electrified might reasonably be expected to have significant and worthwhile application to the future program.

It is the primary purpose of this paper to focus attention on some of the various problems and possible implications of rural electrification, with the hope that social investigators may be stimulated to explore more adequately this particular field with the result that in the near future, through careful study, objective information may be substituted for present conjecture, guess, and subjective statement. The intention here is largely to raise problems and to suggest topics possibly susceptible to objective investigation. In a few instances, methods of study are indicated as seemingly applicable to the problem mentioned. The problems fall naturally into three groups: (1) general considerations

and regional comparisons; (2) the consuming unit—farm and family; and (3) the community. A short final section has been added: (4) methods.

## I. SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND REGIONAL COMPARISONS

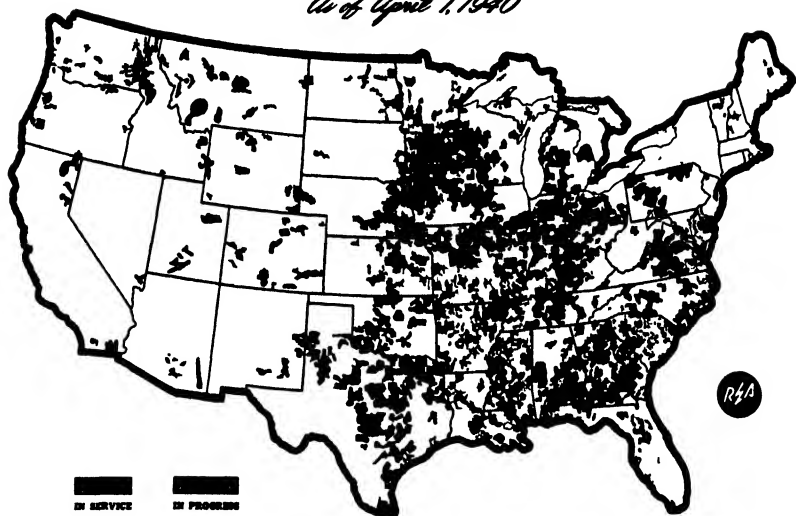
### 1. *What are the underlying causes of the marked regional variations in the electrification of rural areas?*

Almost all investigation which may be attempted on the social aspects of rural electrification must needs consider either implicitly or explicitly its national distribution. It will be important to know where farms are now electrified, to what degree and how recently, what types of agriculture are served, and the characteristics of the people of served areas. It may be that social implications and effects will vary widely from area to area in accord with the characteristics of the areas, their agriculture, and their people. That rural electrification in the past, though widespread, was also strongly regionalized is evident from Table 1. As recently as 1935 only one farm out of one hundred in some of our southern states was using central station electric service; while in some other states, notably in the Northeast and the Far West, more than half of the farms were electrified. To what degree, specifically, is this striking regional variation to be assigned to such factors as variations in purchasing power and standards of living, presence of specific types of agriculture which require or at least can easily use electrical power, density of rural population, type of tenure, abundance and cheapness of power resources, and the presence of aggressive and wide-awake local rural leadership and power companies?

That electric service continues to be strongly regionalized even after more than three years of equalizing activity by the Rural Electrification Administration is evident from Figure 1. The Rural Electrification Administration operates under an Act of Congress, Section 3 (c) of which says: "Fifty per centum of the annual sums herein made available or appropriated for the purposes of this Act shall be allotted yearly by the Administrator for loans in the several States in the proportion which the number of their farms not then receiving central station electric service bears to the total number of farms of the United States not then receiving such service." Thus, the Act provides directly for the encouragement of electrification, especially in those areas which are least electrified.

FIGURE 1  
RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION PROJECTS

*As of April 1, 1940*



## 2. *What is the rate of change?*

Certain sections of our country have recently made striking gains on a percentage basis as is shown in Table 1. This would seem to be partly the result of the fact that at first those sections had a very low percentage of electrification, thus providing much opportunity for expansion; but it is equally or even more the result of the above-mentioned requirement of the Rural Electrification Act, which encourages the leveling among the states of existing discrepancies in rural electrification. In any case, much variation still remains in percentage of farms served from one part of the nation to another, a situation to be explained and otherwise considered as a basic factor in most problems to be investigated.

Not only do private utility lines to some extent penetrate all types of farming areas, but so do Rural Electrification Administration cooperative projects, as may be seen in Figure 1. Thus regional and type-of-farming comparisons and contrasts as to social and economic conditions are possible either with or without comparing and contrasting conditions on cooperative *vs.* utility lines. It is thus possible to work in areas which were electrified at about the same time, thereby holding the time factor constant. Areas representative of a wide range of agricultural income, tenure, land class, type of farming, standards of living, educa-

tion, and other presumably important factors, many of them significant to the sociologist, are among those now served and hence available for comparative study.

## II. THE CONSUMING UNIT—FARM AND FAMILY

1. *Why do a considerable number of farmers not avail themselves of electricity already near at hand?*

Rural lines as now built, especially those of Rural Electrification Administration cooperatives, are designed to bring electric power not only to village and cross-road centers but more especially to farm families which, in most of our country, reside scattered over the agricultural area in individual family units, often only one family per farm. When service is made potentially available on an area basis to all the families rather than to an economically select few, a large number of the families living along or near the lines do not take advantage of the opportunity to connect. This is perhaps not surprising where rates or connection charges are high. It has been estimated that 300,000 farm families near rural lines belonging to the utilities do not take service, a figure which amounts to perhaps one family out of five along their lines—in certain areas the unconnected density has been observed to run much higher. Failure to connect is less understandable in those cases where the person is a member of the cooperative providing the service and has indicated his interest in obtaining service even to the extent of paying a membership fee. To bring such service to the dooryard and have it refused for months or years is unsatisfactory, financially and otherwise, to the company or cooperative. *But why are so many unconnected? What are the characteristics of nonconnecting farms as compared with those taking service? Is it a question of income, debts, tenancy, high rates for electricity, already excessive living expenditures which leave no margin of income; is it religion, conservatism (perhaps even accompanying superior economic ability), age, size of family, dissatisfaction with power company or cooperative project officials because of real or fancied wrongs, or rebellion against cliques or factions in the community? Does the family possess a home electric plant, or is power and light already satisfactorily supplied by some other means? Is it a case of procrastination and shrewd indifference now that the main personal goal, availability of electric service with its possible effects upon the sale value of the farm, has been attained?*

If those who take advantage of electric service when it has been made available are the more progressive people with the higher standards of living, higher income, and better education, *will not the acquisition of such a tool speedily enlarge the already existing differential?* If so, *is not such a growing schism dangerous to the community and worthy of a strong corrective program before it has had time to develop fully?* In any case, the question of the users versus nonusers would seem to be quite unexplored, both as to "reasons for" and "results of."

2. *How is the farmer using his electricity?*

Once a farm is electrified, most social effects to be credited or debited thereto might reasonably be expected to be closely associated with the uses made of the power. The impact on cultural and living standards of the resulting use patterns is potentially enormous and almost if not quite unstudied. Some hundreds of possible farm uses are known. Various studies have been made of the percentage saturation of certain appliances. A recent report of a survey covering 74 Rural Electrification Administration projects indicates that lighting of some sort is practically universal, and that the electric handiron and radio are in use in four out of five of the homes surveyed. The electric motor-driven washing machine is used in half and the electric refrigerator in a little less than one-third of the homes.

Something is known about regional variation in saturation of particular appliances. The North Central is understandably far in the lead with regard to cream separators; but who would have guessed that vacuum cleaners would be eight times as common on electrified farms in the Northeast as in the South, and, on the other hand, that refrigerators would be twice as numerous in the South as in the Northeast, and that the electric washing machine would show a saturation of 75 per cent in the North Central as against only 21 per cent in the South? Even when those facts are ascertained, there remains the still more important task of explaining the differences. *And what of the implications for the future, of repercussions on standards of living, on labor, and even on types and diversification of farming?* Little is known about how much these various appliances are used in terms of time elapsed or frequency. Little is known about the preferences or order of their purchase and what, perhaps, might be most worthwhile ascertaining, *how the presence or absence of certain appliances or groups of appliances as well as their use and order of preference correlates with family income status,*

*tenure, size and age of family, race, type of agriculture, quality of agricultural lands, education, and social status.*

3. *Does electricity give the farmer more leisure time, and how does he use it?*

Time may well be money if effectively used; but, in any case, time is life. After electrification, *how does the farm family revise its use of time? What of working hours? Sleeping? Leisure? Are the sleeping hours differently distributed now that better lighting and a new radio are present? Not only may there be more hours of leisure, but how are they spent? What of reading? Does recreation tend to be more indoors? More within the family circle? Is the leisure time acquired by performing the daily work more rapidly, or by neglecting some of the outdoor work such as the food garden? Does the greater ease of carrying on certain types of farm activities with electric light and power actually cause an expansion in that part of the farming operations, and consequently, of the time devoted thereto?*

4. *Does electrification increase farm income and farm value?*

It is common knowledge that farmers as a group constitute one of the lower income classes of our nation's population. In terms of average, for a recent year farm income amounted to a little more than \$1,100 per farm family, about \$850 per gainfully employed worker in agriculture, and only about \$240 per capita of farm population. If it can be demonstrated, as some think it can, that, with skilful use of the electric power, farm electrification contributes substantially and generally to an increased income, this is a fact of major social importance in the planning for and treatment of a large part of Rural America. Following are only a few of the questions which may be asked in such a study:

*Does electrification actually increase farm income, defining income in financial terms as gross, cash, or net, not as real or psychic income? If so, how much? In what way? Are there wide variations in the magnitude of this result from area to area, from one type-of-farming area to another? Under all present arrangements, even on Rural Electrification Administration cooperatives, electricity is not a 'free good'; the advent of electricity in the farm home must, perforce, involve expense. To what extent are such costs merely substitute or replacement expenditures for higher ones which would normally be incurred in performing the service in some other manner? Are two electric lights in each room cheaper than two kerosene lamps and a few candles in a whole house?*

*Does the new electric radio substitute for entertainment outside the home, for the moving picture show perhaps, and thereby result in a cash saving? It is not hard to think of cases where food and farm products might be saved by adequate refrigeration soon after cooking or production, but to what extent is this actually the case in practice? In so far as the electric motor replaces the gasoline motor, the Diesel, and the tractor as power for grinding, pumping, etc., what are the savings, either in time upon which a value may be placed, or in actual net expense? Is it true that less labor is hired, more cows milked, more food grown for consumption at home or for sale, that gardens are better watered, thereby resulting in greater production? It is not so much individual and perhaps isolated and exceptional cases which are needed in such an investigation but a study of the overall average contribution to gross, cash, or net farm income which sometimes is made by farm electrification or at least is assumed by some seasoned observers to accompany farm electrification. That is to say, what is the average situation over a whole project or on different projects in different parts of the country? In this connection, it would be well to have an adequate investigation of what, if any, increase in farm property values accompanies electrification. It is known that in some of the better electrified areas, lending agencies are somewhat loath to make loans on unelectrified property; whereas in other areas, though electrification is looked upon with favor, there is no quantitative allowance made for it in the appraisal of farm property. Isolated reports on increase in value resulting from farm electrification range from \$10 per acre upward, and sometimes there are reports of property's becoming salable which previously was apparently not salable. The most interesting and careful study of this sort to date is one made in New York State in 1936-37.<sup>1</sup>*

5. *Has electrification been accompanied by any shift in the farmers' psychology regarding debt?*

Along with an investigation of the net balance between the expenditures necessary to obtain electric service and such increases in income as may have resulted, it would be desirable to study the farmers' attitude toward debt in this particular situation. Even in the more densely settled rural areas it necessarily must take a considerable expenditure in addition to line construction to make a farm family an effective user of elec-

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Keeper, "Value of Central Station Electric Service to New York State Farms, 1936-37," *Farm Economics* No. 112, Ithaca, April, 1939, p. 2752.

tricity. This is in all likelihood for most farmers not entirely a cash proposition. *Does this, whether for good or evil, represent the entering wedge of installment buying into the rural areas where in the past it has been least prevalent and looked upon somewhat askance?* If the transaction remains strictly on a cash basis, *is it possible that funds which are diverted to this use would, from the standpoint of social utility, better have gone for the purchase of food, clothing, insurance, or medical care, to say nothing of the social desirability of accumulating at least a small savings reserve?*

6. *What nonfinancial contributions to welfare may be credited to farm electrification?*

There can be little question but that electric service is a comfort and a convenience, even if it provides only better lighting. In the case of the radio, even though some programs have little value, it may easily contribute to pleasure, to general education, even to health; if leisure results from laborsaving devices, that leisure in itself may be a contribution to health and general welfare. It might even be maintained that better morale is possibly an indirect contribution through church programs heard over the radio, through possible comfort, pleasure and greater health, and changes in philosophy and attitudes which result thereby. Of course, most of these factors are unmeasured, perhaps in many cases unmeasurable. It should, however, be possible to deal with such problems as the effects on education. Not least of the possible contributions of a nonfinancial sort is that of education, for there is an increasing effort to broadcast educational programs over the radio. Better lighting in itself may well lead to additional reading and study by adults and youth, thence to a college education.

### III. THE COMMUNITY

1. *How does electrification affect the size and organization of the community?*

In rural areas, at least, the community is still an important part of the social structure. How does electrification affect community organization? It is important to note that much of the recent expansion of farm electrification is developed around cooperative organizations which, as individual "communities," include most of the farm people from areas ranging from a minimum of a few townships in size to a maximum of several counties. The areas served are hardly related to



any present political or community boundary; cooperating groups are in some cases county-wide with no extensions beyond the boundaries of that unit. In many more cases the area served is intra-county or inter-county. The general effect may well be in the direction of expanding the community to a size which is larger and more modern than many which now remain as relics of the pre-automobile era. This superimposing of a community of modern size on the old jumbled pattern undoubtedly has certain advantages. The existing smaller communities continue in many cases to function as the basic units of the inter-county community set-up. At the same time, *may it not be that the community horizon is permanently expanded, psychologically speaking, thus clearing the way for future reorganization and consolidation of smaller governmental units?*

It is probable, however, that the larger, new community established about the electric cooperative has certain weaknesses. *Is it too large for the present generation which not unnaturally has a loyalty to more local political, trade, or church units? May not this very lack of a strong cohesive force in itself tend to defeat the purposes of the electrification cooperative, at least in those cases where strong opposition is encountered, as from some of the power companies?* The size of the new cooperative community makes difficult the quick and effective conveyance of correct information to the membership and seems all too frequently to lead to distrust of those members who, living outside the old community, are still not considered real neighbors.

2. *To what degree and with what results has the governmental consciousness of the community been stimulated by electrification?*

The activities of the federal government have lately been more widespread and intimate in rural areas than was formerly the case. For many of the cooperatives' members, it is no doubt their first experience in group borrowing from the government. At the present time the relationship between borrower and lender is more cordial than is commonly true of loans which are expected to be fully self-liquidating. It is not too much to say that the direct participation of representatives from Washington as guides and advisers in the preparation of some requests for loans as well as assistance in perfecting design, construction, and functioning of the project is part of something new in the relation of rural residents and their national government—a relationship which is progressively non-provincial. Thus the farmers' effective

acquaintance with government services expands from local or, at most, state limits to include the more potent but formerly more remote central government. It would seem that these local groups have received an education in what may be called applied national government. In other words, they are learning how to get what they want, when they want it.

*3. Are the cooperatives engaged in electrification outstanding in community development?*

Of the nearly 700 borrowers of Rural Electrification Administration funds to date, well over 600 are cooperative organizations, with many, though not necessarily all, of the democratic tenets which are common to cooperative organizations of the service type. This is important in several ways. Cooperation has been hailed as the American way, a peculiarly efficient tool for meeting, in a democratic way, some of the very complex economic and social problems with which we are confronted. Rural electrification has provided a powerful stimulus for the cooperative movement, especially in areas which either have had no previous experience with cooperative organization, or have had unpleasant experience with marketing cooperatives. In a few short years, many people will be able to compare the results obtained by serving themselves with electricity with those results obtained by friends or neighbors served by the private utilities. Finally, this program, in the course of its activity, as a result of its size and because of its educational opportunities, may reasonably be expected to do much toward bringing out such potential leaders as still exist in these rural areas, which to some students seem rather depleted in this respect. How do these cooperatives compare with other community institutions in this process of activating, training and sifting potential leaders?

*4. Mobility of population: Does electrification make for a more stable farm population?*

It has become increasingly apparent that many of the undesirable features of rural life at the present time are at least in part associated with tenancy and the rapid movement of tenants. Emphasis is upon cash crops and quick gains rather than diversified agriculture and progressive community life. Soil erosion in its more serious forms, the depletion of soil fertility at an increasing rate, a tendency toward breakdown of community life through lack of wide participation—all of these seem, to a considerable degree, to grow out of tenancy and to

become particularly acute if the tenants are highly mobile. It has been widely stated that electrification of farms will do much to stabilize tenants if not actually to promote farm ownership. *Does a lower rate of tenant mobility result after electrification?* The assumption is, of course, that the landowner who electrified his farm is able, thereby, to secure a better tenant, and that the better tenants in turn will desire electrified farms and, if once established thereon, will remain for a longer period. Obviously, this assumption is based upon scarcity, that is, upon the fact that electricity is not yet widely available—a condition which is to become progressively less true with each passing year.

Another aspect of the same problem is the movement of people from villages or cities onto the farm. It is common observation that such a movement has been going on near manufacturing cities, even into areas not now electrified. There is some reason to believe that farm electrification will slow down the movement of elderly farmers from farm to village, when they reach age or affluence allowing such leisure. *Will this be true?* If so, this in itself has possibilities of greatly affecting the sociology of rural life, not only as regards the attitude of the farmer toward his farm and farmstead, but because the older and the younger generations will then more often live in a closer group, the farm will not so often need to support two separate households, and the young family will not so often need to make a start from scratch. Even if the farm youth does invade the city as before to seek fame and fortune, he may, encouraged by the presence of the electricity he has learned to appreciate, very well return in middle life or later to the farm to conserve what fortune has been attained, enriching the community by his broader, urban experience.

5. *Do the satisfactions and opportunities afforded by electricity tend to keep youth on the farm?*

Another aspect of the mobility problem which has come in for much discussion but little investigation is that of the influence which electricity may have upon the migration of rural youth to the city. Sometimes this discussion assumes, rather naively perhaps, that youth leaves the farm primarily because of the lack, or the absence, hitherto, of electric lights, refrigeration, bathrooms, and the general absence of modern conveniences. In the experience of some who have been a part of that migration, cityward migration of farm youth is certainly a more complex problem than the presence or absence of the so-called modern

conveniences. With the net birth rate in the cities now below the replacement level and the farm birth rate well in excess of replacement, at least in large areas, it might be well to ask whether it is desirable to stop the flow, by farm electrification or otherwise. Fewer farmers appear to be needed for future food production. Some have estimated that one-third to one-half of the present rural youth will later live and work in an urban environment. Anyway, if farm electrification has a significant part in this matter, we should have the facts.

6. *Does rural electrification contribute to rural-urban understandings?*

There would seem to be a chance that this program of rural electrification will contribute materially to a better rural-urban understanding. Not only will attitudes perhaps be changed for the better with the partial equalization of living standards, but a mutual realization of dependence and symbiosis may become more common. For example, in a sizeable number of cases municipal plants are already selling wholesale power to the rural cooperatives at or near cost, as a way of encouraging something which not only will aid the rural portion of the area but will be reflected in better trade and mutual good will.

7. *To what extent is electrification a key and a directional force in the adjustment of agriculture in our problem areas?*

*Will rural electrification stimulate rural industries, the processing on the farm or in the nearby village of much of what is now produced on the farm but transported in bulk to urban centers, perhaps later to return as food for the same farmers? What of the farm freezing plant and the community refrigerator locker? Has electricity already made, is it now making, or will it in the future, make possible or lead to the production of new crops and new products? To what extent will it encourage and make possible the shift from cash-crop farming to subsistence activities and diversified farming? This is a particularly acute problem in the Cotton Belt where the imminence of necessary major readjustment is apparent to most students.*

It is definitely possible that electricity is not now to any considerable degree serving as a directional force, but has such possibilities. In that case it might be necessary to shift from the present *laissez-faire* program to one which would put several carefully planned requirements on the farmer. That is, in return for low-cost electricity, he would be encouraged and bound to undertake a diversified farm program including

perhaps chickens, dairying, and possibly even, in some areas, a garden under at least partial or occasional irrigation. However much we may speculate regarding the importance of electrification in this particular major social readjustment, what is needed is actual investigation in the field where the readjustment, and electrification also, is now under way. Ostensibly, the recent heightened efforts to provide farmers with a flexible and general purpose source of power and possibly with a powerful economic tool are an effort to lift rural living standards without considering carefully whether the qualifying test is specific need, ability to use, or ability to pay for the service. It has been in considerable part a case of "first come, first served." The attack is from the standpoint of both the individual and the group. This brings up some nice questions as to whether any program for lifting rural living standards is not much more effective if carried out in proper sequence. *Is there a "best" stage or sequence in the uplift or improvement of standards for electricity to arrive on the scene? That is, at what stage may it perform its functions most effectively? Is there a level below which its introduction is useless? May it serve as a catalyst to bring about desired results even in very low economic and social stages?* It has been considered by some that electrification of dwellings worth less than \$500 is not only unlikely but of little use. *Are all areas ready for cooperative development? Is it possible that in such marginal cases its contributions are even most significant—that it acts as an item which can be substituted for others lacking? Can one lift one's self by one's bootstraps if one has no boots? May electrification in such cases be an actual net detriment to a family or a community if it comes out of some proper and wise sequence, admitting that at the moment it is unascertained as to what constitutes wise sequence?* That is to say, are all areas and all farmers ready to make reasonable and effective use of it on either the present self-liquidating basis or on a subsidy basis? If the answer, backed by careful investigation, is in the affirmative, a four-billion-dollar job remains to bring the task to completion.

#### METHODS

It would seem that rural electrification provides an abundance of problems of a social and economic nature, sufficient to satisfy the tastes, desires and opportunities of several types of investigators. There are abundant opportunities for broad comparisons and contrasts on a national, sectional, or state-wide basis of conditions now found, and

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF RANK, PERCENTAGE, AND NUMBER OF ELECTRIFIED FARMS  
BY STATES AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1934, AND JUNE 30, 1939

	Farms Receiving Central Station Service * December 31, 1934			Farms Receiving Central Station Service † June 30, 1939			Increase in Electrified Farms from December 31, 1934 to June 30, 1939		
	Number	%	Rank	Number	%	Rank	Number ‡	%	Rank
U S TOTAL	743,954	10 9		1,513,228	22 1		769,274	103 4	
Alabama	11,053	4 0	33	27,500	9 6	38	16,447	148 8	15
Arizona	5,577	29 6	12	9,000	45 6	12	3,423	61 4	30
Arkansas	2,943	1 2	47	8 000	3 2	47	5,057	171 8	13
California	81 093	53 9	1	127 000	75 0	3	45,907	56 6	32
Colorado	7,145	11 2	25	10,500	17 3	27	3,355	47 0	36
Connecticut	10,138	31 5	10	15,000	44 8	13	4,862	48 0	35
Delaware	1,791	17 3	20	3,430	30 9	22	1,639	91 5	24
Florida	5,700	7 8	26	8,000	9 8	37	2,300	40 4	37
Georgia	6 956	2 8	41	34,965	13 7	33	28,009	402 7	3
Idaho	13,433	29 8	11	24,726	53 7	7	11,293	84 1	26
Illinois	28,379	12 3	23	60,000	25 7	23	31,621	111 4	21
Indiana	23,476	11 7	24	75,000	36 7	18	51,524	219 5	9
Iowa	32 047	14 4	22	49,000	22 7	24	16,953	52 9	33
Kansas	13,224	7 6	28	17,200	10 6	35	3 976	30 1	40
Kentucky	8,480	3 0	39	22,789	7 7	41	14,309	168 7	14
Louisiana	2,826	1 7	46	12 474	7 2	42	9,648	341 4	5
Maine	13,959	33 3	8	19,274	43 6	15	5 315	38 1	39
Maryland	6,791	15 3	21	14,900	33 4	21	8,109	119 4	19
Massachusetts	14,494	41 3	7	17,000	47 9	11	2,506	17 3	43
Michigan	42,152	21 4	17	122,514	62 5	4	80,362	190 6	11
Minnesota	13,783	6 8	30	33,440	16 8	28	19,657	142 6	16
Mississippi	2,802	0 9	48	11,641	3 6	45	8 839	315 5	7
Missouri	17,893	6 4	31	23,000	8 4	40	5,107	28 5	41
Montana	2 768	5 5	32	6,000	14 6	30	3,232	116 8	20
Nebraska	9 544	7 1	29	16,000	13 2	34	6,456	67 6	29
Nevada	946	25 6	15	1,416	34 7	19	470	49 7	34
New Hampshire	9,495	53 7	2	9,000	52 2	8	-495	-5 2	46
New Jersey	15 162	51 6	4	24,000	78 1	2	8 838	58 3	31
New Mexico	1,350	2 3	37	2,740	6 6	43	1 390	103 0	22
New York	57 825	32 7	9	80,000	44 8	14	22,175	38 3	38
North Carolina	9,672	3 2	38	59,580	18 6	26	49,908	516 0	1
North Dakota	1,968	2 3	43	1,250	1 7	48	-718	-36 5	48
Ohio	48,048	18 8	19	110,000	41 8	16	61,952	128 9	17
Oklahoma	5,648	2 6	42	10,000	4 8	44	4,352	77 1	28
Oregon	17,839	27 5	14	34 785	49 3	10	16,946	95 0	23
Pennsylvania	45,182	23 6	16	100,000	52 1	9	54,818	121 3	18
Rhode Island	1,975	45 6	6	3,500	83 8	1	1,525	77 2	27
South Carolina	3,796	2 3	44	22,562	13 7	32	18,766	494 4	2
South Dakota	2,939	3 5	36	2 500	3 5	46	-439	-14 9	47
Tennessee	9,727	3 6	34	29,000	10 1	36	19,273	198 1	10
Texas	11,466	2 3	45	45,484	9 3	39	34,018	296 7	8
Utah	16,130	52 5	3	16,500	54 2	6	370	2 3	45
Vermont	7,945	29 4	13	9,300	33 7	20	1,355	17 1	44
Virginia	14,954	7 6	27	40,893	20 5	25	25,939	173 5	12
Washington	40,060	47 5	5	51,000	56 2	5	10,940	27 3	42
West Virginia	3,647	3 5	35	16,318	14 7	29	12,671	347 4	4
Wisconsin	39 206	19 6	18	72,795	36 8	17	33,589	85 7	25
Wyoming	527	3 0	40	2,252	14 5	31	1,725	327 3	6

\*Edison Electric Institute, Statistical Bulletin Number 4

†Data from REA survey as of June 30, 1939

‡Figures were calculated from data obtained by two different survey sources where differences in the definition of a farm and other procedures probably vary considerably

implications for the future. By careful and intelligent sampling it should be possible to compare conditions for different types of farming areas, communities of various educational and economic levels, different standards of living for white and colored farmers, for mostly tenants and mostly owners, for variation in costs of service; and it should even be possible to hold constant some of the factors such as variation in effectiveness of management and length of time energized. Equally, the field lends itself to the very detailed investigation of a single project presumably selected because it is considered typical of a wider agricultural area. In any case it is necessary to regard the socioeconomic aspects of rural areas, whether with or without electrification, as dynamic, evolving, actively shifting along some trend, even changing trend—that is, it is reasonable to assume, knowing what we do, that any given community or family would have changed fundamentally and significantly during any considerable period of time, whether receiving electric service or not. It should be plain then that, if at all possible, the program of investigation, regardless of its details, should definitely cover the same area or areas, both before and after electrification and at the same time include the nearby area or areas of much the same sort which have not been electrified. Only by such planned control will it be reasonably possible, correctly and perhaps quantitatively, to allocate to electrification those changes and results which rightly belong thereto.

# Some Contrasts in White Women Employees in Garment Plants Located in Three Types of Communities of Mississippi†

*Dorothy Dickins\**

## ABSTRACT

Data concerning the women employed in garment plants of three communities, a village, a town, and a small city of Mississippi, are examined for the purpose of studying the feasibility of decentralization of industry in situations such as described. From the data presented, it would seem that decentralization of industries is feasible. The areas around the village plant had not yielded the maximum number of women anxious for work and with characteristics acceptable to industry. These included young women either single, widowed, divorced or, if married, with no children or not more than one or two children, and women with some high school training.

Women desiring to live at home reside within a reasonable distance of the plant on good roads and in a location where they could come with others or furnish transportation for others.

What are some of the possibilities and handicaps in decentralization of industries employing women? This is an important question in Mississippi, an agricultural state just now launching an extensive industrial program, a state with a host of rural women needing gainful work. It is important that Mississippi plan for the location of these industries, that they be placed where the worker can have satisfactory living arrangements, as well as in locations where the labor supply needed is adequate. In this report, data concerning the type of women employed in three garment plants of Mississippi located in three different community types, a village, a town, and a small city, will be examined. It is thought that these data may throw some light on the feasibility of decentralization of industry in situations such as described.

The three communities included in this study are lumbering and farming communities, two in the Long Leaf Pine belt, Hattiesburg and Columbia, and one in the Short Leaf Pine belt, Fulton. The large mills of the Long Leaf Pine area have left hardly a tree, while the one-

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man mills of the Short Leaf Pine area have reduced greatly the density of the forests. All three communities are located in counties classified by the Land Utilization Division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics as in the group of forty counties out of the total number in the state that are least suited for permanent arable agriculture. In other words, in these counties some means of earning to supplement farming is especially desirable. Lumbering has in the past furnished this means, but with the decline of lumbering, other ways of earning are needed.

Hattiesburg is a city of about 20,000 inhabitants, Columbia a town of 5,000, and Fulton a village of nearly 1,000. Land area per person in the counties of the town and village is about twice as great as in the county of the small city. Since the owners of the garment plants in each of the three locations had entered into agreements with townspeople to hire local women in so far as possible, this meant, especially in the case of the Fulton and Columbia plants, employing women in the surrounding rural regions.

The Columbia and Hattiesburg plants are both branches of the Reliance Manufacturing Company whose headquarters are in New York City. The Fulton plant is one of the branches of the Tupelo Garment Company, owned by Mississippi capitalists. All three plants date from 1932-1933, a time when women and girls in poor agricultural areas of Mississippi were especially desirous of work.

In 1930 there were only 1,335 white women gainfully employed in nonagricultural work in the county in which the small city of Hattiesburg is located; 309 in the county of the town, Columbia; and 227 in the county of the village, Fulton. These were for the most part employed as teachers, clerks, and stenographers. There was no industrial work for women in these communities at that time. Now both Hattiesburg and Columbia have knitting mills in addition to garment plants. Columbia has also a canning plant. The Tupelo Garment Company, however, is the only factory employing women in Fulton.

All three plants manufacture men's shirts. One of the Reliance plants manufactures, in addition, pajamas; the other, work pants. Each woman has a special job, such as sewing on labels, working button holes, setting collars, inspecting for defects, pressing. Some stand at work. Machine workers are, of course, seated. All women are on a piece-work basis, the rate of pay being based on the operation performed.

The procedure for obtaining the information desired varied in the

Columbia plant from that used in the other two plants.<sup>1</sup> Here all foreladies were called together by the superintendent, and the schedule was explained in detail by the investigator. The foreladies in turn assisted the women working in their division in filling these out. The investigator was allowed to interview individual workers at the plant for securing missing information or checking discrepancies. Schedules were obtained from all women reporting for work during a week in the middle of September, 1937, which included 354. The shirt department was practically closed at the time, so the group included for the most part those in the pajama department. There were seven women in this department who did not report during the week that data were secured and from whom data were not obtained.

In the other two plants, at Fulton and Hattiesburg, a list of white women employed and their addresses were obtained from the office and these women interviewed outside working hours. This task was made less difficult at Fulton due to the fact that the plant temporarily closed during the latter part of the study. The information with which this article is concerned was obtained from all 173 white women employed in the village plant at Fulton (in 1938), from 371 of the 383 employed in the small city plant at Hattiesburg (in 1939), and 354 of the 361 in the department open for work at the time of the study in the town plant at Columbia (in 1937). This includes a total of 898 white women employed in garment plants.<sup>2</sup>

To what extent had the women in these three plants been drawn from the areas surrounding? Nearly 90 per cent of them had been reared in the county in which the plant was located or in an adjacent county. The women from the three types of communities did not differ greatly in this respect. The village plant, however, had a larger percentage of its county girls—95 per cent; the small city plant, the least—53 per cent.<sup>3</sup> The town plant had 63 per cent. There were more opportunities for earning in the town and city. This fact probably attracted

<sup>1</sup> This is a part of a larger study, "A Comparison of the Socio-Economic Status of Farm-reared Factory and Farm Women in Mississippi." The Columbia plant was the test plant, the method used being one suggested by the superintendent. This method, however, was not possible in the other two plants and the three mills included in the study.

<sup>2</sup> The number of men employed at the three plants varied from 3 at the Fulton plant, where no cutting is done and women do the pressing, to 75 in the Hattiesburg plant, where the cutting is done and men do the pressing. This study, however, concerns only white women employed in the manufacturing process.

<sup>3</sup> Hattiesburg lies within closer radius of adjacent counties than do the other two communities.

girls from adjacent counties to a greater extent. In the county of the village there was little for a girl to do except work at the garment plant. In fact, the plant employed nearly as many women as employed in all other occupations in the county.

The main occupation for the majority of the parental families during the time the women had lived at home had been farming. The percentage whose parental families had been farmers, however, varied rather widely with the type of community, as is shown in Table 1. In the small city plant 54 per cent of the women had farming parental families, while in the village plant 86 per cent had families with this occupation. Eighty per cent of the women in the town plant were reared on farms.

TABLE 1

OCCUPATION OF PARENTAL FAMILIES OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN GARMENT PLANTS LOCATED IN THREE TYPES OF COMMUNITIES OF MISSISSIPPI

Occupation of Parental Family	Women in Garment Plants in Three Community Types					
	Small City		Town		Village	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Farmer.....	202	54.4	283	79.9	149	86.1
Owner.....	169	45.6	237	66.9	113	65.3
Nonowner.....	33	8.8	46	13.0	36	20.8
Unskilled and semi-skilled worker.....	31	8.4	13	3.7	6	3.5
Skilled worker.....	78	21.1	34	9.6	10	5.8
White collar worker.....	28	7.5	4	1.1	1	.6
Proprietor.....	19	5.1	4	1.1	3	1.7
Professional worker.....	9	2.4	10	2.9	4	2.3
Incapacitated*.....	1	.3	....	....	....	....
Information not obtained.....	3	.8	6	1.7	....	....
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*Lived on pension.

In 1930, 20 per cent of the white men in the county in which the small city was located, 86 per cent in the county in which the village was located, and 66 per cent in the county in which the town was located, were employed in agriculture. In other words, the village plant was taking the daughters of farmers in about the proportion that farmers appeared in the county population, but the other two plants were taking farmers' daughters in higher proportions than farmers appeared in the county population. In fact, they were drawing farmers' daughters from adjacent counties in larger numbers, especially the small city plant. Figured on the basis of white tenants in the population, tenants' daugh-

ters had about one fourth the chance of being employed that owners' daughters had. This was true in all three plants.

Since 80 per cent of the white men in the county of the small city were engaged in nonagricultural pursuits, it is not surprising to find a relatively large proportion of the women from nonfarm families—a number from unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled wage earner families. Daughters of white collar workers and proprietors were also found to some extent in the city plant where such work is more available than in the village and town. The women in this study were seldom daughters of men in professional service, and those who were daughters of men in professional service were usually daughters of ministers.

From the data thus far presented, it would seem that decentralization is feasible. The plant in Fulton, a village of 1,000 inhabitants, employed 173 women, practically all of whom had been reared in the county in which the plant was located. How did these women compare with those in the more urban plants? Had the saturation point been reached?

As is shown in Table 2, the women in the Fulton or village plant were older. This is likewise but to a less extent true of women in the town plant. In the county in which the village plant is located there is a smaller proportion of white women from 20 to 30 years of age than in the county of the city plant. The village and town plants failed to draw young women from adjacent counties to the extent that the city did; therefore, they were forced to use an older labor supply. In the city plant, just a little more than 10 per cent of the group were 30 years of age and over. Both of the other plants contained considerably more in this age group.

Supervisors in the garment plants preferred young women, for both

TABLE 2  
AGES OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN GARMENT PLANTS LOCATED IN THREE  
TYPES OF COMMUNITIES OF MISSISSIPPI

Ages	Women in Garment Plants in Three Community Types					
	Small City		Town		Village	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20 years and under. ....	97	26.1	77	21.8	38	22.0
21-29 years. ....	230	62.0	191	54.0	87	50.2
30-39 years. ....	42	11.4	72	20.3	36	20.8
40 years and over. ....	2	.5	14	3.9	12	7.0
TOTAL. ....	371	100.0	354	100.0	173	100.0

time and money are spent in training. The young group learn more quickly and have a longer earning period. In fact, it is almost impossible for a woman of more than 35 years of age to secure work in these plants. Especially is this true of the plant located in the small city where the supply of young women is greater. One husband related the difficulty which his wife had met in securing work. This family, a farm family, was about to lose their farm. They had several children, the oldest a daughter of 17 years whom they so much wanted to keep in school. The wife applied for work, but to no avail. Finally an influential friend from the city talked with the superintendent at the plant, who consented to try her out when he learned that she was only 34 years of age. A 17-year-old daughter is a handicap in getting a job, yet it is this type of family that often needs a supplementary income.

Another reason for employing young women when possible was that fewer women in this group are married. Hiring married women frequently means that time will be lost from work in childbearing. In fact, many of the women leaving work to have a child fail to return. Where possible, the single girl is hired, and the city had a larger supply of these young women. The 1930 census of population shows 68 per cent of the women in the village county married, 64 per cent in the town county, and 62 per cent in the county of the city. The 1940 census of population may show an even greater difference, since industries employing women in the town and city have drawn many single women from outside areas.

TABLE 3

MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN GARMENT PLANTS LOCATED IN  
THREE TYPES OF COMMUNITIES OF MISSISSIPPI

Marital Status	Women in Garment Plants in Three Community Types					
	Small City		Town		Village	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Single.....	187	50.4	153	43.2	76	43.9
Married.....	151	40.7	170	48.0	90	52.0
Widowed.....	9	2.4	6	1.7	1	.6
Divorced or separated.....	24	6.5	25	7.1	6	3.5
TOTAL.....	371	100.0	354	100.0	173	100.0

The outstanding fact presented in Table 4 is that the great majority of married women in the garment plants have no children of 14 years and under, or only one child in this age group. Those with more than

two children in these ages were without exception working because of most urgent necessity. Unfortunately, the age groups of the children of the garment plant workers do not coincide with the census of population grouping, nor can they be thus summarized, as the women of this study were asked three questions about the number of children: total number, number 14 years and under, number 6 years and under. The 1930 census shows that 49 per cent of the white families in the county of the city plant had no children under 10 years of age; 40 per cent of the families in the county of the village; and 41 per cent in the county of the town came in this category. In other words, married women without children were found more often at the plant than in the population as a whole. Married women with two or more children 14 years and under were employed more often at the town plant, least often at the city plant. Evidently, the town plant had more nearly reached its saturation point. It had less drawing power than the small city and was supporting several industries employing women.

The fact that the proportion of women who were divorced in the three plants is considerably above the proportion who were divorced in the respective counties in which the plants are located cannot be attributed altogether to the influence of industrial life (Table 3). Rather because these women were divorced they sought work and found it. Many have children (Table 4), and this makes it easier to

TABLE 4  
NUMBER OF CHILDREN 14 YEARS AND UNDER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN  
GARMENT PLANTS LOCATED IN THREE TYPES OF COMMUNITIES  
OF MISSISSIPPI

Number of Children	<i>Percentage Married, Widowed, Divorced Women in Garment Plants Located in Three Types of Communities of Mississippi</i>					
	Small City		Town		Village	
	<i>Per Cent Married</i>	<i>Per Cent Widowed, Divorced, and Separated</i>	<i>Per Cent Married</i>	<i>Per Cent Widowed, Divorced, and Separated</i>	<i>Per Cent Married</i>	<i>Per Cent Widowed, Divorced, and Separated</i>
0	60.9	33.3	44.7	38.7	56.7	28.6
1	21.9	42.4	31.7	45.2	24.4	42.9
2	13.2	16.2	19.4	9.7	13.4	14.3
3	3.3	8.1	1.8	....	2.2	....
4	....	....	1.8	6.4	2.2	14.3
5	.7	....	.6	....	1.1	....
TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

secure work as well as to keep it. Friends of needy divorced women and widows quite frequently use their influence with the superintendents in these plants to secure employment for them. One divorced woman with four children, one an invalid, said, "I am given work if there is any work to give out."

The fact that the town plant employed more divorced and separated women than the city plant, though the city had proportionately six times more divorced women in its population, may be explained by the difference in the employment policies of superintendents at the two plants. Another explanation may be that the method of securing the data used at the Columbia plant resulted in more reporting their real marital status than did the method used in the city plant. It has been observed that divorced or separated women without children sometimes report their marital status as single. This may also be one explanation for the fact that the divorced and separated women had more children than did married women. A job at the plant, however, makes the termination of an unsatisfactory marriage practical, as does divorce or separation make seeking work necessary.

Women in this study who were separated from their husbands were classified with those who had been granted the divorce, as their status was the same. There were considerably fewer separated than divorced.

There were young single women and young married women with no children (the classes that seem to be preferred) in close vicinity to the garment plants of the village and town who wanted and needed work such as these plants furnish, yet could not secure it. Many who applied were turned away. In this group were those of very limited background and experience, those of little schooling, and those lacking the confidence and presence that such backgrounds give. Little schooling goes along with other limited environmental factors. "The neediest," says one superintendent, "are not on the whole the best workers." The best workers come as a rule from families of higher socioeconomic status. For this reason application blanks were mailed to high school graduates in the county in which the plant was located and in adjacent counties.

Table 5 shows that the more rural the community, the less schooling the women had. The majority of women in the city plant had a high school education or more; in the town plant, tenth grade schooling or more; and in the village plant, grammar school education or more. The value of school property was nearly four times more in the county in which the small city was located than in the county in which the village

was located; yet school enrollment did not differ greatly. More was spent per pupil in the county of the small city. In other words, the women reared in this village community had poorer educational facilities; yet their need for such facilities was perhaps greater, since they had fewer opportunities for development through other means, such as personal contacts, Y. W. C. A. classes, and libraries, than did the city group.

TABLE 5

FORMAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN GARMENT PLANTS LOCATED IN THREE TYPES OF COMMUNITIES OF MISSISSIPPI

Formal Education	Women in Garment Plants of Three Community Types					
	Small City		Town		Village*	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
4-6 grade .....	3	.9	7	2.0	15†	8.7
7-9 grade. ....	65	17.5	77	21.8	85	49.4
10-12 grade.....	91	24.4	101	28.5	28	16.3
Finish high school.....	181	48.8	145	41.0	41	23.8
Attend college. ....	30	8.1	22	6.3	3	1.8
College graduate.....	1	.3	2	.6	....	....
TOTAL .....	371	100.0	354	100.0	172	100.0

\*Schooling of one woman not secured.

†Included in this group is one woman having only one year of schooling.

The women in the plants located in all three types of communities had had on the whole little other gainful work experience. About one-third of those in the city plant had had other gainful work, while one-sixth in the village plant had had it. This other gainful work had been more often white collar and professional work, such as clerking. There were some in the group who had taught school, but due to changes in teaching standards had had to seek employment elsewhere.

The women in the village plant more often lived in the open country than did those in the city plant. Twenty-six per cent of those in the small city plant, 56 per cent in the town plant, and 62 per cent in the village plant resided in the open country. Married women more often resided in the open country than did single, widowed, and divorced women. This was because many of the married women were married to farmers. The occupation of the husbands of about 50 per cent of the married women in both town and village plants was farming. Only 11 per cent of the husbands of wives in the city plant followed this occupation. Then, too, many farm-reared single girls in the city and town



plant had migrated from adjacent counties, too far away from the plant to live at home.

More women employed in the village and town plants, therefore, had the problem of transportation, or finding a means of getting to work. Only in a few areas were there busses which picked up the workers. In most cases the workers themselves must provide a car or make arrangement with another worker having a car. Those living in out-of-way places or on bad roads must either give up the idea of such work or move to town. Living in the open country worked out well for the large group who lived within five or six miles of the plant, in close vicinity to other workers and on good roads. This the majority of open country employees did. There has been much misinformation circulated around about the necessity of rural workers in such plants rising at or before daybreak. A visit to these plants a half hour or more before opening time will show that many of the rural residents have arrived for work. In one plant sisters living about one and a half miles out of town who walked to work arrived invariably one hour before time, often before the doors of the plant were open. Mississippi rural folk are as a whole early risers and retirers. Some time must be allowed by those residing in the open country for mishaps on the way, but without doubt many allow more time than is actually necessary.

This earnestness or zeal that country women show in getting to work on time is also, according to many of the supervisors interviewed, shown in their work and makes up at least in part for some of their other limitations—makes feasible from the employers' viewpoint drawing more largely from a group of older married women and women of less schooling than in the case of urban plants.

It would seem from the data presented that the farm women whom industry will benefit most will include young women, either single, widowed, or divorced, and if married, with no children or not more than one or two.<sup>4</sup> Women with several children do not as a rule find it practical to leave home. Industrial workers must also live within a reasonable distance of the plant on good roads and in a location where they can come with others or transport others. Employers prefer those with **some** high school training. Factories located in rural areas modify to **some extent** these general requirements.

<sup>4</sup> It has been shown in a previous report, Dorothy Dickins, "Some Contrasts in Levels of Living in Industrial, Farm, and Part-Time Farm Families in Rural Mississippi," *Social Forces*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, (December, 1939), that many of the young married women in the garment plants were assisting their husbands in getting established on the farm.

There are many rural areas such as Fulton that can furnish sufficient labor supply to staff an industrial plant. In fact, it is believed the saturation point here had not been reached. Estimates from the 1930 census of population show approximately 1,200 white single women of 15 years of age and over in this village county.<sup>5</sup> In this group was a large potential labor supply in the underprivileged, little schooled class. Fifty-four per cent of the white farmers of this county were tenants; and the daughters of these men, it has been shown, are under-represented in these industries.

Decentralization of industry can make a fine contribution by giving jobs to more daughters and young wives of nonowner farmers. Yet, industry will not take more of this group until they have more training. The higher the percentage of tenancy in a county, the greater will be the difficulty of getting industries established, yet the greater will be the need. Not that such counties or the state want their young women educated to become industrial workers, but educated so that they can make some sort of economic contribution—educated so that they can make a place of their own in the world, if left widowed or dependent—educated so that they can compete in the labor market with town girls.

Industries do not seem to offer many possibilities for certain groups of women in rural areas. The wife, with young children, cannot leave home; the middle-aged woman is not wanted; the woman on the out-of-way farm is confronted with the transportation problem. The solution for most of these is in more work opportunities for husbands and sons, or in rural industries employing men and boys. Many women in these groups need training, such as adult education programs can give, training to earn at home. Perhaps through handicrafts or quality foods, learning to produce some one thing well and finding a market for it, will come the best possibilities.

<sup>5</sup> The county in which the village is located has a higher proportion of white people than any county of the state, and this accounts for the large number of white single women.

# Cultural Factors and Land-Use Planning in Cuba Valley, New Mexico

*Kalervo Oberg\**

## ABSTRACT

Cuba Valley is today inhabited by two distinct cultural groups, each with its characteristic form of settlement and method of land use. The Spanish-American villages along the irrigable lands of the Rio Puerco represent a relatively long period of adjustment of people to a semi-arid environment; the Anglo-American homesteads on the surrounding dry lands have some twenty years of recent history and represent a process of economic and cultural adjustment which is still in progress.

Economic distress, especially among the Spanish-Americans, arises from the decrease in the physical resources of range and farm land, the contraction of the market for agricultural labor, and the natural increase in the population dependent upon these resources. The essential need of both cultural groups is for more land resources; the existing land resources are insufficient. A lessening of the intensity of their use is even desirable.

In the light of these needs the Federal Government has initiated a land-use adjustment program in the area, placing its land managing agencies in a position to determine the long-term trends in the use of resources. Some choice may have to be made as between the Spanish-American villages and the homesteaders. Before any choice can be made, however, it will be necessary to evaluate the possibilities of the development of a relatively stable community organization in the homestead area.

In this paper an attempt will be made to set forth some of the factors which a planning agency, motivated by socially imposed ethical objectives, should consider in meeting the challenge of a particular problem area—in this case, the Cuba Valley on the upper Rio Puerco watershed, Sandoval County, northwestern New Mexico.

The human habitation of Cuba Valley goes back to Indian occupation. The remains of these early Indian settlements in the form of metates, potsherds, and projectile points are plentifully scattered over the surrounding mesas. What forces, physical and social, caused the disappearance of this culture, it is now difficult to ascertain. We know, however, that by the middle of the last century, when large Spanish-American sheep and cattle operators moved into the area, only scattered Apache and Navajo hunters were found, dependent upon the wildlife of the region.

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With the pacification of the Navajo in the sixties, Spanish-American settlers began to move in. By 1890, Cuba Valley was settled to the headwaters of the Puerco. As on the Rio Grande, the form of settlement was the compact village community. The livelihood of the village population was derived from farm land. They grew what beans, corn, and chili they required for home consumption on small plots of irrigated land. Some feed crops were grown for the small herds of sheep and goats and the few cows that ranged not far from the villages. The outlying range land continued to be grazed by large stock outfits at first Spanish-American, but later mostly Anglo-American. Gradually some of the villagers, too, acquired herds of sheep and cattle, which they grazed while maintaining their farming operations. Others found employment as herders with the large outfits. Others grew beans and corn in excess of their own needs, which they sold to people exclusively in the stock industry. But the majority of the village population continued to be subsistence farmers.

With the coming of the railroads and the influx of so-called Anglo-Americans, the isolation of Spanish-American culture ceased; the balance between village farmer and large stockman was subjected to new forces. A major element in these new conditions was the increasing demand for wage labor. The attraction offered by cash income higher than could be had on the land drew men away from the villages as effectively as the land shortage which followed an increase in the village population. It is conceivable that the opportunity for employment itself stimulated the rate of population increase.

But far more powerful and insidious than the direct impact of an alien people were the cumulative changes that altered the physical environment upon which the majority of the Spanish-Americans depended. With the appearance of Anglo-American stockmen, cattle and sheep herds increased enormously, reaching a peak by 1910. Yet the effect of these herds on the range was felt much earlier. With overgrazing, plant cover was no longer able to hold rainfall; flash floods and erosion appeared; rivers began to flood and cut and carry silt. By 1912 most of the dams on the upper Puerco were washed out, with a consequent loss of half of the irrigated land. With the lowering of the water table, even dry farming became more hazardous. But the full effect of the deterioration of range and the actual loss of farm land was not immediately felt. Wage labor provided by railroads, lumber camps, sheep outfits, and beet fields as far north as Montana continued

to absorb Spanish-American workers until the end of the twenties. With the depression, the demand for labor dropped sharply. With dramatic suddenness, the decline in land and water resources became apparent and set the stage for a first-class agricultural crisis.

While these developments affecting the economy of the Spanish-Americans were taking place, the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 and the Grazing Homestead Act of 1916 were passed, making a section of free land available on the open range lands of New Mexico. It was not long before landless but land-hungry people, mostly Texans and Oklahomans, began to move in. By 1920 a considerable number of dry farmers had settled west of the upper Puerco in what is now called the Penistaja district. Three or four years were sufficient to prove to many of the settlers that dry farming would not succeed on these semi-arid plains, and a majority soon went back to tenant farming or to the oil fields which they had left. The remaining settlers, most of whom had some experience in stockkeeping, switched over to cattle raising. The short history of Penistaja reveals a rapid adjustment on the part of the population to these conditions: first, by a retreat of those who found that the climate is not suitable for successful farming and who were by training and inclination not suited to stock raising; and second, by the adoption of the stock industry by those who remained.

*What are the social and physical conditions of the two ethnic groups living in Cuba Valley today?* As planning for the area, in its social aspects, will deal with resources, needs, and income of the local population, we might well begin with a comparison of the resources on hand. To begin with, we must realize that 32 per cent of the 514 Spanish-American consumption units own no land whatever. Thus there is a landless class of laborers, largely migratory, who depended before the depression upon wage work and now depend largely upon the Work Projects Administration and on Farm Security Administration grants. This landless labor class, it appears, has formed, if not 32 per cent, at least a considerable portion of the total population for a long time. The origin of this class goes back to the reduction of agricultural land brought about by the washing out of the dams, and to pressure of population upon the diminishing land resources. Next, we have a larger class of farmers whose limited land and stock resources are sufficient for a self-sustaining agricultural economy. Considering only the land-owning and land-operating class, we find that the typical farmer owns no more than from 20 to 25 acres of flood-irrigated

and dry-farm land, and from 10 to 15 animal-units of stock, with sufficient publicly owned range land to provide for this stock. In comparison, the land and stock resources of the 19 Anglo-American settlers now in the Penistaja area are much greater, amounting to an average individual control, through ownership and lease, of over 3,700 acres of range land, with an average ownership of 45 head of cattle or numbers sufficient to stock this land.

One might well ask the question, *Why didn't the Spanish-Americans take up the lands in the Penistaja district when these lands were made available under the homestead acts?* One reason, certainly, was the fact that the Spanish-American farmer, accustomed to using irrigated land, was not certain that he would succeed on the dry lands of the Penistaja area. This, however, would not be true of Spanish-Americans with small herds of sheep or cattle. They could have gone into this area and exploited the range resources in the manner of the Anglo-Americans. The reason why they did not do so brings out the weight of the traditional village economy in the fact of required readjustments. For Spanish-Americans to adopt the dispersed type of homestead settlement and ranch economy means an immediate loss of such social services as are supplied by the church, school, modes of village recreation, and the economic interdependence built up between relatives and friends living in close contact. It is true that these relationships can be reestablished with better means of communication and organized social action. But it also means new techniques of land use, increased cost, and greater effort on the part of the people.

To stress the fact that the transition from a village economy to a homestead economy involves hardships and is made with reluctance and is not restricted to a particular ethnic group, we might mention the reactions of the members of a Mormon village dispersed by the land acquisition program of the Resettlement Administration. In this case it meant a transition from dry land to irrigated land, and the people stressed the difficulties they had in learning to grow beets and to take care of dairy stock. The severing of ties with friends and relatives and the locale must have caused some distress, for every year since their departure the members of the old village have held reunions at the old site, many traveling hundreds of miles to do so.

The land shortage among the Spanish-American villagers in Cuba Valley was caused by the physical limitations of irrigable land, the pressure of the population on this particular type of land, and the pat-

tern of living set by the village community. When a man's land resources diminished to such an extent that he could no longer acquire his entire livelihood from land, or if he became landless, he went in search of wage labor, for wage labor meant only periodic sallies into an alien world. His contacts were still maintained with his home village. This does not mean that the Spanish-Americans can not or will not change their patterns of living; it means only that a change over into a homestead economy meant a greater, more difficult readjustment than the search for wage labor.

The differences in the economic life of the Spanish-American village dweller and the Anglo-American homesteader are brought out even more clearly if we compare the incomes of the two groups. In general, the typical income of the Spanish-Americans in Cuba Valley amounts to, roughly, \$400; the income of the Anglo-American settler, about \$1,000. Both groups are dependent upon agriculture and wage work. Among the Spanish-Americans, 50 per cent of the income is derived from wage work or some form of government subsidy, while among the Anglo-Americans, 26 per cent is derived from wage work. Thirty-five per cent of the Spanish-American income is derived from crops, while only 3 per cent of the Anglo-American income is derived from this source. On the other hand, only 15 per cent of the Spanish-American income is derived from livestock, while 71 per cent of Anglo-American income is derived from the sale of cattle. These figures show that the Anglo-Americans in Penistaja are predominantly stockkeepers, while the Spanish-Americans are predominantly farmers and wage workers.

The difference between a \$400 and a \$1,000 income is considerable, if we were dealing with these incomes in a single economy. But as these incomes are parts of two systems of production and consumption, conditioned by different physical and cultural environments, their full significance is not brought out by a pecuniary comparison. Before a sound comparison can be made it is necessary, first, to determine the functional relationship between the various items of consumption in each pattern; and, second, to correlate these relationships with the modes of production and the cultural values peculiar to each group.

Functionally considered, the consumption pattern in this case can be broken down into four classes. First, we have spending for food, clothing, and housing. Second, in order to make this expenditure continuous, expenditures must be incurred for farm equipment and operation.

Third, we have expenditure for medical care, education, and recreation. And fourth, we have expenditure for transportation and travel. Expressed in terms of needs, we might say that there are certain needs, such as the need for food, clothing, housing, medical care, training, and recreation, which are ends in themselves; and another category of needs, such as the need for farm equipment and transportation, which are accessory and in the nature of means.

Needs, however, are not absolute but are determined by the peculiarities of the economic adjustment and the traditionally imposed style of living. If we now compare the consumption patterns of the Spanish-American and Anglo-American communities in Cuba Valley, we shall see the operation of forces inherent in a village economy as part of Spanish-American culture on one hand, and the forces inherent in a homestead economy stemming from Anglo-American culture on the other.

That the Spanish-American of Cuba Valley eats beans, chili, and tortillas and lives in an adobe house, and that the Anglo-American eats bread, meat, and potatoes and lives in a log cabin or plank shack are culturally determined styles of living. The point of interest here is that the Anglo-American pattern costs more. An Anglo-American food pattern for a family of four amounts to, roughly, \$240. For a similar-sized family among the Spanish-Americans, the expenditure is \$180. The expenditure for housing, on the other hand, is roughly equal. In fact, it is generally accepted that the Spanish-American house is larger and more lasting and even better equipped. The Spanish-Americans make an effort to keep up the *cuarto*, or parlor, which is at the disposal of guests. No such room is present in the houses of the Penistaja homesteaders.

Clothing, although not much different in style or quality, also costs the Anglo-Americans a little more. The total difference in the expenditure for the three basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing amounts to a little over \$100 a year—\$300 for the Spanish-American family and \$400 for the Anglo-American family.

The expenditure for farm equipment and maintenance is \$25 for the Spanish-Americans and \$100 for the Anglo-Americans. If the diversion dams and irrigation ditches that once existed were maintained by the Spanish-Americans, it is safe to suppose that operation costs would be greater than among the Anglo-Americans.

The discrepancy between expenditures increases when we consider



such items as medicine, education, and recreation. For instance, medical care at childbirth varies considerably between the two groups. When a Spanish-American woman gives birth, she acquires the services of a midwife; whereas an Anglo-American woman at childbirth demands the services of a doctor, or hospitalization. The expenditure in the case of the Spanish-American family may mean only a goat or two, while an Anglo-American family may pay from \$50 to \$100.

When we come to education, we find that Anglo-Americans make more effort to send their children to high school than do the Spanish-Americans. When an Anglo-American boy or girl is sent to high school in Cuba, it means boarding the child with someone, or, which happens quite often, renting a house in Cuba, where the wife looks after the children attending school. Some Anglo-American families are averse to sending their children to a high school where the teachers are Catholic sisters. This means sending the children to an Albuquerque or a Santa Fe high school and also an increased expenditure.

Recreation among the Anglo-Americans takes two forms: dances and picnics within the locality, which demand very little expense; and journeys to Albuquerque to picture shows, which entail travel expenses. Spanish-American recreation takes place primarily in the village and at less cost.

We come now to an item of expenditure in which there is the greatest difference, namely, the cost of travel and transportation. The maintenance and operation of a car costs the Anglo-Americans, on the average, \$250 a year, while travel costs the Spanish-Americans, on the average, \$25 per year.

In order to understand the difference in car and travel expenses in the two groups, we must first understand the needs of a dispersed type of homestead economy as opposed to a compact village economy based on subsistence agriculture. The Anglo-American homesteaders practice commercial stockkeeping, specialized and dependent on a commercial center. While Cuba provides such a center, it is not sufficient. Economically the Anglo-Americans depend a great deal on Albuquerque. For their medical, educational, and recreational needs, as we have seen, they also depend to a considerable extent on this city. Furthermore, the Anglo-Americans of Penistaja have relatives in New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. Visiting for business or pleasure can be effected only at considerable cost.

A Spanish-American village, on the other hand, is a much more

closely integrated unit, both spatially and socially. Usually the store, the school, the church, and the recreation hall are in the village. Farming operations for subsistence are carried on near the village. Relatives are either in the village or in nearby villages and can be reached by foot or on horseback. In other words, the two economies are different and impose on their members different operation and maintenance costs. Thus, if we take into consideration differences in economic organization and cultural background, the real income of a typical Spanish-American and an Anglo-American in Cuba Valley is not expressed by \$400 and \$1,000. By considering needs that are really means, rather than ends, it is the cost items which make an Anglo-American income appear greater. Actually the real income which will stand comparison with Spanish-American income is more nearly \$600.

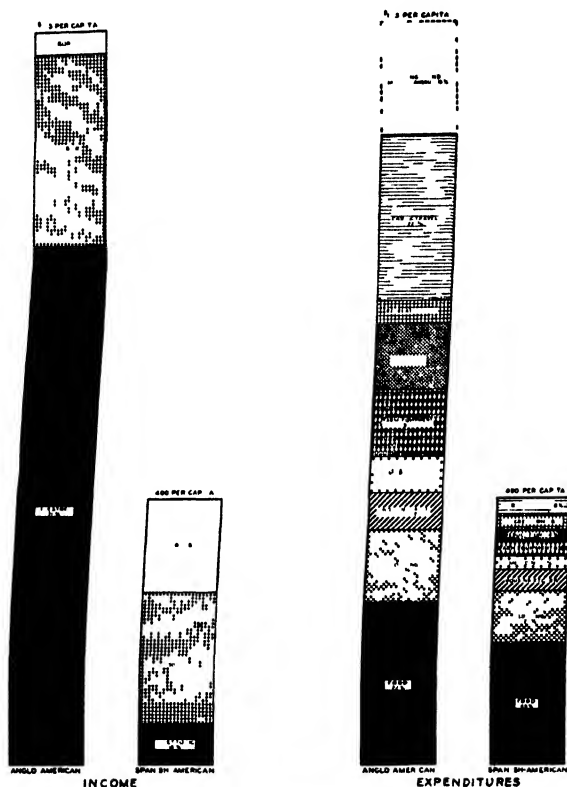
We have dealt thus far with differences arising out of two types of economic adjustment that affect land resources: income and expenditure. There are additional differences, however, that are integral parts of the cultural heritage of the two ethnic groups under consideration.

The Spanish-American village community is the result of more than two centuries of development in the Rio Grande Valley. Spanish and Indian culture elements along with customs and techniques developed in the course of history have blended to give this culture a character singularly fitted to meet the peculiarities of the physical environment in which it has grown. Even though the physical basis of the village is seriously threatened today, the body of beliefs and social conventions, the social relationships built up and maintained by mutual aid, give village life a high degree of integration. As poor and insecure economically as the Spanish-American undoubtedly is, he still holds tenaciously to a community life that offers him more than he can find elsewhere.

The Anglo-Americans of Penistaja came some twenty years ago from the Southern Plains States with a different economic and social background. The pattern of settlement was the dispersed homestead. Specialized agricultural pursuits were definitely tied to commercial centers linked by railroads and surfaced motor roads. The 160-acre homestead permitted a fairly even and dense settlement of the agricultural region.

We get a picture, as in the flat country of Texas, of a large town, with its stores, high schools and colleges, hospitals, and picture shows, serving a vast number of farms within a radius of a hundred miles or

COMPARATIVE INCOME AND EXPENDITURES  
 ANGLO-AMERICAN AND SPANISH AMERICAN FAMILIES  
 CUBA VALLEY NEW MEXICO\*  
 1938



\* 8 ANGLO-AMERICAN SETTLERS IN PEN STA. A  
 8-6 SPANISH-AMERICAN FAMILIES NEAR CUBA

more. The particular technological feature which makes this far-flung interdependence possible is the motor car and the surfaced motor road. The motor car is no longer considered a luxury in rural life but an essential part of farm equipment. A common experience in Texas is to see a new Buick sedan parked before a ramshackle, two-roomed farmhouse

Not only are farms linked by country roads, but farmers take advantage of state and federal highways, thereby tying themselves to the national system of road communications. The motor car and the motor road, by linking an extensive rural area to an urban center, have done more than create a new economic situation—they have speeded up the tempo of American life. With the multiplication of relationships and experiences, styles and standards of living have changed, leading in turn to norms that are fast becoming traditional.

Within this larger network of rural-urban life are the more intimate groupings of community and neighborhood. Like the larger system of relationships, communities and neighborhoods are the results of a spontaneous process of population movement and settlement and grow up around service centers and communication facilities. But communities and neighborhoods are more than that. Close association leads to acquaintanceships, friendships, and bonds of mutual assistance in work and play. In the long run this development rests on a certain population density and the physical resources to maintain this density.

When homesteading in the Penistaja began, large numbers of people moved in, and it seemed that a homestead settlement with a homestead type of community organization would result. Granting that the experiment would have succeeded as a dry-farming enterprise, there were initial difficulties and differences. The homestead was 640 acres in size rather than 160 acres. Public lands were interspersed between homesteads, making the pattern of settlement even more scattered than it would otherwise have been. Roads were but driveways over the plains, often impassable in the winter. Cuba was 20 miles away; Albuquerque, 100 miles.

Dry farming, however, did not succeed; the majority of the settlers left, the remainder going in for stock-raising. We can no longer speak of even a homestead type of community. Individuals, it is true, have survived, but, it seems, without adequate community bonds. The recent Government purchase program offered opportunities for a further movement out of the area, with the result that only 19 families now remain in the neighborhood of Penistaja.

The Spanish-American village, as we have noted, is a highly integrated form of community organization, and it is only because its economic base is threatened that distress has appeared. An increase in the resources would make the Spanish-American village once more self-sustaining and economically stable. The Anglo-American settlers from

the very beginning have been in the anomalous position of not having sufficient numbers to create a satisfactory community organization and not having adequate means of communication to link them satisfactorily to the larger urban center of Albuquerque.

What, then, is the task of a planning agency in Cuba Valley? While the essential need of both cultural groups is for more land resources, not only are the existing resources insufficient, but a concern with the preservation of resources requires a lessening of the intensity of their use. A reduction in the use of range, for example, implies a reduction in the local population or a reduction in the area used by individual operators, or both. In the process of reduction and perhaps in the eventual allocation of resources, a planning agency has to make some choice as between the village communities and the homesteaders. But before such a choice can be made, it may be important to evaluate the possibilities of the development of a relatively stable community organization in the homestead area surrounding Penistaja. For experience seems to indicate that the relatively greater integration and stability of the Spanish-American villages place them in a position of greater advantage in relation to the use of these resources.

# Notes

## A LONG-TIME EXPERIMENT IN LOCAL SOCIAL PLANNING

Twenty years ago in Fayette County, Kentucky, a project in community organization was inaugurated which serves as a significant experiment in long-time social planning. The project, based directly on the results of the pioneer work in rural community studies which had been done and was being done by Carl Taylor, C. J. Galpin, Dwight Sanderson, Carle Zimmerman, E. L. Morgan, J. H. Kolb, and others, has furnished a twenty-year intensive laboratory test of the hypotheses and techniques which had been developed in the writings of these social scientists.

Fayette County at the beginning of the project had a rural population of thirteen thousand, nearly all of whom were of old American stock; Lexington, the county seat, a population of 41,500 people. Fayette County, situated in the Central Kentucky Bluegrass region, is in the center of a rich agricultural territory which was first settled in the early years of the American Revolution by hardy pioneers from the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. Lexington was given its name in honor of the first battle of the American Revolution when a group of pioneers encamped on the present site of the town received the first news of the battle of Lexington. Agriculture has thrived increasingly in this territory for more than a century and a half.

C. J. Galpin in his earlier studies in community organization laid major stress on what he called "the repeatable" unit in society and especially in rural society—on "the fundamental socio-economic community unit—a unit repeated in the structure of society as certainly as the cell is repeated in the structure of organic tissue."<sup>1</sup> The sponsors of the Fayette County project acted upon the assumption that the logical and most promising approach to the betterment of conditions in the nation and in the states was to start with the local unit—Dr. Galpin's repeatable socio-economic unit. They sought to explore the possibilities of local community betterment based on a long-time plan painstakingly tested as the project proceeded. They sought above everything else to attain a clear understanding of the local unit. To that end they undertook to organize and deploy the human forces of the local community, observing critically what happened as a result of the techniques tried—which of these techniques appeared to bring about effective results and which proved to be ineffective. They sought thereby to reveal principles and techniques which could be applied effectively to the improvement of other communities. In other words, they sought to show the significant factors for success in community organization, factors which when

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, University of Wisconsin, AES RB 34 (Madison, 1915); C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1918), pp. 98-99.

applied to other repeatable units might be counted upon to show predictable results. That accomplished for one unit, there would be furnished a basis for the betterment of conditions in other units and finally for state-wide and nation-wide betterment.

Before inaugurating the Fayette County project the leaders took stock of the social facilities which the county had and those which it lacked. This social inventory showed that the county had no health department, no circulating library, no 4-H Clubs, no home demonstration agent, no parent-teacher federation, no community recreation project. It was lacking in school facilities; most of the schools were inefficient, poorly constructed, one-teacher units; and nearly half the pupils in the few large schools were housed in dark basement rooms. Standards for the training and ability of teachers were low; teachers electioneered actively at the polls in the election of the school superintendent and trustees; sanitary conditions were poor; no hot lunches were available. There were no health examinations, and no instruction in health was offered. There were no programs for recreation, music, agriculture, or home economics. There was no parent-teacher program. Finally, high school instruction was poor and the enrollment small.

This stocktaking caused some of the members of the group of leaders to be discouraged, and some of the group were indignant at those in authority who appeared to be responsible for these unsatisfactory conditions. All were dissatisfied, but there developed out of this dissatisfaction a determination to try to bring about improvement in the conditions which were so counter to the social values held by the group of local leaders concerned. A tension between the existing and the ideal situation was sharply brought to awareness; out of such tensions between social organization and cultural ideals are drawn the forces for social dynamics.

A health committee was set up, and this committee in due course of time secured the establishment of a county health department. That department today is widely recognized in the United States as a model organization in the field of public health.

The work of the homemakers' committee resulted in the employment of a home demonstration agent and the development of effective homemakers' clubs throughout the county.

The Parent-Teachers' committee assisted in organizing parent-teacher groups in all the schools and brought about the organization of a county federation which has continued to do constructive community work. Another committee sponsored the formation of 4-H Clubs in all the schools and the setting up of a county federation of 4-H Clubs. The work of the county library committee was equally effective. The committee on a county rest room also succeeded in its undertaking, and the recreation committee sponsored an effective community recreation project.

A school improvement committee was set up by the organization and undertook to arouse among the people of the county a sufficiently intense desire for

a first-class school system to induce them to lend active support in achieving that objective. The work of that committee also was successful in such measure that every boy and girl in the county now has access to excellent high school instruction, and well-equipped centralized graded schools are available to all. At the outset of the program there was a total enrollment of 175 high school students; today the high school enrollment is more than 1,700. All schools have hot lunches furnished to the pupils at cost. Health service is provided for all the schools, and a program of dental examinations and corrections has been put into effect. Courses in agriculture and in home economics are available to all students. There are courses in farm shop, electricity (including radio), auto mechanics, wood work and carpentry, mechanical drawing, distributive occupations and salesmanship, stenography, and secretarial practice. Vocational night courses were inaugurated which now have an enrollment of more than 200 persons. Transportation is furnished to all students living at a distance too great for them to walk to school.

The Fayette County project was begun as a spontaneous informal citizens' movement and continued as such for ten years with no paid workers. At the end of that time the organization sponsoring the project became a member of the Lexington and Fayette County Community Chest and since that time has received an annual allotment of approximately \$3,000 and has employed a full-time secretary. The organization outlines a systematic program in advance of the beginning of each year. For the past ten years the organization has been a member of the American Country Life Association and regularly sends delegates to the annual meeting of that organization.

The school improvement sub-project of the Fayette County project furnished a good test of organization principles and techniques and supplied an instructive case study of reform through a spontaneous social movement. In characteristic sequence, the movement advanced from a stage of unrest and informal individual action, through the stage of formal organization as a reform group, to eventual establishment as an institutionalized part of the community. The project started in one community when some patrons took note of the fact that conditions in the school building were unsatisfactory. Two or three patrons got together and talked about the matter. Then a meeting was called and about a dozen patrons met at the home of one of the group. At this time the situation was further discussed and arrangements were made for another meeting. That meeting resulted in arousing the interest of nearly all persons present. It became apparent that the problem was not only a local one but involved the whole county. The result was the combining of forces into the present county organization. The movement began to acquire permanency and structure.

The county organization immediately formed an educational committee made up of twenty active men and women. The committee set out to study county school administration from all angles. School authorities were consulted. Facts were gathered on the organization and operation of successful schools in various parts of Kentucky and other states and on the cost of the erection and operation



of these schools. As a further step in its program, the committee organized a two-day tour in which thirty school patrons and citizens in a body visited every school in the county and for each school made notes concerning its construction, its teaching personnel, its equipment, water supply, etc. After the committee had digested the facts about the Fayette County schools and other school systems and programs, it formulated a report embodying proposals and recommendations for a program looking toward the development of a first-class county-wide school system. This report was considered and endorsed by a largely attended public meeting at the court house. The meeting recommended the adoption of a county-wide plan of consolidation, including arrangements for transportation and the building of well-equipped, centralized schools on a plan of deferred payments. Particularly it urged that such a plan be based on a survey of the entire county school problem by qualified experts. The organization then launched a campaign to win the support of the public. News articles were prepared by the committee and accepted by the local newspapers showing the advantages of the proposed system, giving detailed facts on school costs, and making the claim that a first-class school system could be had without an excessive tax burden by the adoption of a proper plan of action.

Besides newspaper articles from week to week, community meetings were held in various parts of the county. The committee arranged also for county-wide public meetings from time to time, at which such eminent educators as Dr. John J. Tigert, then United States Commissioner of Education, and others, attracted large crowds and were given front-page space in the newspapers. One feature of the campaign was a debate on the question as to whether Fayette County should continue the six little high schools then being operated with a total enrollment of 175 students, or whether a high school program should be organized in such manner as to eventually operate on the basis of one or two adequately equipped and staffed high schools. That debate filled the courthouse and set the stage for the consummation of a program under which more than 1,700 students now enjoy modern high school advantages. By these and other means the public mind was favorably impressed, and active friends were won for the movement. Some ultra-conservative citizens ridiculed the advocates of the "new deal" in education and dubbed them "dangerous radicals," "half-baked theorists," and "visionaries." Undiscouraged by this resistance, the organization continued its campaign of education over a period of two years, at the end of which time it won an overwhelming victory at the polls. As a result the administration of the schools was placed in the hands of leaders of the organization and has there remained continuously to the present time.

The new program having thus been launched, the people of the community in which the original organization was formed took the lead. They were now determined to have a new school building which would start a county-wide building movement. The newly elected school board had no money for the erection of new buildings. The people of the community said, "very well, we will undertake the building and let the board pay for it in yearly installments."

The offer was accepted and a campaign launched to raise the money. Fifty-five patrons subscribed to the capital stock. The balance of the money necessary to erect the building was borrowed from one of the local banks, and within twelve months the new building was a reality. That was three years from the time that the small group of discouraged and dissatisfied patrons met and determined to try to improve conditions.

Further developments were facilitated by competitive emulation of the first community. Other communities in the county soon began to want to improve the opportunities for their children. To provide "good" school offerings became a measure of group status. The first community to follow was Linlee, which organized and erected a modern new school plant according to the plan used by the first community. Athens followed Linlee, then Russell Cave, Kenwick, Highlawn, and Bryan Station. The final step in the consummation of the program was the inauguration of a centralized high school program, operating in a building embodying the best features of the modern rural high school.

A leader in public life in the United States once said, "Things don't just happen. Things are brought to pass." And that is particularly true of the civic improvement movement in Fayette County during the past 20 years. It was brought to pass by the active efforts of civic minded, persistent community leaders, backed by the hearty support of the rank and file of citizens who had confidence in those leaders.

These men and women believed in social planning through the democratic process. They knew that time and patience, trouble and pains would be required to bring about the changes which they sought to achieve. They proposed not a one-year or a five-year-plan, but one of ten, fifteen, or twenty years. They were idealists, but they based their plans on hard sense. They knew that moving too hastily might cause a setback. They determined to move step by step and deliberately enough to carry the people with them, consolidating each gain as they progressed toward the final goal. This they conceived to be the surest way to achieve effective and lasting reform.

Community improvement projects are a normal phenomenon in American life, but too often such reform movements are undertaken without a well-defined plan, lack continuity of execution, are erratic in movement and direction, are short in duration, and often fail to attain the objectives desired. The greatest significance of the Fayette County project lies in its being based on a well thought-out, long-time plan and particularly in the continuity and consistency with which it was executed. No reversal in direction or progress occurred in the 20 years in which the project has been in operation, and the project has culminated in the attainment of all the major goals of community improvement sought by its sponsors.

### A SUGGESTED TECHNIQUE FOR DETERMINING WHETHER A COMMUNITY CAN BE CLASSIFIED AS RURAL OR URBAN\*

The problem of determining whether a community is rural or urban has been a bothersome one since investigations into social life were first transferred from the realm of pure reason to the realm of objective investigation. It is relatively easy to define the terms and to assume characteristics for rural and urban areas by the "armchair" method; but, when one attempts to discern objective indicators which tell with more or less precision when a community should be considered rural or urban, countless difficulties arise. Some of the basic problems are discussed by Sorokin and Zimmerman in their *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*.<sup>1</sup>

Devices which have been used to determine in numerical terms whether an area is rural or urban are numerous. They range all the way from calculating the ratio of cows to people to considering the density of population to be the objective indicator. Most investigators, however, have used the population density criterion either directly or indirectly by simply calling, as the United States Census Bureau does, communities with more or less than a certain number of inhabitants urban or rural.

The meaning of the terms "rural" and "urban" is essentially vague. Usage has given to them an implicit connotation which is generally understood; but when explicit definition of them is attempted, no concise statement can readily be devised. It is not the purpose of this article to *define* these terms, for it is believed universally valid definitions are virtually impossible. The words "rural" and "urban" do not seem to be adequate as definitive terms by which all communities can be classified. Therefore, it appears the pursuit for logically accurate *definitions* of these terms should be abandoned.

However, this terminology exists, and to most people it has meaning. Rather than discard it entirely, perhaps it is better to seek for objective *indicators* which give some basis for a more concise understanding of the differences between types of communities that could be considered to come within the categories. This is not attempting to define the terms.

In the search for these objective indicators, one should attempt to discover those which can be applied universally: the search should be for techniques which can be used to classify communities in any section of any country. In the United States, for instance, indicators should be such that they can be applied to areas of the Northeast, the Southwest, the South, or the Middle West. These are diverse in regard to geography, type of agricultural and industrial activity, racial and cultural composition, and in many other ways. A technique for determining what areas of all these diverse regions can be classed as *rural* or *urban* would be more useful than one usable in a limited number of them.

\* The basic principles set forth in this article were developed by the author in a study in connection with child welfare services in rural communities for the Bureau of Child Welfare, New York State Department of Social Welfare.

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt, 1936), chap. 1.

One principle which apparently has not been consciously applied, and one which is quite simple, is that of basing the classification of a community upon the types of people who compose it. Why cannot those communities which are made up of a high percentage of people who are *rural* be placed in that category? Conversely, those communities composed of a majority of *urban* people might be classed as *urban*. The basis for distinction becomes the people and their behavior. Whether or not an area is densely populated, or whether agriculture or manufacturing is the main means of making a livelihood would not be held essential for classification purposes, except in so far as they influence the mode of living and the behavior of the individuals populating the area.

The question immediately arises: How can people be grouped according to whether they are *rural* or *urban* in their mode of living? The most obvious answer is that they cannot be strictly so classified. The *rural* way of life or the *urban* way of life are indeterminable except in a vague sense. But it would seem easier to classify individuals on the basis of their rurality or urbanity than to so classify areas without regard to the people inhabiting them. The farmer has many distinguishable characteristics; conversely, the city dweller can usually be identified.

Shifting the emphasis from type of geographical area or population density to the individuals and their behavior shifts the problem to discovering numerical information which tells whether or not a high percentage of people are *rural* or *urban* in their outlook. The process becomes one of enumerating the people of an area with respect to their primary interests, their modes of living, their recreational or other activities which reveal their essential make-up. If a person identifies himself with rural life, if he considers himself to be a 'country person,' he should be classed as such. The problem is to find measurable items by which the people of a community can be classified.

In attempting to discover people's mode of thinking and living, a reasonable procedure would seem to be to discover the nature of that activity in which they spend the most time or the activity which is most vital to them. Habits of thought and behavior are likely to be largely colored by the activity which answers these descriptions. This principle is by no means universal, but in general it is probably valid.

One activity which certainly colors people's thinking and behaving is that one by which the fundamental basis of life is earned. A large part of an individual's time is spent at his work, and in general his whole life activity centers around the economic activity in which he engages. It would seem, then, that one indicator of whether a community is *rural* or *urban* is whether a large percentage of the people living in it engage in *rural* or *urban* occupations.

The United States Population Census has some information which lists people according to occupation. In the Fifteenth Census, 37 occupational groups are listed for New York State; and of these, 12 seem to be primarily *urban*, that is, they are occupations in which many people living in large metropolitan centers engage. Hence, it might be assumed that places in which a high percentage of the population work at these occupations could be classed as *urban*. These oc-

cupations seem to be good indicators because they are characteristic of people residing in urban centers, and at the same time they are hardly ever found outside the largest cities. It should be noted that these classifications are available only for cities of 25,000 or more population.

All agricultural workers are listed in one category by the Census Bureau. Obviously, this category includes a wide variety of agricultural pursuits, but for purposes of a rural-urban classification this is of no consequence. The important thing is that these people are engaged in some type of agriculture; and their interests are, in most cases, influenced by this activity. Communities composed of many of these people will take on a characteristic which we vaguely associate with the word "rural"; hence for classification purposes they can be placed in this category.

In order to test the possibilities of the proposed technique, tabulations of the above-mentioned occupational groupings were made for counties of New York State. These are embodied in Table 1. The twelve industries included are as follows:

- Building Industry
- Chemical and Allied Industries
- Automobile Factories and Repair Shops
- Iron and Steel Industries
- Shoe Factories
- Printing, Publishing, and Engraving
- Textile Industries
- Electrical Machinery and Supply Factories
- Other Manufacturing Industries
- Telephone and Telegraph
- Recreation and Amusement
- Other Domestic and Personal Service

Certainly these are not the only classes that could be utilized. They seem to serve reasonably well for the state considered, but for other areas other occupations might be used to better advantage. Actually, it would be impossible to get the same data for all other states because different classifications are used for some of them by the Census Bureau.

Approximate percentages of the total number of persons over 10 years of age engaged in the 12 industries and in agriculture are to be found in columns 5 and 6, Table 1. Column 7 embodies the differential between the two percentage columns and should be considered a rough indicator of the "urbanness" or "ruralness" of an area. Emphasis should be placed on the word *rough* because it is felt these data alone are not sufficient or refined enough to offer an ultimate standard.

Table 1 shows there is a wide range on this indicator—from -51.6 to 30.6—for the 57 counties of the state, not including the New York City area. Just where the line of cleavage should be is not clear. Reasonably, somewhere near the median value might be the dividing point. However, this indicator alone is submitted only as a sample of how the principle might be applied. It is not claimed that these data should be considered a final answer to the question.

TABLE 1

TOTAL POPULATION, TOTAL AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OVER 10 YEARS OF AGE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE AND 12 SELECTED INDUSTRIES, AND RURAL INDICATOR FOR 57 COUNTIES OF NEW YORK STATE\*

County	(1) Total Population	(2) (3) (4) Total Persons Over Ten Years of Age Gainfully Employed			(5) (6) Percentage of Total Persons over Ten Gainfully Employed		(7) Rural Indicator, Columns 5-6
		Total	In Agriculture	In 12 Industries	In Agriculture	In 12 Industries	
Broome	147,022	63,000	3,900	32,319	6 2	57 8	-51 6
Montgomery	60 076	26,526	2,998	14,255	11 3	53 1	-41 8
Schenectady	125,021	53,531	1,172	22 639	2 2	42 2	-40 0
Erie	762,408	310,635	9 668	133,590	3 1	43 0	-39 9
Westchester	530 984	226 723	6,715	92 982	2 9	41 0	-38 1
Onondaga	291 606	122 748	6 894	51,304	5 6	41 8	-36 2
Nassau	303,053	124,004	5,975	50,030	4 8	40 3	-35 5
Monroe	423,881	182,038	8,388	70,482	4 6	38 7	-34 1
Albany	211,953	94,342	3,638	35,324	3 8	37 4	-33 6
Niagara	149,329	60,733	6,100	26,391	10 0	43 4	-33 4
Chemung	74 680	30 209	2,267	12 242	7 5	33 7	-33 0
Rockland	59 599	22 940	1,140	8 662	4 9	37 8	-32 9
Oneida	198 763	81 228	7,515	32 598	9 3	40 1	-30 8
Herkimer	64 066	27,340	3,825	12 170	13 9	44 5	-30 6
Rensselaer	119,781	52,949	3,796	17,138	7 0	32 3	-25 3
Suffolk	161 055	58 920	7,425	20 861	12 6	35 4	-22 8
Dutchess	105,462	42,496	5,206	14,352	12 3	33 7	-21 4
Orange	130 383	52 191	6 473	17,121	12 2	32 1	-19 9
Tompkins	41 490	17,935	2,900	6,337	16 1	35 3	-19 2
Warren	34,174	14,525	1,585	4,145	10 9	28 5	-17 6
Cattaraugus	72,398	27,800	5,730	7,667	10 6	27 6	-17 0
Saratoga	63,314	26,223	3 480	7,940	13 2	30 2	-17 0
Putnam	13,744	5 840	1,019	1,978	17 4	33 9	-16 5
Chautauqua	126,157	50,549	8 308	16,160	15 4	32 5	-16 1
Cayuga	64,751	27 935	5,317	8,802	19 0	32 5	-13 5
Fulton	45,460	23 940	1,620	4 790	6 7	20 0	-13 3
Hamilton	3,929	1 692	1,200	4,407	11 8	24 0	-12 2
Seneca	24,983	10,090	2,520	3,733	24 9	36 9	-12 0
Columbia	41,617	17 200	4,730	6,640	27 5	38 6	-11 1
Cortland	31,709	14,000	3,000	4,510	21 4	32 2	-10 8
Steuben	82 671	32,400	7,420	10 431	22 9	32 2	- 9 3
Oswego	69 645	27 409	6,180	8,155	22 5	29 7	- 7 2
Essex	33,959	13,185	2 375	3,055	18 0	23 1	- 5 1
Jefferson	83,574	34,473	7,256	7,782	21 1	22 6	- 1 5
Washington	46,482	19,522	4,540	4,668	23 2	23 9	- 7
Greene	25,808	9 534	2,680	2,714	28 1	28 4	- 3
Ulster	80,155	32,780	5 918	5,469	18 0	16 8	1 2
Genesee	44,468	17,152	5,010	4,505	29 2	26 2	3 0
Livingston	37,560	13 625	4 050	3,545	29 7	26 0	3 7
St Lawrence	90,960	33,257	9 580	5,048	18 8	15 1	3 7
Franklin	45,694	17,650	4,300	3,507	24 3	19 8	4 5
Clinton	46,687	17,700	4,750	3,926	26 8	22 1	4 7
Ontario	54 276	21,435	5,810	5,137	27 1	21 2	5 9
Tioga	25,480	10,000	2,862	2,185	28 6	21 8	6 8
Wyoming	28,764	11,737	4,025	3,159	34 2	25 9	7 3
Alleganey	38,020	14 650	4,360	3,200	29 8	21 8	8 0
Madison	39 790	13,800	4,940	3,457	35 7	25 7	10 0
Otsego	46,710	19,045	5,820	3,896	30 5	20 4	10 1
Chenango	34,665	14,000	4,710	3 205	33 6	22 8	10 8

TABLE 1—(Continued)

Schuyler.....	12,909	4,850	1,865	1,136	38.4	23.5	14.9
Orleans.....	28,795	11,150	3,960	2,211	35.5	19.8	15.7
Wayne.....	49,995	19,390	7,660	3,701	39.5	19.0	20.5
Yates.....	16,848	6,625	2,625	1,246	39.6	18.8	20.8
Delaware.....	41,163	15,625	5,875	2,304	37.6	14.7	22.9
Lewis.....	23,447	9,012	3,850	1,385	42.7	15.3	27.4
Schoharie.....	19,667	7,620	3,635	1,310	47.7	17.1	30.6

\*Figures are approximate.

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, "Population,"* III, Part 2, Table 20, 305.

It is not surprising to find that those counties in which a city of 25,000 or more population is located are found toward the *urban* end of the scale. Because a large portion of the population in these counties live in the city, probably the indicator for the entire county is weighted out of proportion in that direction. The area of these counties surrounding the urban centers may fall much further up the scale if the weighting is eliminated. This is done in Table 2. The same percentages as in Table 1 are computed for the area surrounding the city or cities of those counties in which a city or cities of 25,000 or more population are located. It is seen that this area of these counties falls further toward the "rural" end of the scale in all cases except three—Albany, Chemung, and Oneida—which move in the other direction. This introduces a slight refinement and indicates how further analyses could be conducted. The basic unit should be made smaller until indicators for each community are computed. Limitations of available data will make this difficult, however.

One important point to be noted is that counties which are usually denoted as "suburban" stand relatively far toward the *urban* end of the scale. Although the inhabitants of these areas are predominantly *urban* in their outlooks, the fact that they are grouped in small villages has led investigators to consider them "not urban" although they have not been willing to include them in a rural category. Perhaps this unwillingness has arisen from the fact that the people in these communities have their basic interests in the city and have basically an *urban* outlook. "Commuters" they are sometimes called, and seldom do they identify themselves with any *rural* activity that may transpire in the vicinity of their place of residence. It is believed that these communities are essentially urban because the people inhabiting them have their basic interests in the metropolitan area their place of residence adjoins.

If this agricultural and industrial indicator were used alone, the assumption would have to be that the basis of distinction is simply this. However, it should be emphasized that this indicator is considered important only because it appears as if individuals' activities and thinking processes are greatly affected by their economic pursuit. It must not be assumed that the proposed classification technique is based primarily on this single indicator; such a procedure would be simplifying a complicated problem far too much. Since the basic distinction is largely behavioral, it is necessary to fully understand the manifold variations possible in behavior patterns and to realize that to classify these into two mu-

TABLE 2

TOTAL POPULATION, PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OVER 10 YEARS OF AGE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE AND 12 SELECTED INDUSTRIES, AND RURAL INDICATOR FOR AREA EXCLUSIVE OF CITIES OF 25,000 OR MORE POPULATION IN 18 COUNTIES OF NEW YORK STATE\*

County	(1) Population of Area Exclusive of City	(2) Total Persons Over Ten Years of Age Gain- fully Employed	(3) (4) Percentage of Total Persons Over Ten Gainfully Employed		(5) Rural Indicator; Columns 3-4
			In Agriculture	In 12 Industries	
Chemung.....	81,302	9,400	6.2	55.3	-49.1
Broome.....	70,360	28,500	12.8	54.7	-41.9
Erie.....	189,332	64,312	14.0	51.4	-37.4
Albany.....	84,541	33,342	9.3	46.3	-36.5
Oneida.....	64,685	26,528	12.0	45.1	-33.1
Westchester.....	234,987	101,323	4.8	36.6	-31.8
Onondaga.....	82,280	31,749	20.4	48.1	-27.7
Rensselaer.....	47,018	18,944	18.3	44.5	-26.2
Orange.....	99,108	40,191	15.8	30.7	-24.9
Dutchess.....	65,174	24,896	19.2	32.2	-13.0
Montgomery.....	25,259	10,526	28.0	33.6	- 5.6
Monroe.....	95,749	37,038	11.6	14.1	- 2.5
Schenectady.....	21,337	12,531	8.8	10.5	- 1.7
Chautauqua.....	81,312	31,549	25.8	26.3	- .5
Niagara.....	73,869	29,733	16.8	5.3	11.5
Jefferson.....	41,277	20,423	33.2	16.4	16.8
Ulster.....	52,067	20,523	30.1	6.4	23.7
Cayuga.....	28,099	2,935	39.6	8.6	31.0

\*Figures are approximate.

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, "Population," III, Part 2, Table 20, 305.

tually exclusive categories into which all individuals fall is difficult if not impossible. Only roughly distinguishable classes can be inductively established, and even these must be considered to be subject to a wide margin of variation.

Other influencing activities might be revealed by numerical data. Perhaps purchasing or consumption data would be one important indicator. Necessity, as reflected in types of goods bought for consumption, and style or habit, as reflected in goods bought for wear, might conceivably be indicative of the manner in which people think and behave. Finding out what people purchase may be a good way of finding out about them; hence, if adequate data on goods bought in a community can be obtained, another indicator of whether a community should be considered *rural* or *urban* would result.

Still another possibility is recreational activity. Recreation habits differ in different types of areas, and any data that reflect this difference might be useful for classification purposes. In part, variation in recreational patterns is reflected in occupational data. Centers of population have more people, proportionately, engaged in occupations serving people in their recreational pursuits than places of less population density. This would seem to indicate there are a relatively greater number of people who seek commercialized recreation in centers where



a large percentage of the population is *urban*. If one had additional data to show in what types of recreational activities the people of a community engage, it is likely a third indicator of which class a community falls into would obtain.

The recently developed techniques of the public opinion survey might be applied to the problem. Through such a survey data on how the people of a community regard certain questions might be useful in revealing the modes of thinking of the individuals composing it. One way in which such a technique might be utilized would be to try to determine whether the people *regarded* themselves and their community as *rural* or *urban*. And in other ways the techniques and findings of public opinion surveys might be helpful.

But in the use of these proposed techniques it should always be kept in mind that the basic thing for which the investigator seeks is an indication of whether a large percentage of the people of a community are primarily "rural" or "urban" in their outlook.

After many indicators have been computed, there will arise the problem of combining them into a single unit or number which can be regarded as a summary indicator of *rurality* or *urbanity*. This will involve careful statistical treatment because many elements would make up the final figure, and these must be drawn together without undue weighting or bias in either direction. It is believed a more extensive application of the technique would be useful in rendering a more precise indicator than has heretofore been compiled.

New York

CHARLES K. NICHOLS

### RECRUITING PERSONNEL FOR GOVERNMENT SERVICE

During the past year the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare expanded its professional staff both in Washington and in the field offices. During this process we combed the field of available persons rather thoroughly. While our situation was somewhat different from that of a university or private organization because we secured as many people as possible through Civil Service, this experience led us to a number of observations about the present situation with reference to personnel in rural sociology.

At several grades we found a real shortage of personnel now available. Naturally we were looking for rural sociologists. We had many applicants trained in general economics, labor economics, political science, general sociology, or some other social science. But there were fewer rural sociologists. I believe that if graduate students could be made aware of the real opportunities in our field which have been developing in recent years, there would be more of the higher caliber students coming to this field. For a long time agricultural economics has been able to offer good jobs to almost any student of outstanding promise. We rural sociologists are rapidly coming to that position, and I believe we should capitalize on the situation.

Another vocational outlet is found in jobs in the so-called action agencies, which often want persons who have a sociological background and point of view, or who can simply keep the human side of the program out in front. Not a month goes by without at least one request that we nominate someone with a

background in rural sociology for some administrative or other job not directly in that field. When we were looking for personnel, we found a number of persons with training in rural sociology who had been getting valuable experience in some "action" agency. The demand for this type of person is growing; rural sociologists and other rural social scientists are in demand because there has been a growing conviction in these "action agencies" that there is need for more emphasis on the human side of their programs.

Students are naturally concerned with what they will do after they leave college. We do not want to hire anyone who is not interested in devoting his life to the study of rural sociology simply by emphasizing jobs. But neither do we want to be too modest and allow students who are interested to go ahead on the mistaken assumption that the jobs lie in some other field.

One of the greatest needs in the training of graduate students is to get across to them the point of view that a person does not necessarily stultify his scientific effort by dealing with concrete realities or by offering his counsel to practical administrators when he is asked for it. Time and again I have seen the student fresh from graduate study who wants to retreat to an ivory tower and contemplate the world from there through the colored glasses of some "system of truth," and when he is called upon to deal with a practical situation, he goes to one of two extremes—either he shies away, afraid that he might impair the purity of his science, or he becomes the pontifical expert on all kinds of problems from social maladjustments to international affairs and to problems of technical agriculture.

Of course, the majority get over such an artificial point of view, but teachers responsible for the training of students can help to make the transition. The many calls for practical service which have been coming to sociologists come because they are considered to be specialists in certain fields of social relations and can help with problems arising in those fields. Their contribution then consists of bringing to bear the best tested body of facts available about the particular problem. But in giving their answer, they must be willing to stand by their conclusions and not try to hide behind a maze of *ifs* and *buts*. They should be willing to go just as far as their best data and expert judgment warrant—and if they are willing to do that, they will often be surprised to see how the gates open for pushing out further the boundaries of knowledge about a given problem.

There is need also for a more realistic point of view about the many services—we sometimes call them cafeteria services—which the rural sociologist is constantly being asked to render. This type of service and real basic research often will be found to be complementary rather than antagonistic to each other. For example, this past year we have been asked for help in community delineation in many more areas than we possibly can help, and we have worked out techniques for getting a valid job done by laymen. In itself this work does not tell us much about community organization. But it does give us all around the country a series of observations of some facts on community organization. As this work goes on, already the gates are open in a few areas for rural sociologists

to come in and do a more intensive analysis of organization of the communities which were simply delimited on the first round. Out of the whole effort we will probably have as many as half a dozen in which we will be asked to come in to make the most intensive study of community organization we know how to make. Out of it all the research worker will get data not only about the few areas in which he could go all the way; but in addition he has the facts about all the others in which the job was done at one of the other levels, from the least to the greatest intensity. By tying the research to practical service in this case, the research worker will actually have far more valid information than he could have secured from the most elaborate research which arose only from his own cogitations on where the gaps in our knowledge are.

Another related matter in which the training of students might help is on the point of view toward the individual as a citizen as well as a scientist. It is sometimes pitiful to see how a sociologist tries so hard to avoid any participation in the society of which he is a part and which he wants to study. And yet, he should be willing, if his temperament and personality permit, to assume the role of artist, administrator, reformer, and even politician, and to use his superior knowledge of human relations to guide human affairs towards ends in which he as a citizen believes, by the use of means and methods which he as a social scientist knows will work toward those ends.

Rural sociologists, like other workers in the social sciences, should receive the best possible training in their subject matter and in all of the valid techniques which are available to workers in the field. But, in addition to being given the best content of subject matter and the finest of tools for research, they should be trained to use this equipment for something more than verbal fencing matches between one "school" and another, the argument over boundaries of disciplines, or the splitting of hairs over what is or is not to be admitted to the higher order of scientific method. Sociology, and this includes rural sociology, has reached its present position because it has important contributions to make to vital problems of modern society. If this point can be effectively demonstrated to undergraduate and graduate students, we will automatically recruit the very best of them for sociological research.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

U. S. Department of Agriculture

CARL C. TAYLOR

#### TRAINING STUDENTS FOR PROFESSIONAL WORK IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE LAND-GRANT COLLEGE

In this short discussion of the problem of training college students for professional work in the field of rural sociology. I shall simply point out three of the most serious difficulties that stand in the way. My analysis of these difficulties is based upon my observations and experience as a member of the faculties of three land-grant colleges over a period of twenty years.

One evident difficulty that confronts those who would turn farm-reared youth into sociologists is the lack of social knowledge and sophistication on the part

of the youth. This presents not only a difficulty in itself, but it is related to other difficulties subsequently mentioned. The rural population is scattered, and the social organization occurs largely on a family basis. But, although the organization is primary in nature, it can scarcely be called a well-developed primary group organization. In much of our rural territory it appears that either a pioneer tradition of individualism still prevails to hinder even the primary groups, or a secondary group influence from nearby urban areas has disorganized the primary groups, but has not replaced them. The result is that rural youth, particularly farm-reared youth, grow up with only an incomplete knowledge of primary group life and virtually no knowledge of secondary group life. Society to them is a mass of individuals, each striving through individual effort to best his competitors or otherwise to work out an adjustment that he can tolerate. They do not see social structures or social processes; they see only competing individuals. Hence, their primary interest is to be found in a technical skill or body of knowledge that it is believed will give them the mastery in competition which they desire. That, I presume, is one of the reasons why they enroll in a college of agriculture rather than in a college of liberal arts.

It is true, of course, that what has been said of farm-reared youth is in a measure true of all young people at some age. The difference is one of degree. But farm-reared boys and girls are not only more completely without group experience, but this gap persists until they enter college. This is where the difficulty arises. Because of poor rural schools and other circumstances, they are provincial in travel, in academic achievement, and in breadth of reading. Such a background makes it almost an assured fact that the undergraduate college course will not fit these young people for professional sociological work. Graduate work or some form of apprenticeship training is almost certain to be necessary. This situation, therefore, relates closely to the second difficulty which I shall mention.

A second difficulty of great importance is the fact that rural young people seldom have the financial resources to go far in school. Large numbers cannot think of attempting a college course. Many of those who go to college enter with pitiful resources and probably impair their health while attempting to obtain a college degree. Many such students work for self-support to the extent that they can take only courses that are scheduled at certain hours of the day. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the B.S. degree, for which so much is sacrificed, is considered the final educational goal by most students. Graduate work may be something that would prove interesting, but there are no resources, and the student has faith that a bachelor's degree will lead to a job. And so, with a woefully inadequate background to do sociological work and with insufficient resources to finance the necessary training, most students who enroll in colleges of agriculture never even consider preparing themselves to do professional work in rural sociology.

The third difficulty that may be mentioned is the fact that the college of agriculture is not organized in a manner that facilitates the guidance of students into the study of sociology as a major subject. This is, of course, due largely to

the circumstances of historical development. The college of agriculture has grown up as a technical school and is dominated by the point of view of technical subject matter. It will probably continue to be so. Certain it is that farm-reared boys come to the college to study precisely that sort of thing. It is now coming to be accepted that technical knowledge and the technical point of view are not alone sufficient in these days of mass adjustments and planning. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that economics and sociology have been added to the curriculum, the temptation to technical specialization exceeds the temptation to obtain a good general college education by way of agriculture. In a high percentage of the colleges no sociology is required of agricultural students. In some colleges one course is required; but because of the meager social background of the students, their technical interest, and the overwhelmingly technical atmosphere of the college, this course is not likely to be sufficiently effective to influence many students in the selection of their major subject.

In addition to this fact that sociology plays a very subordinate role and enjoys little prestige in the colleges of agriculture, it should be borne in mind that a minimum of assistance is likely to be offered the student in the matter of helping him to analyze his capabilities and interests and to consider the occupational possibilities of the various subject matter fields in relation thereto. It is assumed that he will either study agriculture with a view to operating a farm, or that, if he does not choose to farm, a job will be waiting for him upon graduation. And, indeed, until recent years, it has usually been so.

In this situation, the student is usually dominated by the job motive: (1) a job to get him through school; (2) a job upon graduation. The result is that interdepartmental competition for students often becomes keen. The department that can offer jobs both during the college course and after graduation gets a lion's share of the students. It enjoys first selection. The department that has few jobs to offer to pay college expenses and few jobs to offer the graduate with only a B.S. degree receives scant attention from students. If, in addition, that department must have major students of more than average ability to insure success, it is certain that only an occasional major will appear from among the undergraduate body. Major students will be drawn chiefly from those graduates who have had some experience and who have become interested in sociological phenomena.

So far, I have considered only the student who comes from the farm or agricultural village. It is generally regarded as essential that a rural sociologist possess an intimate knowledge of farm life, and this is usually taken to mean that he has been reared on a farm or in close proximity thereto. In this connection, it should be remembered (1) that an adequate farm background may be acquired after childhood and youth are passed and (2) that a farm background cannot be regarded as a substitute for intellectual ability. Consequently, capable urban-reared students who are willing to acquire the necessary experience with rural life and agriculture should not be discouraged from entering the field. To further this end, it would appear that a closer degree of cooperation than

has been customary in the past between rural, urban, and general sociologists will be necessary.

If remedies for the difficulties besetting the rural student are sought, I think it will be clear that the inadequate background of rural students can be improved only by better rural organization and improved rural schools. Little can be done immediately. On the other hand, anything that can be done to enhance the prestige of sociology in the eyes of the undergraduate student body, anything that can be done to assist undergraduates to analyze more fully their abilities and the various occupational possibilities before selecting their major subject, and anything that can be done to equalize among departments the existing competition based upon undergraduate financial assistance would be an advantage to rural sociology as far as undergraduate majors are concerned. Still, it must be remembered that professional work in rural sociology is based largely upon graduate work and solving the undergraduate difficulty is not sufficient. From the writer's point of view, there is at present definite need for a better system of financial assistance to graduate majors in rural sociology. Whether this should take the form of scholarships and fellowships or whether it should take the form of more graduate and research assistantships in the various departments is perhaps not so important. The former have always been scarce for such students. The growing tendency for the federal government to center more of its sociological work in Washington and less in the state colleges does not help the situation. If the state colleges are to do good work in the training of rural sociologists, they must have effective teaching, good research in progress, and some means of giving financial assistance to needy graduate majors. These essentials must be met. At present it would appear that perhaps the greatest need is for financial aid to graduate students.

University of Missouri

C. E. LIVELY

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis, Editor*

## RURAL COMMUNITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

*Education in Transition* is the third of a projected series of ten bulletins carrying the general title, *Basic Trends of Social Change in South Dakota*.<sup>1</sup> Based upon State and Federal Censuses and school data, the study indicates a sharp decline from 1930 to 1938 in persons of school age and children enrolled in elementary schools due to decreasing birth rates and out-migration accompanied by the drought. The extent of needed school reorganization becomes evident when it is realized that in some nine counties elementary school enrollment dropped over 40 per cent. In 1939-1940 20.5 per cent of all rural schools in the state reported 6 or less pupils. The study traces the growth of child and adult education from pioneer times to the present and offers recommendations for readjustment.

Unfortunately sociological factors were slighted in the interest of the economic in a report entitled *Economic Aspects of One-Variety Cotton Communities in Tennessee*.<sup>2</sup> The many advantages of the one-variety community are stated. In other areas where cotton is customarily bought on the hog-round basis, ginner-buyers feel that they cannot buy cotton according to grade and staple without losing the patronage of growers whose cotton is inferior. "With the development of one-variety communities this obstacle to the buyer will be removed, farmers can induce the buyer to purchase on a quality basis, and an incentive will be provided for the growers to improve their production and harvesting practices." In the development of these "communities" in Tennessee the responsibility of the ginner for the maintenance of seed control and morale has been great.

The essential reforms needed for *Local Government in Cheboygan County*,<sup>3</sup> Michigan, are currently unattainable because of the rigidity of constitutional provisions. The Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan, after studying the government of this typical Michigan cut-over county, recommends (1) the uniting of many local units, consolidation of school districts on the

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Kumlien, *Basic Trends of Social Change in South Dakota*, VI. *Education in Transition*, South Dakota AESB 338 (Brookings, June, 1940). 47 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Charles E. Allred and Benjamin D. Raskopf, *Economic Aspects of One-Variety Cotton Communities in Tennessee*, Tennessee AESB Rural Research Series Monograph 111 (Knoxville, August, 1940). Mimeographed, 37 pp.

<sup>3</sup> *Local Government in Cheboygan County*, University of Michigan Pamphlet No. 7 (Ann Arbor, 1940). 28 pp.

community school district plan, and the abolition of townships; (2) substitution of a small board of three to seven members elected in the county-at-large for the 26 member board of supervisors now elected by townships and city wards; and (3) overhauling of the administration of the property tax so that it would be based upon the county as the assessment district with uniform procedures worked out by one assessor rather than separate assessments made by many persons in the many local units.

*Education and Social Welfare in Mexico, 1939*,<sup>4</sup> is a report which describes the primary and secondary schools, the 31 regional schools for peasants, some of which offer free board and room; schools for higher learning; and other educational programs. The report, although admitting that the new school program is handicapped by graft and fraud, and that it propagandizes the students and teachers in Cardenas' liberalism, claims that great progress in education and welfare work has been made in the last few years. It suggests that if the conservatives win the 1940 election this would be comparable to turning out the Roosevelt government in favor of a Harding-Coolidge government. Claiming that "the word 'Revolution' to the Mexican is as sacred as the word 'Liberty' or 'Progress' is to us," the report warns Americans not to think too harshly of the doctrines the children are taught in school and which are condemned by the conservatives.

#### PROBLEM AREAS AND PLANNING

*The Situation and Prospects of the Population in the Black River Settlement, Louisiana*,<sup>5</sup> is the description of a "troubled," disadvantaged rural area in which destruction of crops and drowning of livestock by backwaters of the Mississippi, Red, and Black Rivers are almost an annual occurrence. Despite extremely low levels of living, as reflected by shabby, small houses, lack of screens, primitive sanitation, lack of medical care, low educational status, dependency, and meager incomes, the people have not sunk to the depth of the worst rural slums. Their mutual assistance during flood seasons has led to group integration and neighborliness which, along with their exceptionally high birth rate, should be considered in plans for rehabilitation. The study, which is based upon a house-to-house canvass of 97 white and 40 negro families, analyzes population composition, occupational and economic structure, family types, and educational status, and sets forth a plan for rehabilitation.

*Northern Great Plains*,<sup>6</sup> a report of the National Resources Planning Board, gives an inventory of activities of various action and research agencies in this

<sup>4</sup> Goodwin Watson, *Education and Social Welfare in Mexico, 1939*, The Council for Pan American Democracy (New York, January, 1940). 47 pp.

<sup>5</sup> T. Lynn Smith and S. Earl Grigsby, *The Situation and Prospects of the Population in the Black River Settlement, Louisiana*, Louisiana AESB 319 (University, June, 1940). 42 pp.

<sup>6</sup> *Northern Great Plains*, National Resources Planning Board (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). 44 pp.



area, which has suffered from seven years of drought. Of special interest to rural sociologists is the description of the population and land use studies being conducted by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.

*Hill Land and People in Ross County, Ohio*,<sup>7</sup> is the title of a report prepared by the Ohio State University Department of Rural Economics at the request of the Ross County Land Use Planning Committee. By personal interview "data were collected to show the present pattern of land use on each land holding, potential future use, volume of crop production, livestock kept, condition of buildings, size of households, occupation of persons in each household, number of children in school, and lastly, the opinions and attitudes of the people in respect to the application of various types of governmental aid to each land holding." Among the findings the analysis of 98 attitude responses indicated that the established food habits of these hill people are so crystallized that a program of government improvement should be preceded by some educational work to emphasize the advantages of an additional variety of vegetables. Recommendations for land use are made in the light of the characteristics of the resident population, which, because of the high birth rates and the tendency of employables to seek work elsewhere, is heavily weighted by old and young dependents. The establishment of forestry, better gardens, and better pastures is recommended.

#### FARM LABOR AND TENANCY

*Sharecroppers and Wage Laborers on Selected Farms in Two Counties in South Carolina*<sup>8</sup> were studied with a view to determining the extent and consequence of recent shifts in tenure status. Data were gathered by personal interviews with 414 operators, sharecroppers and wage laborers during 1937 and 1938. The study indicated that the economic status as reflected in cash incomes of the sharecropper and wage families was more closely related to the size of family than to tenure status. However, the change from cropping to wage labor often meant a sharp decline in family income from home-use goods and perquisites. Increased production of home-use goods is "probably the best means for these groups to improve their economic status, regardless of tenure status."<sup>9</sup> The larger the family the greater was the income from home-produced goods.

*The Sugar Cane Farm—A Social Study of Labor and Tenancy*<sup>9</sup> is based upon personal interviews with 100 owners, 328 resident laborers, tenants, and sharecroppers, and 303 nonresident laborers on 100 farms, each of which reported 30 or more acres of cane in 1936. The sample was so taken that it was assumed

<sup>7</sup> H. R. Moore, *Hill Land and People in Ross County, Ohio*, Ohio AESB 125 (Columbus, April, 1940)† Mimeographed, 44 pp.

<sup>8</sup> E. J. Holcomb and G. H. Aull, *Sharecroppers and Wage Laborers on Selected Farms in Two Counties in South Carolina*, South Carolina AESB 328 (Clemson, June, 1940). 70 pp.

<sup>9</sup> Harold Hoffsommer, *The Sugar Cane Farm—A Social Study of Labor and Tenancy*, Louisiana AESB 320 (University, June, 1940). 66 pp.

that the 100 farms ranging from 30 to over 1,000 acres were typical of those of the entire sugar cane area in Louisiana. Findings indicate that planters preferred resident laborers, although nonresident laborers contributed one-third of the total days of common labor during the year, and more than one-half during harvest months. All resident laborers received perquisites, the most common of which were house, garden space, wood, use of teams, and farm implements. Only one-third of the nonresident laborers received perquisites. The bulletin describes the organization of the plantations; the sex, race, age, and other characteristics of the laborers; wage rates; and owner, laborer, and tenant relations.

*Agricultural Labor Requirements and Supply, Kern County*,<sup>10</sup> California is a county report based upon data previously used in summarized form for a state publication.<sup>11</sup> The report presents many types of seasonal and regular labor demand and supply by crops in tabular and graphic form.

*The Plantation South Today*<sup>12</sup> is a Works Projects Administration publication which presents in very readable form data, most of which were presented in the larger publication, *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*.<sup>13</sup> The pamphlet dramatizes the South's economic and social problems, relating them to the cotton culture with its commercialization and stratification.

Before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor eight reports were presented by members of the staff of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.<sup>14</sup> Others in the Department of Agriculture also presented reports before this Senate Committee.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> R. L. Adams, *Agricultural Labor Requirements and Supply, Kern County, California* AES Mimeographed Report No. 70 (Berkeley, June, 1940). Mimeographed, 20 pp.

<sup>11</sup> R. L. Adams, *Seasonal Labor Requirements for California Crops*, California AESB 623 (Berkeley, July, 1938). Reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV (March, 1939), 97.

<sup>12</sup> T. J. Woofter, Jr., and A. E. Fisher, *The Plantation South Today*, WPA Social Problems No. 5 (Washington, D. C., 1940). 27 pp.

<sup>13</sup> T. J. Woofter, Jr., et al., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, WPA RM V (Washington, D. C., 1936). Reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, II (March, 1937), 84.

<sup>14</sup> (a) Ernest J. Holcomb, *The Sharecropper and Wage Laborer in Cotton Production*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed; (b) Carl C. Taylor, *A Statement of Rural Problem Areas*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 20 pp.; (c) Carl C. Taylor, *Suggested Programs for Distressed Farm Families*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 9 pp.; (d) Conrad Taeuber, *Statement on Farm Population Trends*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 16 pp.; (e) William T. Ham and Josiah C. Folsom, *Numbers, Distribution, Composition, and Employment Status of the Farm Labor Group in the United States*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 33 pp.; (f) C. Horace Hamilton, *The Standard of Living of Farm Laborers*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 14 pp.; (g) Ernest J. Holcomb, *Income and Earnings of Farm Laborers*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 34 pp.; (h) William C. Holley, *The Farm Labor Situation in Texas*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 14 pp.

<sup>15</sup> H. R. Tolley, *A Summary of Suggestions Made for Solving Problems of Disadvantaged Groups in Agriculture*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 19 pp.; Raymond C. Smith, *A Statement on Two Suggested Solutions for the Problem of*

These documents include maps showing the 1930<sup>14d</sup> residence of 16,687 migrants moving to California from 1930 to 1939 and other charts and graphs which depict population trends.<sup>14d</sup> Also average wages paid farm hired labor in 1929, seasonal variation in employment of agricultural laborers, and cash and total income of farm laborers and croppers, and other pertinent information from many studies are summarized.<sup>14e</sup>

As a means of eliminating the problem of distressed farm families, homestead tax exemption and other means of assisting family-sized farms and ownership, government assistance for small holder cooperatives, and supervised rehabilitation loans are recommended. A very strong case is made for the family-sized farms.<sup>14e</sup>

### RURAL YOUTH

*Youth in the Pikes Peak Region*<sup>16</sup> is a study based upon personal interviews with approximately 300 youth, the names of which made up 10 per cent of those between 12 and 21 years of age in the school records in Greater Colorado Springs. Analyses of job opportunities, school preparation, types of recreation, and attitudes of the youth toward their community environment are presented. Findings prove that the vast majority of young people enter the period between the time of leaving school and their first job with no adequate vocational guidance or specific training. Attitudes toward drinking liquor, delaying marriage, and community facilities are included. Most youth reported that their parents were the chief source of their knowledge about sex.

According to *Child Labor Facts, 1939-1940*,<sup>17</sup> a report of the National Child Labor Committee, "the employment of children in agriculture, in fact, is one of the most serious of all child labor problems. It involves more and younger children than any other occupation, interferes seriously with school attendance, and is a difficult problem to control through legislation." The publication presents data on the extent and conditions of child labor and labor legislation.

*Summer Vacation Activities of One Hundred Farm Boys and Girls in a Selected Area*<sup>18</sup> is the title of a Columbia University Teacher's College publication based upon personal interviews with 50 boys and 50 girls 10 years of age, and questionnaires filled out by teachers and rural leaders. The study describes

*Farm Unemployment and Under-Employment*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 20 pp.; Louis H. Bean, *Trends in Farm Wages, Farm and Nonfarm Income, Income, Industrial Production and Unemployment*, USDA (Washington, May, 1940). Mimeographed, 21 pp.; Frank Lorimer, *Statement on Farm Population Trends*, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed.

<sup>16</sup> Alice E. Van Diest, *Youth in the Pikes Peak Region*, Colorado College Publication, General Series No. 224 (Colorado Springs, February, 1940). 47 pp.

<sup>17</sup> Gertrude Folks Zimand, *Child Labor Facts, 1939-1940*, National Child Labor Committee, Publication 379 (New York, October, 1939). 38 pp.

<sup>18</sup> Orpha McPherson, *Summer Vacation Activities of One Hundred Farm Boys and Girls in a Selected Area*, Columbia University (New York, 1939). 74 pp.

work, play, and general recreational activities of these 100 children who lived in a rural New York county, and makes comparison with other studies where possible. Among activities investigated were the types of books and other material read, types of radio programs enjoyed, games played, and sports and social contacts participated in. The following findings will indicate the nature of the investigation. Looking at or reading the "funny" papers was the activity most common to the 100 children; comic strips of Moon Mullins, Bringing up Father, and Winnie Winkle were the favorites of 45 per cent of the group. Boys sang less but whistled more than girls. The study concludes that the children should be assisted in making better use of their vacation times and their environments.

*Paths to Maturity*,<sup>19</sup> a National Youth Administration and Work Projects Administration report of *Findings of the North Carolina Youth Survey 1938-1940*, is the most comprehensive and detailed of the local youth studies published to date. In an effort to sample all major geographical areas and occupational groups, some 44,963 white and negro youth from 6 to 22 years of age in eight counties were interviewed. Besides the personal interviews, teachers furnished information concerning income status, intelligence, recommendations for occupations for the children, and much other information. Except in the city of Durham, where Work Projects Administration employees secured some of the information from a sample of the youth, committees of adults and special National Youth Administration agencies collected data for most of the youth of the designated ages.

Among the many findings concerning the recreation and recreational choices, occupations and occupational choices, church and school participation, earnings, health, personal and social relationship problems of the children, and pertinent information concerning the parents are the following:

(1) Economic status was found to be extremely important, even though 20 per cent of the white and 52 per cent of the negro families with children were reported to have annual incomes under \$500. There was a high positive correlation between the incomes of the parents and their educational status. One additional year's school training meant on the average \$64 increased income for whites and \$19 for negroes. Children from the higher income families were reported to have higher emotional stability and to "control their tempers" better, but there was little relation between intellectual ability and income of parents as reported by teachers. The children from families of highest incomes were most frequently church members.

(2) Nearly one-half of the youth go to church once a week.

(3) Only one-half of the white and one-fourth of the negro fathers of the families with youth had completed grammar school.

<sup>19</sup> Gordon W. Lovejoy, *Paths to Maturity*, WPA of North Carolina, (Raleigh, 1940). Mimeographed, 310 pp.

(4) By their fifteenth birthday 4 out of 10 of the whites and about one-half of the negro children had left school.

(5) In neither group are as many as three-fourths of the children retarded.

(6) About one-third of the high school students did not know what they wanted to do as a life work.

(7) About one-half of the youth wanted to have white-collar jobs. Very few of those now employed had such jobs.

(8) There was great disparity in the professions the teachers thought suitable for the students and the students' choices.

To show the nature and extent of variation in high school participation between "center districts" (those having a village or town center containing a 4-year high school) and "open-country districts" in Washington County, Arkansas,<sup>20</sup> permanent high school records and family enumeration reports for a 10-year period (1927-1928 through 1936-1937) were studied. It was found that from the 115 open-country districts, containing 80 per cent of the farm population of the county, only 11 per cent of the potential high school enrollment (children 14 through 17 years of age) were enrolled, while in the 14 central districts more than 60 per cent were enrolled. Some of the factors related to this disparity were found to be: accessibility of the high school, quality of the elementary school teaching (as measured by length of session, salary of teachers, and tenure and training of teachers), revenue for school operation (which varies with property values, tax rates, and extent of tax delinquency), and the closely related factor of economic status.

#### LEVELS OF LIVING

*The Economic Status of 436 Families of Missouri Clerical Workers and Wage Earners*<sup>21</sup> is the title of a study based upon the analysis of schedules taken in 1936 in Columbia (population 13,722) and Moberly (population 14,967), Missouri, by the United States Bureau of Home Economics in the *Consumers Purchases Study*. Incomes and expenditures are analyzed by family types. Size and composition of the families were found to influence the expenditure patterns more than location of residence or occupation but not so much as income. Incomes were positively correlated with the amount of formal education of the husbands.

*Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties*,<sup>22</sup> based upon field interviews with 1,730 farm and 761 nonrural families, is the last of a series of six reports on levels of living. Forty-six per cent of the farm families and 44 per cent of

<sup>20</sup> J. L. Charlton, *School Services in Rural Communities in Washington County, Arkansas* AESB 398 (Fayetteville, June, 1940). 43 pp.

<sup>21</sup> Jesse V. Coles and Lucile Hieser, *The Economic Status of 436 Families of Missouri Clerical Workers and Wage Earners*, Missouri AESB 318 (Columbia, June, 1940). 80 pp.

<sup>22</sup> Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., and B. L. Hummel, *Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties*, USDA SRR XV (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 116 pp.

the urban families reported consuming goods and services (total value of family living) for the year covered in the study valued at less than \$1,000, the average for each group being \$1,130 and \$1,332 respectively. Unique to the study is an analysis of reading and leisure activities ranging from "napping" to "playing instruments" or "going to town," and an analysis of income and expenditure patterns, farm operation, and tenure status as related to the life cycle of families.

#### POPULATION STUDIES

*Natural Increase in the Population of New York State*,<sup>23</sup> when the population as a whole is considered, does not exist. In fact, the index (based upon the ratio of children 0 to 4 years old to each 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age) used in an experiment station bulletin, the third of a series of bulletins on New York population, indicates that it is only the total rural population, including farm and nonfarm rural population, which is replacing itself. The urban population, especially that of the largest cities, is dying out and must be replaced by immigration. The effects of these trends upon institutions, communities, population quality, and other factors are discussed.

#### LAND USE AND RECREATION

*Social Factors Associated with Land Class in Overton County, Tennessee*,<sup>24</sup> is a preliminary report designed to indicate the influence of various types of soil upon social life. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics land classes, relief rolls, and county school records were consulted to determine the social attributes of people living upon the different land classes. In general poor land was associated with higher relief rates, higher mobility, and poorer school performance.

*Use of Recreational Sites Developed on Federal Submarginal Land-Purchase Areas in Maine*<sup>25</sup> is based upon card questionnaires received from about 50 to 75 per cent of the drivers of all cars entering 5 parks and 20 per cent of those entering one park during an average 30-day period. Information obtained from the analysis of the cards indicates the areas from which the clientele of the parks are drawn, and describes their occupational and income levels, age, time of arrival, and number of persons in each party.

These facts, taken together with the analysis of the patron's suggestions for

<sup>23</sup> W. A. Anderson, *Natural Increase in the Population of New York State*, Cornell AESB 733 (Ithaca, May, 1940). 22 pp.

<sup>24</sup> Charles E. Allred *et al.*, *Social Factors Associated with Land Class in Overton County, Tennessee*, Tennessee AES Monograph 105, (Knoxville, April, 1940). Mimeographed, 36 pp.

<sup>25</sup> E. J. Niederfrank and C. R. Draper, *Use of Recreation Sites Developed on Federal Submarginal Land-Purchase Areas in Maine*, Maine College of Agriculture Bulletin 280 (Orono, July, 1940). 19 pp.

improvements, constitute useful data for the guidance of that new and important industry of New England—recreation.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

The sixth<sup>26</sup> of a series<sup>27</sup> of publications on "Rural People and Agriculture," edited by W. Seedorf of Goettingen University, deals with the peasantry and large landed estates of a minor civil division in Pomerania and the tenure and farming patterns during the last six centuries. The study, which is based primarily upon historical writings, documents, and other secondary data, gives most space to pre- and post-world war resettlement or colonization and the reforms of the 19th Century which resulted in the freeing of the serfs followed at first by population increases and later by decrease in replacement rates.

The following additional publications were received this quarter:

- W. W. Alexander, *Methods of Halting Unnecessary Rural Migration*, Testimony before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 20 pp.
- Ralph L. Baker and C. G. McBride, *Survey of Cooperative Poultry and Egg Marketing in Ohio*, Ohio AESB 126 (Columbus, May, 1940). Mimeographed, 41 pp.
- John Beecher, *Living and Working Conditions of Migratory Farm Workers in the Florida Vegetable Area*, Testimony before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, USDA (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 14 pp.
- A. C. Brittain et al., *Missouri Farm Census by Counties, 1939*, State Department of Agriculture, XXXVII, No. 12 (Jefferson City, Missouri, April, 1940). 24 pp.
- Communities and Neighborhoods in Land Use Planning*, USDA County Planning Series No. 6 (Washington, D. C., 1940). 7 pp.
- Corn Belt Conference on Land Tenure*, Farm Foundation (Chicago, Illinois, September, 1939). Mimeographed, 63 pp.
- Blanche H. Dalton, *List of References on Migrants and Related Subjects in the State Relief Administration Library*, State Relief Administration of California (September, 1939). Mimeographed, 36 pp.

<sup>26</sup> Dr. Manfred Mecke, *Bauerntum und Grossgrundbesitz des Kreises Rummelsburg in sechs Jahrhunderten eine Untersuchung über die Grund besitzverteilung*, Deutsche Landbuchhandlung, Heft 6 (Berlin, ?) 140 pp.

<sup>27</sup> Other publications of the series are: Dr. Johannes Tismer, *Aus der Geschichte des Landvolks*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landarbeit, Heft 1 (Berlin); Dr. Johannes Balkenholl, *Deutsche Ackerwagen*, Eine arbeitswissenschaftliche Studie, Heft 2, Berlin; Dr. Heinrich Buchholz, *Das Spargelstechen*, Eine arbeitswissenschaftliche Studie, Heft 3, Berlin; Dr. Heinrich Schaper, *Die Maschinenhaltung im bäuerlichen Betriebe*, Beiträge zu den Fragen ihrer Ausdehnung, Wirtschaftlichkeit und Förderung, Heft 4, Berlin; Dr. Joseph Grothe, *Was wird aus der Landjugend? Vergleichende Untersuchungen über Berufswahl in der ländlichen Bevölkerung Westfalens*, Heft 5, Berlin.

- Harold F. Dorn, *Mortality Rates and Economic Status in Rural Areas*, U. S. Public Health Service Reprint 1226 (Washington, D. C., 1940). 8 pp.
- Harold F. Dorn, *Maternal Mortality in Rural and Urban Areas*, Public Health Service Reprint 2061 (Washington, D. C., 1939). 8 pp.
- For Better Rural Living, a Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics in 1938*, USDA (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). 45 pp.
- G. M. Gloss, *Recreational Research*, Louisiana State University, (Baton Rouge, 1940). 63 pp.
- E. B. Hill, *Farm Tenancy in Michigan*, Michigan State College (East Lansing). Mimeographed, 9 pp.
- John B. Holt, *Report of a Reconnaissance Survey of Neighborhoods and Communities of Caswell County, North Carolina with Recommendations*, USDA (Washington, D. C., August, 1940). Mimeographed, 8 pp.
- Byron Hunter, *Analysis of the Business of 192 Farms in the Vicinity of Twin Falls, Idaho, 1920*, Idaho AES Preliminary Report (Moscow, 1921). Mimeographed, 10 pp.
- Kleinpolsnische Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft* (Malopolskie Towarzystwo Rolnicze) *Organization und Arbeitsmethoden* (Krakow, 1925).
- Learning to Live on Georgia Farms*, 1939 Annual Report of Georgia Agricultural Extension Service, Bulletin 474 (Athens, 1939). 53 pp.
- Elise H. Martens, *Residential Schools for Handicapped Children*, U. S. Department of Interior Bulletin 1939, No. 9 (Washington, D. C., 1940). 103 pp.
- Memorandum on Housing Conditions Among Migratory Workers in California*, California Division of Immigration and Housing (Los Angeles, March, 1939). Mimeographed, 16 pp.
- Eugene Merritt, *Extension Activities for Older Farm Youth*, USDA Extension Service Circular 326 (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 18 pp.
- Day Monroe et al., *Family Income and Expenditures, Middle Atlantic and North Central Region and New England Region, Part 1, Family Income*, USDA MP 370 (Washington, D. C., 1940). 447 pp.
- Perham C. Nahl, *Consumer Shopping Habits by Income and Occupational Groups*, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Market Research Study No. 3 (Stillwater, April, 1940). Mimeographed, 60 pp.
- "Out-of-State" People and "Returning Californians" Who Have Entered the "State of California" Through Border Check Stations, Seeking Manual Employment, Annual Report Year 1939, U. S. Farm Placement Service (Los Angeles, 1939). Mimeographed, 10 pp.
- Proceedings of the New York Farmers, Season 1939-1940* (New York, 1940). 119 pp.
- H. F. Raup, *San Bernardino, California Settlement and Growth of a Pass-Site City*, University of California Publications in Geography, VIII, No. 1 (Berkeley, 1940). 52 pp.



- Relief of Needy Indians*, Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives (Washington, D. C., 1940). 87 pp.
- Roger V. Shumate, *Local Government in Nebraska*, Nebraska Legislative Council Report No. 5 (Lincoln, September, 1939). Mimeographed, 81 pp.
- West South Central Conference on Land Tenure*, Farm Foundation, (Texarkana, 1939). Mimeographed, 34 pp.
- John D. Willard, *A Preliminary Inquiry Into Rural Adult Education*, American Association for Adult Education (New York). 27 pp.
- M. L. Wilson, *A Better Rural Life in South Carolina Through Land Use Planning*, USDA Extension Service Circular 329 (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 14 pp.
- T. J. Wooster, Jr., *Migration in the Near Future*, USDA (Washington, D. C., 1940). Mimeographed, 10 pp.
- Plans of Farm Buildings for Southern States*, USDA MP 360 (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). 123 pp.
- Research in Income and Wealth in the South*, 6th Annual Southern Social Science Research Conference (Chattanooga, Tennessee, March, 1940).
- Clothing Budgets, Prices for San Francisco, March, 1940*, Heller Committee of Research in Social Economics, University of California (Berkeley, March, 1940). Mimeographed, 35 pp.
- The Administration of Relief in Illinois*, Illinois Legislative Council Publication 21 (Springfield, February, 1940). Mimeographed, 40 pp.
- Leverett S. Lyon and Victor Abramson, *Government and Economic Life*, The Brookings Institute Pamphlet, 22 (Washington, D. C., 1940). 63 pp.
- Ruth Fine, *The National Health Program and Medical Care in the United States: Selected Recent References*, U. S. Department of Labor Library (Washington, D. C., June, 1940). Mimeographed, 25 pp.
- Problems and Methods in the Study of Population*, Proceedings of the Southern Social Science Research Conference, (New Orleans, March, 1937). Mimeographed, 38 pp.

# Book Reviews

*Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor*

*Family and Community in Ireland.* By Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. xxix, 322 pp. \$3.50.

This work applies the social anthropological method of study to a modern social system in Western society, namely, the rural folk in the southern and eastern portions of Ireland. "The book deals with indices, particularly statistical ones," describing the rural inhabitants of that country. The final purpose of the book ". . . is an attempt to clear away in a concrete case the manifold complexities of civilized society to a point where an inductive science founded upon simple and measurable data can be begun" (p. xxix).

The authors make no pretense at having analyzed or described all aspects of Irish rural life, but stress has been given to such phases as family labor, the kinship system, demography and familism, dispersal and migration, the problem of the aged, familism and sex, and occupations and status.

As a description of Irish rural society this monograph is most illuminating and instructive. Many helpful insights into the functioning of Irish society are provided, and particular stress has been given to the importance of *social structure* in the past and present history of Ireland. The authors show, for example, that the demographical indices of population cannot be understood without a clear conception of the family system. In fact, the whole sociology of Irish rural life and "small farm-subsistence" is placed within a framework consisting of two institutions: the family and the rural community. This framework is a "master system" involving five major subsidiary systems: (1) the relationships of the familistic order; (2) the relationships of age grading, or generation; (3) the relationships of sex organization; (4) the relationships of local division of labor; and (5) the relationships of economic exchange and distribution in fairs and markets.

This book should prove most helpful for a better understanding of contemporary rural Ireland as well as for a more adequate appreciation of the significance of sociological factors in explaining many phenomena of social systems in general. However, it is not integrated with similar studies in the same general field.

Harvard University

REED H. BRADFORD

*Elements of Rural Sociology.* By Newell LeRoy Sims. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1940. xiii, 690 pp. \$3.75.

Even though a revision of Sim's first text appeared in 1934, the increased data have now called for another. For students who favor his community approach technique, this revision should be especially appealing. It is in the development of rural communities and in their problems, says the author, that we find the significant features of rural society. The depression-born research has certainly laid bare many rural community problems, and Sims takes the opportunity to show how these recent studies corroborate or supplement his earlier analysis.

Although there is much to commend in the author's treatment of his subject matter, a fair review can easily find much to criticize. The reviewer would like to point out two examples of what appear to him to be faulty analyses, and they are merely typical of others. First, Sims discusses the "characteristic mental attitudes of the farmer" as contrasted to those of the urbanite. He quotes generation-old evidence to indicate the farmer's individualism, his conversatism, his emotionalism, etc. Then, in the words of the author, "In rural America it (the above peculiarly rural mental set) is one of the signs that the farmer goes along as he always has and as his father had before him, and still keeps going." A simple appeal to logic suggests a fallacy in this thinking. If, as Sims says, rural mentality *was* a product of the romantic nature of which he alone—in contrast to the urbanite—partook, then what sort of personality must he be if his mentality hasn't been *changed* by the mechanization of agriculture, the urbanization of rural life, the breakdown of the farm ladder, the pandemic proportions of farm relief programs, and a host of other forces that have recently made such inroads into agriculture? Sims cites some instances of a changing mentality, but the citations lose their point when the reader has already been confronted with the earlier romantic, positivistic description of a characteristic rural mind.

Another example: in his discussion of neighborhoods and their contrast with communities, it is unfortunate that the author has to lean so heavily on early studies. Communities administer to *needs*, neighborhoods to one or two *services*, says Sims. Recent research seems to indicate to the reviewer that neighborhoods are not necessarily service centers; furthermore, in this day of increasing secondary relationships in rural life it is often necessary to go to neighborhoods to find vital processes. Does not the real distinction between communities and neighborhoods lie in their respective social processes, their social relationships, the relative influence which each has on values and ideals? If this be so, then the service aspect is only of incidental concern in shaping meaningful social relationships.

All of these difficulties, if they are such, are no doubt inherent in a revision of a text that is woven about fleeting data. If we are to continue carrying all the water that has gone over the dam, then rural sociology texts will become encyclopedic. The past is necessary for a perspective of the present, but the

successful portrayal of the old lies in the ability to find the principles it suggests, not to merely continue adding the new to the old particularistic data.

University of Wisconsin

GEO. W. HILL

*Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process.*

By C. A. Dawson and Eva R. Younge. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, 1930. xi, 338 pp.

This is Volume VIII of a series of nine volumes dealing with the general topic of *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement* edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg. This series of studies was begun in 1930, and a considerable part of the present volume is based on data from farm surveys of two thousand families conducted in ten selected areas within the three prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta in 1930 and 1931. The areas were selected so as to represent different degrees in maturity and recency of settlement, including (1) stable settlements, (2) transitional areas, (3) new pioneer areas, and (4) chronic fringe areas. Other data were taken from the various census materials, from *Bradstreet's Book of Commercial Ratings* for the years 1905 to 1930, from historical documents, and from institutional records.

The work is divided into fifteen chapters. The first three deal in turn with the physiographic aspects, the settlement cycle, and population trends in the prairie provinces. A fourth chapter deals with the growth and distribution of trade centers as focuses of social and economic organizations and indicates that the small centers appear to be finding their particular division of labor in the regional network dominated by the large cities. Chapter V, entitled "Typical Communities in Action," consists of case studies of three different types of communities. This is one of the most interesting phases of the work since it offers intimate glimpses of the daily lives of the settlers. Yet these three case descriptions are crowded into 22 short pages, obviously necessitating the reduction of content to little more than brief outlines. One could wish that some of the more broadly generalized treatment in other chapters of conditions in the provinces as a whole had been shortened somewhat in favor of this more intimate type of data.

Chapters VI through VIII deal with agricultural practices, composition of pioneer families, and expenditures of farm families. The materials for these chapters are taken mostly from the 1930-1931 survey and provide important background for understanding the standards of living of the pioneer settlers. Two chapters then follow on educational institutions, two on religious institutions, and two on health services. Readers of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* are likely to be especially interested at this time in Chapter XIII, which describes the municipal doctor plan and the municipal hospital plan that function in many of these pioneer communities, especially in Saskatchewan.

A short concluding chapter touches briefly on a wide variety of additional topics. An appendix of 40 pages gives supplementary tables and explanations.

The work is purely descriptive in nature, and one is inclined to wonder what changes have taken place during the ten years that have elapsed since the original data were collected. The volume is well written and represents an important contribution to the understanding of "modern" pioneering. It enhances greatly the value and importance of this whole series of studies.

University of Connecticut

N. L. WHETTEN

*A History of Agriculture.* By N. S. B. Gras. New York: Crofts, 1940. Second Edition. 496 pp. \$4.00.

Students of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology will be glad to see a new edition of this well-known text on the history of agriculture. The book contains an enormous amount of factual data and much keen analysis, yet is written for the college student. Tracing the development of agriculture since its early beginnings and in many parts of the globe, this work—first published fifteen years ago—should be familiar to all persons interested in understanding rural life. In this new edition minor changes have been made in several chapters. An entirely new chapter has been added in an effort to bring up to date the American farm scene.

In Part I the author discusses early agriculture, while in Part II consideration is given to later agriculture in Europe. The second half of the book, devoted to American agriculture, provides a much needed historical perspective from which to consider the present confused situation in which both farmers and government experts in this country find themselves. However, when in the final chapter Gras comes to discuss distress and relief in American agriculture, 1920-1940, one feels that perhaps the analysis might be more penetrating. Too much is merely touched upon briefly with the result that many conclusions are not supported adequately, but possibly this is unavoidable in a text book. Certainly the recommendations for improving the American agricultural situation, revolving as they do chiefly around farm management, are not convincing to this reviewer.

Furman University

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

*The Nature of Geography.* By Richard Hartshorne. Lancaster: The Association of American Geographers, 1939. 482 pp.

Richard Hartshorne takes his audience on a scholarly excursion over the highways and byways of geographic thought. His exhaustive monograph on the scope and method of the field is of book length and occupies Numbers 3 and 4 of the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. To those interested in the subject, this should prove to be an invaluable reference book because of its penetrating discussion, comprehensive bibliography, and both author and subject indexes.

Sections I to III are devoted to the question, "What is geography?" Many who think they know the answer to this apparently simple question will perhaps

be disillusioned by this adventure into modern geographic thought. On the foundations laid, the author examines various suggestions made by authorities for improving geography, including a far-reaching survey of current thought in systematic and regional geography. This effort constitutes approximately half of the total study, or Sections V to X. Finally, in Section XI, the author seeks to visualize what kind of a field geography really is; and in the last section, XII, he gives his own conclusions. This unusual work will doubtless appeal to social scientists as well as to geographers.

Rural social scientists will doubtless be particularly concerned with Sections VII to XII. Section VIII deals with theoretical considerations in the selection of data in geographic inquiry which, liberally interpreted, seems to mean that for the geographer to do dependable research in his field he must be professionally qualified and imbued with the philosophy of science and that he must employ the scientific process of reasoning in evaluating his undertaking and in gathering and interpreting data. Like all other scientists, he must devise and test the procedures he uses in the attainment of his objective, which, in his case, is the description of an area in terms of significant phenomena, according to his point of view.

How the entire world may be organized into regions, including recent attempts by geographers to formulate agricultural regions, is considered in Section X. Regional geography, the author concludes, is literally what the title expresses—the description of the earth by portions of its surface.

Assuming that the earth may be divided arbitrarily, at least, into regions without material detriment to logical procedure, the question arises, what system of world division may be adopted? Dr. Hartshorne suggests comparative systems of cultural regions based upon human cultural elements or element-complexes and, though falling short of perfection in certain details, finds them promising.

For this epochal inquiry into modern geographic thought—scientific and otherwise—the author and the Annals are entitled to expressions of appreciation from social scientists as well as from geographers.

United States Department of Agriculture

BONNEY YOUNGBLOOD

*Elements of Farm Management.* By John A. Hopkins. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Revised Edition. xxi 489 pp. \$2.20.

When Hopkins' book first appeared in 1936, this reviewer, himself a farm management specialist, complained of over-elaboration of technical aspects of Corn Belt agriculture, at the expense of the exposition of the basic principles of production economics which it was the avowed purpose of the book to set forth. The present revision does much to remove any ground for complaints of this sort. The expanded chapter on types of farming includes a more extended discussion of the Cotton Belt than appeared in the earlier edition; the type-of-farming map of Iowa is dropped; a map of western type-of-farming areas is added. In the chapter (XI) on requirements in crop production six additional pages are devoted to cotton and even in the references a national point of view

is supported by the addition of works on agriculture in southern and western states.

In the general plan of the volume there has been no change. The central problem, around which the work is organized, is that of working out a farm budget that will permit a satisfactory crop system and an adequate livestock system, as well as provide the labor and power required to carry out these enterprises successfully. The approach is that suited to an elementary student, or a "general reader," studying the farm as a going concern. The purpose is to induce an awareness that successful farming depends, not upon the adoption of "approved practices," but upon discriminating choice between various practices and combinations of the factors of production. The account of the basic principles associated with varying returns, comparative advantage, substitution, opportunity costs, etc., is admirably lucid. A discussion of the factors to be considered in appraising a farm is a new feature. The subjects of marketing, financing, and production methods are treated incidentally.

The most interesting additions to the old text are those drawn from Hopkins' three years' experience with the National Research Project of the Works Progress Administration in the investigation of farm technology and employment. Data on labor requirements in crop production are summarized in Chapter XI. Chapter XVI discusses the effect of mechanization upon the amount of labor employed on the farm, and Chapter XVII the relationship between the type of power used and farm organization. Throughout the work the influence of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Soil Conservation Service is taken into account. In the closing chapters there is emphasis upon the importance of cooperative relationships in the provision of labor, the ownership of equipment and breeding stock, in cow-testing, farm accounting, and farm financing. Altogether the book is well adapted to the needs of elementary students of farm management. Rural sociologists will find it an excellent bird's-eye view of the chosen aspects of the subject.

United States Department of Agriculture

WILLIAM T. HAM

*New Age Sociology.* By E. A. Ross. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. xvii, 597 pp. \$3.25.

With all due respect for E. A. Ross, "new" is hardly the word for his most recent book. Seemingly unaware of many "New-Age" social facts and recent developments in sociological theory, the author still believes in the success of rational planning by "sound" men; in social "progress" as the result of birth control, equalization of the sexes, mastery of disease, etc; in the "goodness" of competition; and in the "badness" of domination and exploitation. In fact, this is the sort of writing which has made sociology synonymous with utopian reform; which accounts for some students signing up for sociology because they believe they will learn socialism; and which necessitates those explanations of the difference between social worker and sociologist with which we sometimes hope to enlighten the laity.

It is a book which might just as well have been written twenty years earlier and entitled "Social Pathology." In sixty-one chapters averaging less than nine pages, such subjects as population, groups, institutions, vice, crime, religion, disease, progress and regress, communication, decadence, gradation, social prophecy, and social security are compressed without benefit of analytical scheme or rigorous definition. Although the author declares that he has "supplemented theory" in order to deal with "... a dozen questions of practical significance on which social theory sheds light . . .," the reviewer found little light and less theory. Apparently mere supplementation is not enough, especially where social and sociological problems are not distinguished. However, the author should not be too displeased with such criticism, for he has stated in his preface that early obsolescence of his lifework would cheer him if it meant that sociology has advanced. Such seems to be the case

Tulane University

N. J. DEMERATH

*Saltykov and the Russian Squire.* By Nikander Strelsky. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. xvii, 176 pp. \$2.50.

This is a critical study of the delineation of the Russian squire or manorial lord as reported in the works of Saltykov-Shchedrin (1826-1889). Saltykov, son of a squire and later a provincial governor himself, wrote extensively in a vein of somber satiricism concerning the small landowning feudal lord of nineteenth century Russia. This was the period of the breaking up of medieval feudalism there. His critical sense and his use of epithet are so well developed, according to Strelsky, that the relative obscurity of his name immediately after his death has been replaced by a Saltykov revival under the communist era. His castigation of landlords and Russian country babbits, according to Strelsky, furnished a liberal supply of epithets and figures of speech for the propaganda of the communists against the landowning classes, such as in the Lenin-Trotsky period of the first communist revolution and the later collectivization and dekulakization drives against the rural communes. Other Russians deny some of this characterization, indicating that Saltykov, while not a Turgenev, was not forgotten before the Revolution.

Strelsky divides Saltykov's works into a triptych, one part applying to the squire before the freedom of the serfs under Alexander II (1861, ff.), a second dealing with the disintegration of this rural class after the reforms, and a third a general rebellion against the landowning bourgeois class in nineteenth century Russia. During the first period Saltykov took up the "vicissitudes of the declining squirarchy" and pictures the squire as "an undisciplined creature . . . at worst a vicious parasite, at best a being incapable of integration in a changing world" (pp. 30-31). The second period after the beginning of the reforms is characterized in *The Golovlyov Family* as one of "spiritual and moral tragedy" (p. 133). The third period of his writings, as illustrated by *Bygone Days in Poshekhonie*, shifts the emphasis "from individuals to a way of life" and "pronounces the doom" of the Russian landowning gentry who were the "chief



*promulgators*" of this "antisocial", "antimoral", and "destructive" way of life (p. 133).

Eight of Saltykov's works, including *The Golovlyov Family*, are available in English. The value of Strelsky's work is that it gives a perspective of the revolutionary forces inherent in the breaking up of the ruling classes in nineteenth century Russia. The rural sociologist can not understand his own problem if he is unfamiliar with the social processes in agriculture in Russia and the three other great foreign agrarian countries of the universe. Slowly but surely modern science is furnishing us the materials for an understanding of rural life. It is up to us to use them. Strelsky's monograph and Saltykov's works deserve a place in the worthwhile library.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Belgian Rural Cooperation*. By Eva J. Ross. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1940. xii, 194 pp. \$4.50.

The present work is the result of several lengthy periods of study in Belgium, and judging from the reception and cooperation afforded the author by native officials, she apparently convinced them of the sincerity of her undertaking.

Belgium does not have the best of soil. The commercialization of agriculture elsewhere, international tariffs, and other factors combined to sink Belgian agriculture to a disastrously low ebb toward the end of the nineteenth century. The rise and development of the cooperative movement gave farmers the relative prosperity which they enjoyed prior to the outbreak of the second World War.

To the reviewer's knowledge, this is one of the few studies that shows sociological insight into the origins or roots and problems of cooperative institutes. The rural sociologist will be especially interested in the author's treatment of ethnic, religious, and social factors in making cooperatives possible and successful. Unfortunately, an excessive price may limit the distribution of a valuable monograph.

University of Wisconsin

GEO. W. HILL

*Concerning Latin American Culture*. Edited by Charles C. Griffin, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. xiv, 234 pp. \$2.00.

This excellent little volume consists of papers read at Byrdcliffe, Woodstock, New York, in August, 1939, and should do much to promote an increased interest in and knowledge of Latin American peoples and institutions. It should be of considerable interest to rural sociologists.

A brief résumé of titles of the essays gives a fairly adequate general idea of the nature and scope of the volume. The introduction is by Columbia's historian, James T. Shotwell. Following this the stage is set by Ben M. Cherrington, chief of the United States State Department's division of cultural relations, in a brief statement on the "Cultural Relations of the United States in the Western

World." An analysis of things Caribbean, "The Crossways of the Americas," is by Richard F. Pattee, also of the State Department. Former Spanish Ambassador to the United States Fernando de los Rios contributes two essays, "Spain in the Epoch of American Colonization," and "The Action of Spain in America." The eminent Brazilian social scientist, Gilberto Freyre, deals with "Some Aspects of the Social Development of Portuguese America." "The Significance of Native Indian Culture in Hispanic America" is the contribution of the editor, Charles C. Griffin of Vassar. The eminent writer on Mexico, Nathaniel Weyl, analyzes "Mexico, European and Native." William Berrien of Northwestern entitles his essay "Some Considerations Regarding Contemporary Latin American Music." Robert C. Smith of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, writes on "Brazilian Art," and Concha Romero James of the Pan American Union discusses "Spanish American Literature and Art." The concluding chapter, "Educational Development in Latin America," is by Amanda Labarca Hubertson of the University of Chile.

The volume has an excellent format, is thoroughly readable, and constitutes a very significant contribution to a highly important field.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

*Look At The Law.* By Percival E. Jackson, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1940. 377 pp. \$2.75.

The past two years have witnessed a marked increase in the number of books and articles by laymen and specialists examining, criticizing, or glorifying professional groups in our occupational structure. Here is an attempt by a lawyer of considerable professional experience, to give in popular vein a balanced picture of the lawyer-client relationship. The gist of his thesis is that the law-makers, practising lawyers, and judges are all responsible for the shortcomings as well as redeeming features of the legal system. At the same time, "the law is what the layman makes it," and any changes for the better or worse rest as much (if not more) in the hands of the voting population as of the legal profession itself. In support of his contentions the author advances numerous cases which law students will quickly label as atypical and extreme. Despite this it is brought out that the courts, on the one hand, enjoy dangerous but necessary leeway in interpretation of the substantive law; on the other, the courts are frequently at the mercy of irresponsible and legally naive legislatures. This creates a situation which encourages individuals to exploit the confusion to their own interests.

Although the author avoids the sterile one-sidedness in most of the popular interpretations, his analysis is not free from the blind spots of a social reform ideology. He seems unaware of certain more basic elements of social structure that are germane to an explanation of the contemporary problems of the legal profession such as the shifting valuations of individual status and role in terms of conflicting value-systems which underly the legal framework.

Harvard University

GORDON T. BOWDEN

*The Church and Adult Education.* By Bernard E. Meland. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939. viii, 115 pp. \$1.00.

This is volume sixteen in a series being published by the American Association of Adult Education concerning the social significance of adult education in the United States. It is a compactly organized and vivid treatment of the subject. The first part, "Of Moods and Trends," has three chapters: (1) "The Church and the Modern Tempo"; (2) "Educator Through the Ages"; and (3) "Toward Enlightened Living." These develop the dominant presuppositions which underlie the efforts of churches and give them their character and purpose.

Part II, "Glimpses of Present Scenes," has five chapters in some seventy pages, as follows: (4) "Adult Activities in the Modern Church"; (5) "Public Forums"; (6) "Ventures in Study Groups"; (7) "Projects for Social Action"; (8) "Workers' Education in Churches." These chapters are the most vital and convincing part of the book. They show that adult education enterprises carried on through the churches reach a considerable sum; e.g., in Chicago alone one hundred and twenty-two churches have opened their doors to adult education classes of the Work Projects Administration, administered by the Chicago Board of Education. Part III discusses under "Comparisons with Conclusions" in two chapters [(9) "Toward Standards"; and (10) "A Basic Issue in Adult Education"] the gist and trend of the factual matter presented in the book, and projects diagnostically the future of the movement.

The most significant conclusion about *The Church and Adult Education* is that there is little likelihood of any genuine rapport between the two philosophies of education—for social change and for the present social status—within the near future. There is much give and take between these two areas of thought, but there is still too much self-consciousness in either to permit really cooperative, constructive effort.

Western State Teachers College

ERNEST BURNHAM

*Social Deviation.* By James Ford. New York: Macmillan Company, 1939. xix, 602 pp.

It perhaps can be said that a student should generously, though not uncritically, accept any substantial formulation of the principles and content of a subject in which he has a vital interest. It is in this spirit that one examines Ford's most recent volume. In it one finds a rich accumulation of materials that have appeared in previous treatises under the captions of "Poverty," "Social Disorganization," and similar titles. This author covers his fresh array under the head of "Social Deviation," suggesting the necessity for norms from which the alleged deviations, personal or social, may be measured. Chapter IV attempts the formulation of such norms in terms of ethical, philosophical, and sociological principles. "Life's purpose," says Ford, "may thus be construed as the fulfilment of interests." It involves, therefore, a search for those interests which expand beyond immediate satisfactions, and which are amenable to a systematic ordering that yields a maximum of achievement. From this angle social objec-

tives may be expressed as "(1) the removal of those elements in life which thwart the physical, mental, moral, or social development of each individual, and (2) the provision of a maximum of opportunity to each individual to make the most of his given capacities in the service of others."

The remainder of the volume is devoted to a discussion of these desiderata. The physical and mental handicaps of the individual are presented in detail with summary emphasis upon programs of prevention. Then follows an analysis of the pathology of economic relationships:—poverty, maldistribution of wealth, and allied conditions. The discussion finally turns to the pathology of family and group life, including disorganization in these realms, as due to conflict, crime, disasters, and war. A concluding section deals with general problems of social planning and reorganization.

It is with no intent to disparage the compendious presentations of this volume to add that the ground, though well and thoroughly covered, is, after all, quite familiar. There are no alluring side-trips off the well marked and somewhat tedious main highway. Indeed, much of the material duplicates the discussion in Ford's previous volume on "Poverty," though with vastly more elaboration. Among the good things that might be said about both of these volumes is that they should make unnecessary similar attempts, at least until the basic data are superseded. They would so do, but for the amazing voracity of the publishers.

University of Michigan

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD

*Congrès International de la Population*. Eight volumes. Paris: Hermann and Co., 1938-1939. III, 108 pp. 30 fr.; IV, 147 pp. 30 fr.; V, 248 pp. 45 fr.; VII, 212 pp. 40 fr.; VIII, 258 pp. 50 fr. (For other volumes see *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV [June, 1939], p. 268.)

Volume III by Michel Huber gives a brief world summary of broad population statistics with a reference to geographic distribution, chief census characteristics, and international migrations. Volume IV gives thirteen papers of special studies, including those by O. E. Baker, Carter Goodrich, C. E. Lively, and Leon E. Truesdell of the United States. Volume V continues this treatment with twenty-five other papers organized more about the subjects of marriages, births, and deaths. Here are papers by Clyde V. Kiser, P. K. Whelpton, Raymond Pearl, T. Lynn Smith, Louis Dublin, E. Jackson, and Harold Dorn of the United States. Volume VII is organized about the problems of demographic evolution or population-number theory. Its twenty-three chapters give papers by Frank Lorimer, Robert Woodbury, T. J. Woofter, and Norman E. Himes of the United States. Volume VIII presents twenty-eight papers on the quality of the population in which Franz Boas, Frederick Osborn, and Horatio M. Pollock of America are represented. The general quality of all the papers is good, particularly those which represent original study or new and thoughtful points of view. Volume III is in French; and of the eighty-nine papers in the other volumes, thirty-two are in French, twenty-nine in German, twenty-six in English, and two in Italian.

C. C. Z.

*Adrift on the Land*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 42. by Paul S. Taylor. New York City: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1940. 31 pp.

This pamphlet is a vest-pocket version of the now much-publicized problem which provided the evidence for the Steinbeck indictment of the commonwealth of sunshine and scenarios. It is a well condensed statement of the sordid record of America's migration and migrants as set forth in "Grapes of Wrath," "Factories In The Field," and "An American Exodus." It pictures migration in the wheat belt, in the western cotton country, in the berry sections, in the sugar beet territory, and up and down the Pacific Coast; the increasingly futile movement from place to place that affords only a beggar's existence and spreads the cancerous threat of widespread conflict. America's life on the land is being drawn along two paths of development: one, increasing mechanization and industrialization; the other, a return to the land to recapture some of the elements of security traditionally associated with the family-sized farm. But strewn along both paths are the human by-products which compose the ever-increasing total of rural America's landless class. The reader can get the story in twenty minutes from this little pamphlet.

Rhode Island State College

W. R. GORDON

*The Personal Side*. By Jessie A. Bloodworth and Elizabeth J. Greenwood. Washington, D. C.: Works Progress Administration, Division of Research. Mimeographed. 417 pp.

*Educating for Health*. By Frank Ernest Hill. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939. ix, 224 pp. \$1.25.

*The Personal Side* is a bulky mimeographed report of the employment and relief histories of 45 families in Dubuque, Iowa. Three classes of family history are presented: those who have been on relief and are now returned to private employment; those who were unemployed, but received no relief, and are again in private employment; and those, both relief and nonrelief, who are still without work. These case studies do succeed in telling more than tables of statistics about the attitudes of the unemployed groups, and they illustrate the depression problems of many families in a very real and personal way. For this purpose they are recommended to anyone who wishes to get more of "the personal side" of unemployment and relief. Otherwise, this volume represents just another outburst of sentimental gush with a feeble attempt to assume the cloak of science.

*Educating for Health* is an attempt to show how the growing public health program in this country can be assisted through the instrumentality of another growing concern, the adult education movement. Conversely, the author believes that public health problems should be given a place of importance in any program of adult education. Those interested in either of these fields should consult this book. For the layman, a good review of public health objectives and programs is given in the first few chapters.

Colgate University

WENDELL H. BASH

*World Trade in Agricultural Products.* By L. B. Bacon and F. C. Schloemer.  
Rome: International Institute of Agriculture, 1940. xix, 1,102 pp.

This volume is the fruition of a plan conceived by Dr. Henry C. Taylor in 1934, and executed with the assistance of funds supplied by the Rockefeller Foundation. It supplies a general picture of the world's trade in agricultural products during the interval between the two great world catastrophes, a series of years in which intense governmental activity was directed to agricultural production, markets, and trade processes. Part I is devoted to the most important commodities, tracing the world-wide trade ramifications connected with each. Part II describes, in the national setting, policies related to the external trade in farm products. Coming at a major division point in world history, this volume should long serve as a mine of reliable information for all those who will require these basic data for administrative and scientific purposes.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

*General Education Board Annual Report, 1939.* ix, 171 pp.

For many years the General Education Board has been one of the most potent agencies engaged in fostering improved educational facilities for the South. Rural sociologists and economists will be greatly interested in this current report of the board's activities, particularly pp. 5-74, which are devoted to Dr. Mann's "Report on the Program in Southern Education."

T. L. S.

*Adult Education Councils.* By Ruth Kotinsky. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1940. v, 172 pp. \$1.25.

This excellent little book will prove of value to extension rural sociologists and to others of the rural group who concentrate on educational sociology. Clearly set forth are the purposes and objectives of the councils and ways of implementing these with programs. Important consideration is given to problems of organization and finance.

T. L. S.

*Note.*—Reed H. Bradford, Teaching Fellow at Harvard University and former Research Assistant at Louisiana State University, has been appointed Assistant Book Review Editor for *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*.

*Note.*—In the book review of the study by Corrado Gini and Pia De Orchi: *Il Ciclo Sessuale Delle Madri Delle Famiglie Numerose* (see p. 276 in the June, 1940, issue of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*) the sentence found on lines 16 and 17 which reads: "Increase in altitude is particularly associated with *earlier* menstruation," should be changed to read: "Increase in altitude is particularly associated with *later* menstruation."

# News Notes and Announcements

PROGRAM OF THE  
THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

DECEMBER 27-29, 1940  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
Congress Hotel, Headquarters

## FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27

### 10 A.M.-12 M. FIRST GENERAL SESSION. ROOM 1164

*The Concept, Social Process: Its Meaning and Usefulness in the Study of Rural Society*

J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, *Chairman*

*Presentation:* Paul H. Landis, Washington State College

*Discussion:* Read Bain, Miami University

Chas. P. Loomis, Bureau of Agricultural Economics

William H. Sewell, Oklahoma A. & M. College

### 12 M. LUNCHEON. FRANCIS I ROOM

Business meeting. Committee reports and discussion

J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, *Co-chairmen*

## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28

### 8 A.M. BREAKFAST. ROOM 1170

Conference on Extension Work and Adult Education

W. H. Stacy, Iowa State College, *Chairman*

### 10 A.M.-12 M. SECOND GENERAL SESSION. ROOM 1164

*Rural Planning: Its Social and Community Organization Aspects*

C. E. Lively, University of Missouri, *Chairman*

*Presentation:* Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College

*Discussion:* William E. Cole, University of Tennessee

T. G. Standing, Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Robin M. Williams, University of Kentucky

1 P.M.-3 P.M. JOINT SESSION WITH SECTION ON EDUCATIONAL  
SOCIOLOGY, FLORENTINE ROOM

*Social Interaction of School and Community*

Francis J. Brown, New York University, and

J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, *Co-chairmen*

*Presentation:* J. E. Butterworth, Cornell University

*Discussion:* Jos. A. Geddes, Utah State Agricultural College

Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University

George A. Works, University of Chicago

3 P.M.-5 P.M. JOINT SESSION WITH SECTION ON SOCIOLOGY OF  
RELIGION, FRANCIS I ROOM

*Significant Church Programs for Rural Communities*

D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, *Chairman*

*Presentation:* L. G. Ligutti, National Catholic Rural Life Conference

Mark Rich, Town-Country Work, American Baptist

Home Mission Society

*Discussion:* Murray H. Leiffer, Garrett Biblical Institute

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29

8 A.M. BREAKFAST. ENGLISH-WALNUT ROOM

Conference on Teaching and Research

C. L. Hoffer, Michigan State College and

N. L. Whetten, Connecticut State College, *Co-chairmen*

10 A.M.-11:30 A.M. THIRD GENERAL SESSION. ROOM 1164

*Public Welfare and Family Social Work in Rural Areas*

Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, *Chairman*

*Presentation:* Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University

*Discussion:* Ernest B. Harper, Michigan State College

J. P. Schmidt, Ohio State University

Gertrude Vaile, University of Minnesota

12:45 P.M. LUNCHEON. PINE ROOM BALCONY

Final business meeting

J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, *Chairman*

HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of the Rural Sociological Society will be at the Congress Hotel, where a registration and information desk will be maintained. Members are requested to register upon arrival.

Reservations should be made early. Standard room rates for all the hotels of this class are from \$3.00 on up for single rooms and from \$4.50 on up for double rooms.



## 1940 MEMBERSHIP LIST OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

## ALABAMA

Andrews, Henry L	University of Alabama	University
Davis, Ralph N	Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute
Gomillion, Charles G	Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute
Nunn, Alexander	<i>Progressive Farmer</i>	Birmingham

## ARIZONA

Tetreau, E D	University of Arizona	Tucson
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## ARKANSAS

Bonslagel, Connie J	524 Post Office Bldg	Little Rock
Brannen, C O	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Charlton, J L	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Halfacre, G May	342-43-44 Donaghey Trust Bldg	Little Rock
Metzler, William H	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Reid, T Roy	414 Donaghey Trust Bldg	Little Rock
Shafer, Karl A	438 Donaghey Trust Bldg	Little Rock
Standing, T G	643 Donaghey Trust Bldg	Little Rock
Wilson, Isabella C	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville

## CALIFORNIA

Benedict, M R	University of California	Berkeley
Brandt, Karl	Food Research Institute	Stanford University
Griffin, F L	College of Agriculture	Davis
Hanger, Michael R	222 Mercantile Bldg	Berkeley
McEnture, Davis	222 Mercantile Bldg	Berkeley
Mirkowich, Beatrice	Giannini Foundation	Berkeley
Mirkowich, Nicholas	University of California	Berkeley
Post, Lauren C	San Diego State College	San Diego
Taylor, Paul S	University of California	Berkeley
Thomas, Dorothy Swaine	Giannini Foundation	Berkeley

## COLORADO

Longmore, T Wilson	124 W Myrtle St	Fort Collins
Miller, Marshall C.	Mesa College	Grand Junction
Roskelley, R W	Colorado State College	Fort Collins

## CONNECTICUT

Brundage, A J	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Hypes, J L	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Riecken, Henry W	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Van Vleck, Joseph, Jr	Hartford Seminary Foundation	Hartford
Whetten, N L	University of Connecticut	Storrs

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Armstrong, Florence A	Social Security Board	Washington
Baker, O E	Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A	Washington
Bradshaw, Nettie P	3722 13th St., NW	Washington
Cronin, Frank D	Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A	Washington
Folsom, Josiah C	Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A	Washington
Galloway, Robert E.	2104 O Street, NW	Washington

- |                        |  |              |
|------------------------|--|--------------|
| ‡Galpin, C J           | Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A                    | Washington   |
| Gardner, Ella          | Extension Service, U S D A                         | Washington   |
| Gilliland, C B         | 2739 South Agricultural Bldg                       | Washington   |
| Ham, William T         | 3618 Ordway St, NW                                 | Washington   |
| Johnson, Helen Wheeler | 1726 Connecticut Ave, NW                           | Washington   |
| Kirkpatrick, E L       | 744 Jackson Place                                  | Washington   |
| Kollmorgen, Walter M   | Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A                    | Washington   |
| Kress, Andrew J        | Georgetown University                              | Washington   |
| Larson, Olaf F         | Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A                    | Washington   |
| Loomis, Charles P      | Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A                    | Washington   |
| Melvin, Bruce L        | Work Projects Administration                       | Washington   |
| Moe, Edward O, Jr      | 5009 Westway Drive, NW                             | Washington   |
| Monsees, Carl Henry    | 5015 V Street, NW                                  | Washington   |
| Noll, Miriam           | Children's Bureau                                  |              |
|                        | U S Department of Labor                            | Washington   |
| Page, John S           | Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A                    | Washington   |
| Robert, Percy A        | Catholic University of America                     | Washington   |
| Rose, John Kerr        | 6928 Maple St, NW                                  | Takoma Park  |
| Sneed, Melvin W        | The Brookings Institution                          | Washington   |
| Splawn, Mary           | Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A                    | Washington   |
| Stanley, Louise        | 3223 Macomb St                                     | Washington   |
| Taylor, Carl C         | 5166 Tilden St, NW                                 | Washington   |
| Vogt, Paul L           | Agricultural Adjustment<br>Administration, U S D A | Washington   |
| *Vrooman, C Earl       | 1422 F Street, NW                                  | Washington   |
| Wells, Oris V          | Bureau of Ag Economics, U S D A                    | Washington   |
| Wilson, M L            | Agricultural Extension Service,<br>U S D A         | Washington   |
| Woofter, T J, Jr       | Apt 704, 2001 16th St, NW                          | Washington   |
| Youngblood, B          | Office of Experiment Stations,<br>U S D A          | Washington   |
|                        | FLORIDA  |              |
| Conoly, G W            | Florida A & M College                              | Tallahassee  |
| Lawson, Mrs M Jones    | Florida Normal & Industrial<br>Institute           | St Augustine |
| Moore, Coyle E         | Florida State College for Women                    | Tallahassee  |
|                        | GEORGIA  |              |
| Andrews, Myron E       | 21 Harris St, NW                                   | Atlanta      |
| Elrod, Julius M        | Berry College                                      | Mount Berry  |
| Matthews, M Taylor     | 249 Peachtree St                                   | Atlanta      |
| Osborn, George C       | Berry College                                      | Mount Berry  |
| †Williams, B O         | University of Georgia                              | Athens       |
| Young, Wade P          | University of Georgia                              | Athens       |
|                        | ILLINOIS   |              |
| Bailey, D L            | Western Illinois State Teachers<br>College         | Macomb       |
| Cummins, Ralph         | 425 North Edward St                                | Decatur      |
| Funderburg, D D        | 22 South State St                                  | Elgin        |
| Gessner, Amy A         | 612 South Liberty Ave                              | Freeport     |
| Henry, Sister          | Rosary College                                     | River Forest |
| Holt, A E              | 5757 University Ave                                | Chicago      |

*Hsiang, Ching-Yuen	Apt 214, 5519 Blackstone Ave	Chicago
*Hudson, G T	University of Illinois	Urbana
Lake, James H	520 North Michigan Ave	Chicago
Landis, Judson T	Southern Illinois State Normal University	Carbondale
Lindstrom, D E	University of Illinois	Urbana
Price, Maurice T	332 Lincoln Hall	Urbana
Smith, Rockwell C	Garrett Biblical Institute	Evansston
Younge, Eva R	1414 East 59th St	Chicago
Zigler, M R	22 South State St	Elgin

## INDIANA

Beck, P G	Farm Security Administration	Indianapolis
Cramer, Llewelyn A	3820 Carrollton Ave	Indianapolis
Davison, Victor H	484 West Maple St	West Lafayette
Hall, O F	Purdue University	Lafayette
Hershberger, Guy F	Goshen College	Goshen
Hoffman, Charles S	Farm Security Administration	Indianapolis
Mather, William G, Jr	574 East Monroe St	Franklin
Shideler, Ernest H	829 North Main St	West Lafayette
Van Huss, A B	Farm Security Administration	Lebanon

## IOWA

Anderson, C Arnold	Iowa State College	Ames
Bankert, Zetta E	223 East Sixth St	Ames
Beegle, J Allan	Iowa State College	Ames
Burrows, Charles N	Simpson College	Indianola
Clark, Robert C	Iowa State College	Ames
Ligutti, L G		Granger
*Ortmeyer, Carl	Iowa State College	Ames
*Roberts, Charles D	Box 622	Iowa City
Ryan, Bryce	Iowa State College	Ames
Stacy, W H	Iowa State College	Ames
Tudor, William J	432 Hayward Ave	Ames
*Wakefield, Troy P	Iowa State College	Ames
Wakeley, Ray E	Iowa State College	Ames

## KANSAS

Hill, Randall C	Kansas State College	Manhattan
Knoebber, Sister Mildred	Mount St Scholastica College	Atchison
Wolters, Gilbert	St Benedicts College	Atchison

## KENTUCKY

Beers, Howard W	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Gray, Wayne T	404 North Main St	Barbourville
Nicholls, W D	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Oyler, Merton	Agricultural Experiment Station	Lexington
Sanders, Irwin T	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Williams, Robin M	University of Kentucky	Lexington

## LOUISIANA

Ashburn, Karl E	Southwestern Louisiana Institute	Lafayette
Ballinger, Roy A	Louisiana State University	University
†Boyer, Philips B	2810 Perkins Road	Baton Rouge

Brooks, Lee M	Louisiana State University	University
Carter, Sam R	State Office Bldg	Baton Rouge
Clark, Felton G	Southern University	Scotlandville
D Argonne, Michael C	7728 Plum St	New Orleans
*Demerath, Nicholas J	Newcomb College	New Orleans
Donohue, A T	1710 Broadway St	New Orleans
Duncan, O D	Dept of Sociology	University
Fox, Lawrence J	Louisiana Polytechnic Institute	Ruston
Frey, Fred C	Louisiana State University	University
Hoffsommer, Harold C	Louisiana State University	University
Hyde, Roy E	Southeastern Louisiana College	Hammond
Leonard, Olen E	Dept of Sociology	University
Lott, E H	Louisiana State University	University
McCall, Margery S	810 East Blvd	Baton Rouge
*McClure, John H	Rural Route No 1	Baton Rouge
Mims, Mary	Louisiana State University	University
Montgomery, J P	Louisiana State University	University
Nichols, Ralph R	Dept of Rural Sociology	University
*Parenton, Vernon J	Louisiana State University	University
*Porter, Horace	Dept of Ag Economics	University
Pryor, Herbert	3337 Highland Road	Baton Rouge
Ramos, Arthur	Faculty Club	University
*Ramsey, R J	Dept of Rural Sociology	University
*Roberts, Ralph W	Dept of Rural Sociology	University
Schuler, Edgar	Louisiana State University	University
Smith, Marion B	Louisiana State University	University
Smith, T Lynn	Louisiana State University	University
Stanford, William	State Department of Commerce and Industry	Baton Rouge
*Tatum, Julien R	Dept of Rural Sociology	University
Thompson, Susanne	Louisiana State University	University
Van de Wall, Willem	Louisiana State University	University

## MAINE

Draper C R	University of Maine	Orono
Lord, George E	University of Maine	Orono

## MARYLAND

Dodson, Linden S	Box 243, 2 Gardenway Road	Greenbelt
Holt, John B	University of Maryland	College Park
Oliver, J A	Princess Anne College	Princess Anne
Taeuber, Conrad	201 Jackson Ave	Hyattsville

## MASSACHUSETTS

Bowden, G T	Harvard University	Cambridge
*Bradford, Reed	11 Hunt Hall	Cambridge
Davis, Arthur K	26 Hurlbut St	Cambridge
Fitzgibbon, George F	35 Paisley Park	Dorchester
*McDonald, Gilman	4 Chauncy Terrace	Cambridge
McIntire, H Ruth	Massachusetts State College	Amherst
Mann, Albert Z	Springfield College	Springfield
*Reynard, Charles O	366 Harvard St	Cambridge
*Safford, N Morton	235 Main St	Hingham
*Young, Chester W.	69 Perkins Hall	Cambridge
Zimmerman, Carle C	Harvard University	Cambridge

## MICHIGAN

Amis, Otis C	- Western State Teachers College	Kalamazoo
Burnham, Ernest	Western State Teachers College	Kalamazoo
Gibson, Duane L	Michigan State College	East Lansing
Harper, Ernest B	Michigan State College	East Lansing
Hoffer, C R	Michigan State College	East Lansing
Holmes, Roy H	706 Monroe St	Ann Arbor
Honigsheim, Paul	Michigan State College	East Lansing
Mumford, Eben	710 Chittenden Drive	East Lansing
Robinson, William McKinley	1414 Low Road	Kalamazoo
Smith, Maurice L	Central State Teachers College	Mt Pleasant
Thaden, John F	Michigan State College	East Lansing

## MINNESOTA

Bieri, Margaret E	State Teachers College	Moorhead
Burns, Sister Anne	College of St Benedict	St Joseph
Byrnes, James A	240 Summit Ave	St Paul
Dvoracek, D C	University Farm	St Paul
Jacobson, Ernst T	Supt of Cokato Public Schools	Cokato
Lampe, Arthur	St Louis County Board of Education	Duluth
*McVoy, Edgar C	University Farm	St Paul
May, Elizabeth Eckhardt	University of Minnesota	Minneapolis
Miller, Ralph E	University Farm	St Paul
Mitchell, Don	University Farm	St Paul
Nelson, Lowry	University Farm	St Paul
*Paschke, John W	311 7th Ave., SE	Minneapolis
Prickett, Glenn I	West Central School and Station	Morris
Vaile, Gertrude	University of Minnesota	Minneapolis
*Wakefield, Olaf	Box 4419, University of Minnesota	Minneapolis

## MISSISSIPPI

Cranfill, S E	Mississippi College	Clinton
Dickins, Dorothy	Mississippi State College	State College
Dunn, Read, Jr	Delta Council	Stoneville
Folse, Clinton L	Mississippi State College	State College
King, Morton B., Jr	Box 473	University
Mason, John E.	1326 Grove St	Vicksburg
Smith, Roscoe		Prentiss
*Whittington, Curtis A., Jr		Liberty

## MISSOURI

Almack, Ronald B	University of Missouri	Columbia
Gregory, Cecil L	State Social Security Commission	Jefferson City
Lind, Marvin B	238 Hirth St	Columbia
Lively, Charles E	University of Missouri	Columbia
Loomis, Ralph	University of Missouri	Columbia
Wilkening, Eugene A	University of Missouri	Columbia

## MONTANA

Kraenzel, Carl F	Montana Experiment Station	Bozeman
Renne, R R.	... Montana State College	Bozeman

## NEBRASKA

Anderson, A H	614 Terminal Bldg	Lincoln
Hay, Donald G	614 Terminal Bldg	Lincoln
Peck, Millard	609 Terminal Bldg	Lincoln
Schwier, Vernon R	2030 North 32nd St	Lincoln
Starch, E A	621 Terminal Bldg	Lincoln

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

Theriault, George F.	Dartmouth College	Hanover
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## NEW JERSEY

Felton, Ralph A	Drew Forest	Madison
Kirk, Dudley	Princeton University	Princeton

## NEW MEXICO

Johansen, Sigurd	New Mexico State College	State College
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## NEW YORK

Anderson, W A	Cornell University	Ithaca
Bash, Wendell H	Colgate University	Hamilton
Bayne, E Ashley	60 East 42nd St	New York
Brunner, Edmund deS	525 West 120th St	New York
Champlin, Mildred Wilder	Hartwick College	Oneonta
Cottrell, Leonard, Jr	Cornell University	Ithaca
Duthie, Mary Eva	Cornell University	Ithaca
Ewell, Glenn B	Colgate Rochester Divinity School	Rochester
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Slocum, Walter L. . . . .	South Dakota State College . . . . .	Brookings
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## TEXAS

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Cox, Oliver C. . . . .	Wiley College . . . . .	Marshall
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## WEST VIRGINIA

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 \*Zapata, José M. . . . . University of Puerto Rico . . . . . Rio Piedras,  
     Puerto Rico

\* Student member.

† Contributing member.

‡ Honorary life member.

## MALCOLM DANA

Malcolm Dana, director of research for the Interseminary Commission for the Training of the Rural Ministry, died at the age of 70 on August 17, 1940, at Waban, Massachusetts. Born in Norwich, Connecticut, the son of a Congregational minister, he graduated from Carleton College in 1898 and Hartford Theological Seminary in 1901, the year he was ordained to the Congregational ministry. Grinnell College granted him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1917. He served pastorates in Rhode Island, Maine, and Iowa, in each of which he was noted as a community leader. During the World War he served 19 months with the Y.M.C.A. in France, where he was secretary of the first "Y hut" at the front. In October, 1919, he became the founder and first director of the national Town and Country Department of the Congregational churches. From 1929 to 1938 he taught courses on the rural church in Yale Divinity School and Hartford Theological Seminary. In connection with his teaching he helped organize the Interseminary Commission, the cooperative rural agency of New England theological schools, and became its director of research. In the fall of 1939 he taught in Bangor Theological Seminary and, at the time of his death, was engaged in writing a history of the first ten years of the Interseminary Commission.

One of the first leaders of the rural church movement, Dana was known particularly for his work in developing the larger parish plan. He was one of the first of those leaders who sought to apply a knowledge of sociology to the church. He was author of *Christ of the Countryside*, *The Larger Parish Plan*, and scores of articles on the rural parish; but his best contribution was made in field work throughout the nation and in conferences where he helped to develop the beginnings of a rural philosophy for the churches. To Dana and his co-workers of the "first generation" the future of the rural church movement and the field of rural sociology are deeply indebted.

THOMAS ALFRED TRIPP

*The Committee on Rural Education*:—A rural school supervisory demonstration project in McDonough County, Illinois, a rural community high schools project in Wisconsin, and a field service project for the cultural improvement of rural teachers in service in Missouri are activities launched by the Committee on Rural Education during the first year of its existence. The committee, which was organized in March, 1939, has selected from among the many problems of rural education two main activities to which to devote its energies, according to the First Annual Report just issued. These two fields of activity are as follows: first, the growth and development of rural children and youth—physical, cultural, and spiritual—as achieved through school curriculum, techniques of teaching, and out-of-school experiences; and second, the promotion of better understanding by rural adults of the difficulties confronting rural schools, and ways and means by which these difficulties may be overcome.

The committee hopes to achieve its purposes through cooperation with existing educational agencies, and through bringing about needed coordination of effort directed toward the common goal of improving rural life. To this end advisory assistance and modest financial help have been given in the three states, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Missouri, to assist local agencies in carrying forward demonstrations of improved educational techniques.

Lowry Nelson of the University of Minnesota and Leo. M. Favrot of Louisiana State University are among the nine members of the committee appointed by the American Country Life Association and supported financially by the Farm Foundation of Chicago. The headquarters of the committee are in Chicago, 600 South Michigan Avenue.

*University of Connecticut:*—N. L. Whetten, professor of rural sociology, was recently made dean of the graduate school of the University of Connecticut. He will also continue his teaching and research work in rural sociology.

*Louisiana State University:*—Willem van de Wall, a member of the Rural Sociological Society, has recently been appointed director of the School of Music and is undertaking a reorganization of the school on a basis of state interest and cultural heritage.

*Michigan State College:*—At the beginning of the academic year 1940-1941 considerable reorganization of course offerings in the department of sociology was made. New courses in social psychology, anthropology, and social control were added in the undergraduate curriculum. The professional social work courses, including rural social work, were put on a graduate basis with provision for a one-year certificate in social work. A grouping of courses in rural sociology now constitutes a special series in the department; and one course, Rural Life and Sociology, planned for students in the agricultural division, has been added. The research work in rural sociology continues as a section of sociology in the Agricultural Experiment Station.

*North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering:*—New opportunities for research and graduate training in rural sociology and related social sciences have been made possible by a grant of funds from the General Education Board. Among other things, a new department of rural sociology has been created. At present the staff consists of Dr. C. Horace Hamilton, Head, formerly Senior Social Scientist in the United States Department of Agriculture, and Selz Mayo, assistant professor. The new department has functions corresponding to the three major divisions of the college, namely, teaching, research, and extension.

The work in rural sociology has been strengthened by the establishment of a statistical laboratory under the direction of Dr. Gertrude M. Cox, who until recently was Research Assistant Professor, Statistical Section, Iowa Agricultural

Experiment Station. Another significant development is the plan for coordinating the graduate work in rural sociology and agricultural economics in the Greater University of North Carolina, thus making it possible for graduate students to take a wide range of courses and to use the research facilities of all units of the Greater University.

Dr. Hamilton, the head of the new department, was professor of rural sociology in North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering from 1931 to 1936 and Economist in Rural Life in the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station from 1936 to 1939. Until September, 1940, he was Senior Social Scientist in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the United States Department of Agriculture.

*Tulane University:*—Nicholas J. Demerath has been appointed instructor in sociology in the Newcomb College.



